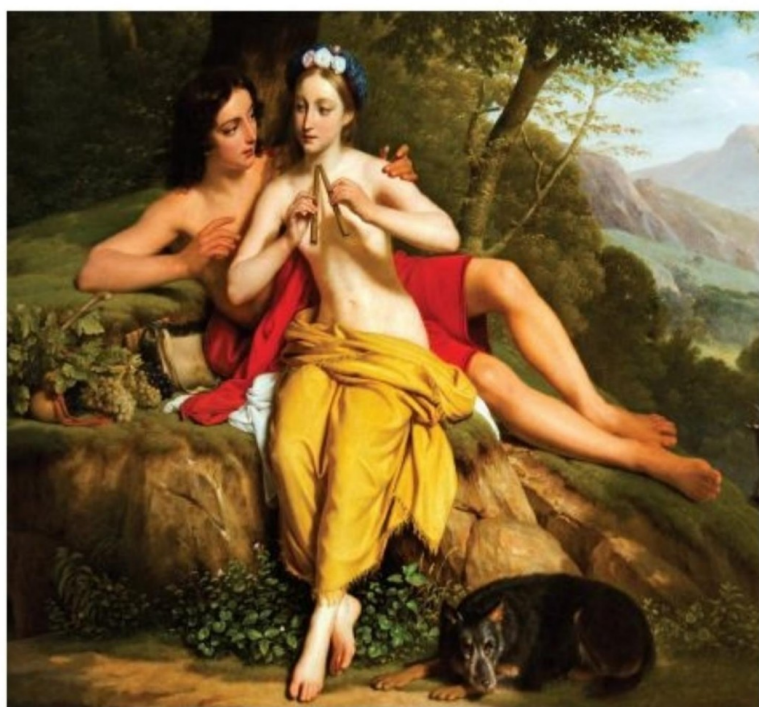


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A COMPANION TO THE
**ANCIENT
NOVEL**

EDITED BY EDMUND P. CUEVA
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Introduction

Edmund P. Cueva and Shannon N. Byrne

The genre known as the ancient novel is of obvious importance to areas of modern studies in literature, fiction, and literary theory that have roots in classical antiquity. The ancient novel is also of interest to areas of linguistic, psychological, and sociological research that deal with texts as transmitters of cultural information. The ancient novel reflects societal and cultural changes, particularly in readers' tastes, that occurred over the period in which the novels were composed, roughly from first to the fifth or sixth century AD. But who were the readers of ancient novels, and what value did they find in a genre that had little philosophical or educational significance despite its apparent popularity throughout the Roman Empire? What accounts for the interest in novels despite the near silence on the genre in antiquity? In order to appreciate the allusions to epic, tragedy, myth, and history, ancient novel authors must have taken for granted a substantial level of education for at least some of their readership, yet the genre itself receives next to no mention from learned contemporaries or subsequent ancient commentators and scholars.

Studies in the ancient novel have changed greatly since early scholars considered them mystery texts or romances for women. The ways in which contemporaries appreciated ancient novels and how modern scholars now regard and analyze them are just a few of the subjects that this Wiley-Blackwell Companion examines. *A Companion to the Ancient Novel* pulls together different perspectives and interpretations on a wide variety of topics in a manageable way to serve as a suitable introduction for readers new to the genre. This collection also provides unique insights for the experienced ancient novel reader, as it articulates the perplexities that have challenged scholars since the genre first caught the academic world's attention in the nineteenth century. Some contributors include excerpts of the original Greek or Latin text, but an English translation is always given to accommodate the non-classics reader.

The first section, "Novels and Authors," blends new ideas with overview material on the novels and related genres. Each contribution notes something unique about the particular work under discussion, trends in scholarship that might not otherwise make it into a

collection of this kind, while at the same time covering the basics, such as what is known about author, date of work, transmission of the text and manuscript tradition, summary of the novel itself, and other necessary background information that will quickly bring new readers up to speed and prepare them for subsequent sections.

Graham Anderson's "Chariton: Individuality and Stereotype," begins the first subsection on the five canonical Greek novels, so called for their general similarities and completeness. As many authors in this collection do, Anderson uses a range of subheadings, such as "Literary Context," "Humor," "Historical Feel," "Characterization," and "Cultural Norms and Ethos," to focus the reader's attention, in this case, on the novel *Chaereas and Callirhoe*. The author, Chariton, uses a plot typical of the five canonical Greek novels—namely, boy meets girl then loses girl—as a platform for wild adventures that keep the action moving from Sicily to Ionia and Babylon, all the while entertaining a learned if not precisely identifiable audience. The storyline, which is outright folkloric at times, is particularly cohesive and keeps the reader in suspense for the duration as to how the heroine will ever possibly be reunited with the hero.

In "*Daphnis and Chloe*: Innocence and Experience, Archetypes and Art," **Jean Alvares** introduces Longus' novel, a simple story about young love and budding sexuality that holds the reader's interest for four books without degenerating into licentiousness, though at times Longus comes close to crossing the line. The young hero and heroine tend flocks in the countryside and do not stray far from home, unlike the main couples of the other novels who separate and travel the known world in an effort to reunite. Daphnis and Chloe eventually marry and learn the true meaning of life-long love, a message, Alvares shows, of decorum and sensibility for both the city and country dweller. Their rustic upbringing in fact prepares them for the rigors and expectations of aristocratic adulthood.

James O'Sullivan in "Xenophon, *The Ephesian Tales*" (*Ephesiaka*) builds upon his previous research on both the text and the story to provide thorough background information and summary. He discusses what is known about the author, Xenophon, the likely date of the work (c. 30–40 AD, according to O'Sullivan), theme and elements of theme, and most notably the relationship between Xenophon's *The Ephesian Tales* and Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe*. O'Sullivan engages the latest scholarly views on all aspects of this novel, which is the shortest of the five canonical novels, including the role of historiography in Xenophon and Chariton.

Kathryn S. Chew introduces readers to *Leucippe and Cleitophon* in "Achilles Tatius, Sophistic Master of Novelistic Conventions," which, in addition to useful background information, examines the influence

of the Second Sophistic literary movement on Achilles Tatius' distinctive approach to novelistic norms. Chew highlights Achilles Tatius' uniqueness as a novelist by presenting her summary of the story through expected norms (e.g. "love at first sight"; "focus on the heroine"; "hero's sidekicks"; "digression and descriptions"; "separation of the heroine and hero"; "*Scheintod* of the heroine") and by illustrating how *Leucippe and Cleitophon* differs in all these areas from other novels.

Marília P. Futre Pinheiro's "Heliodorus, the Ethiopian Story" completes the introductory overviews of the five canonical ancient Greek novels. The author, Heliodorus, was confused with a Christian bishop of the same name in late antiquity, which gives this highly skilled author an added air of mystery. Heliodorus' use of Egypt as the backdrop to much of the novel allows him to play on notions of the exotic and the "other," while his willingness to play on themes characteristic of epic, his experiments with suspense, anticipation, and the spectacular, and his subtle sense of humor center this novel between the ancient and modern.

The Roman novel is not as well defined as the canonical Greek novel. In "Petronius, *Satyrica*" (at times in this collection spelled *Satyricon*), **Heinz Hofmann** expertly manages controversial issues regarding manuscript tradition, authorship and dating of the text, and other significant aspects of the work that generate much debate because so little is known about any of these areas. Hofmann runs the gamut of scholarly hypotheses, and while he deviates somewhat from the norm by dating Petronius to the early second century AD rather than to Nero's reign, nevertheless both novice and seasoned scholar alike will appreciate his analysis of the *Cena Trimalchionis*, his explication of the novellas and poetry that Petronius' characters relate, and his careful discussion of the antecedents and influences of this novel.

"Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*: The Nature of the Beast" is the first of **Paula James'** two contributions, both of which deal with Apuleius and his *Metamorphoses*, also known as *The Golden Ass*. In the overview of the main episodes, James takes an unusual approach by focusing on the first-time reader with actual first-time readers' interpretations. Although James is an experienced Apuleius scholar, the readers she discusses were her administrative and curriculum management colleagues who had no knowledge of Latin. These uninitiated readers read the work in translation and shared reactions to its plot twists, horror, and humor that will lead the more familiar reader to rethink certain preconceptions about this strange story of a man magically turned into a donkey and then back again into a man after many adventures. James reminds us that the non-specialist often can offer

unique insights into an old story.

Giovanni Garbugino concludes the subsection on Roman novels with his “*Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*,” (Story of Apollonius, King of Tyre), which is written in Latin but, unlike the novels of Petronius and Apuleius, tends to follow the predictable plot series of adventures found in Greek novels. Features common to the genre include travels far and wide, separation of the main couple, and the seeming death of the heroine (*Scheintod*). However, other features are not so common, such as the lack of passion between the main couple, the focus on father–daughter relationships, and the obvious Christian elements. Nevertheless, the work is worth close examination because, as Garbugino notes, “in a period in which the Western world lost contact with the ancient Greek and Latin novel, the *Historia* had the function of intermediary between classical culture and the medieval horizon handing down the romance model to the Western world.”

The final subsection in the introduction deals with a subject matter often little known to classicists, but nevertheless important for what it can tell us about the novel and its context. In “The Other Greek Novels,” **Susan Stephens** compares fragmentary novels such as *Metiochus and Parthenope*, *Ninus* and Antonius Diogenes’ *Unbelievable Things beyond Thule* with better known Greek and Roman novels and notes similarities and differences. Fragmentary Greek novels differ in particular in plot; for example, the eponymous lovers Metiochus and Parthenope engage in philosophical conversations rather than share a “love-at-first-glance” gaze, and, though the fragments are too few to be certain, there seems to be no happy ending. Iamblichus’ lovers in the *Babyloniaka* have fantastic adventures that outstrip any in the five Greek novels, while the lovers in Antonius Diogenes do not begin their adventures as lovers but rather fall in love after adventures take them to Thule. Stephens observes that trans-cultural exchanges seem to be a common feature in the fragmentary novels, which might explain why these novels did not have the same appeal as their canonical counterparts: they may have been too regionally interconnected for wide appeal. An interesting observation is that, while the canonical novels were not rendered in the visual arts, the fragmentary novels frequently are depicted.

In “Hell-bent, Heaven-sent: From Skyman to Pumpkin,” **Barry Baldwin** gives a thorough and entertaining context for the elusive genre known as Menippean Satire, which encompasses a wide a variety of works, though few scholars agree on which should actually be included. Baldwin combs ancient sources to make sense of the originator of the genre, Menippus of Gadara, and touches upon other authors who either claimed to write Menippean Satire or are assigned to the genre based on the nature of their works; these include Varro,

Lucian, Julian, and the author of the *Apocolocyntosis* (Seneca?—just call him “X”). There is too little certainty regarding Menippean Satire to pinpoint precisely what (if anything) the genre really was—surely more than a combination of prose and verse invented by Menippus and characterized by a preoccupation with death? Baldwin raises more questions than he accepts answers for, but the reader will come away knowing the most that is possible about Menippean Satire.

No writer in the later Roman Empire could have been ignorant of Christian voices and mores as that new religion began to permeate social and cultural norms. In “The Novel and Christian Narrative,” **David Konstan** and **Ilaria Rimelli** compare plot elements in ancient novels with those found in Christian narratives like the Gospels and Lives of Saints. Themes such as the determination to remain faithful and the ability to survive miraculous adventures and apparent death demonstrate similarities that strongly suggest intertextuality at its most basic: shared cultural background and experience. The connections between Christian narratives and the ancient novel should garner a more prominent place in novel scholarship: “For the ancient world, despite the deep changes brought about by the arrival of Christianity (and other religious traditions as well), was still one society, and comparable habits of story-telling lie behind a wide variety of classical and post-classical texts.”

A closer look at characteristics peculiar to the ancient novel as a genre occurs in the next section, entitled “Genre and Approaches.” **Marília Futre Pinheiro**’s second chapter in this collection, “The Genre of the Novel: A Theoretical Approach,” sets forth the many problems involved in identifying the elements that differentiate this genre from others. The majority of features associated with ancient novels are in fact not exclusive to the novel, such as young love, pirates, kidnappings, sham deaths, and necessary coincidences. Futre Pinheiro analyzes the sources and wades through decades of scholarly debate to conclude that there are three defining features of the ancient novel: “a narrative structure, the verisimilitude of the story, and the erotic motif.” These are the characteristics that connect the fragmentary, Greek, and Roman works ascribed to the genre of ancient novel.

Graham Anderson’s second chapter, “The Management of Dialogue in Ancient Fiction,” explores the different uses of dialogue in the ancient novel and notes that the more sophisticated and educated the author, the more the use of dialogue is likely to enhance emotion and humor and other parts of the story, especially when uneducated characters speak idiomatically. A less-educated author does not exert the same level of control over the use of dialogue, and as a result what his characters say has less of an impact on the story: “the further

down the educational scale the text has slid, the more random and uncontrolled dialogue interchanges are likely to be.”

Koen De Temmerman’s “Characterization in the Ancient Novel” examines the themes of characterization in ancient novels and adaptations of character types from other genres. Ambiguity is one shared feature: many characters, even heroes and heroines, defy being labeled as “good” or “bad,” but fall somewhere in between. Ambiguity derives not only from actions, but also from comparisons with other mythological and historical figures; for instance, when Chaereas is compared to Alcibiades and Achilles in physical beauty, the reader is alerted to more than just the hero’s good looks: something of his nature is revealed as well. Other themes of characterization that occur are self-control and the development of a character’s narrative voice. Character themes are developed through using significant names and epithets, through character attributes both physical and metaphoric, and through cross-referencing different characters within the same novel.

The often-marginalized genre of the epistolary novel is the focus of **Timo Glaser**’s “Liaisons Dangereuses: Epistolary Novels in Antiquity,” which begins with the difficulties involved in defining that which defies “generic boundaries.” It took over 200 years after the time when these letters were realized to be fakes for scholars to take a closer look at their literary value, and several decades after that before a connection was made between these letters and the ancient novel. Starting with the loose definition of “novel in letters,” Glaser describes the overarching characteristics of the epistolary novel using the letters of Chion, Euripides (which surprisingly garner little attention among Euripidean scholars), Paul, and Seneca.

Vladimir Propp’s structural theory provides a set of unifying principles in **Consuelo Ruiz-Montero**’s “The Life of Aesop (rec.G): The Composition of the Text.” Ruiz-Montero argues that *The Life of Aesop* is a “compositional unity” that combines elements of oral and rhetorical traditions typical of the imperial period, but perhaps aimed at a less-educated, less-affluent audience than what near contemporaries, such as Plutarch, would have had in mind. Thematic motifs also exist in the Life that give it coherence, such as Aesop’s cunning. Although one of the more specialized essays in the collection, nevertheless novice and scholar alike will gain insight into *The Life of Aesop* and understand its relationship to the main representatives of the genre.

The authors of ancient novels interacted with and paid homage to not only other novelists, but to authors and texts of all literary types, and such intertextual references are the main focus of the next section, “Influences and Intertextuality.” The religion of Isis is a major

influence in **Stavros Frangoulidis'** essay, "Reception of Strangers in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*: The Examples of Hypata and Cenchreae," which compares and contrasts the reception of strangers and general *hospitium*. Frangoulidis concludes that the poor treatment that Lucius and others receive at the city of Hypata results from ignorance that can be attributed primarily to its inhabitants' belief in magic and reliance on witchcraft to entertain the populace during a festival to the god of Laughter. A secondary cause of ignorance in the proper treatment of strangers lies in Hypata's geographical location in the inland of Thessaly. In contrast, the population of Cenchreae is educated in the ways of *hospitium* because of its inhabitants' devotion to the beneficent goddess Isis and, to a lesser extent, because of its location on the coast.

The gap between epic and novel is not nearly as wide as definitions of the genres might suggest. In fact, in "From the Epic to the Novelistic Hero: Some Patterns of a Metamorphosis," **Luca Graverini** shows that the novelists constantly mine the epics of Homer and Virgil for character portrayals, suggesting at times a parodic relationship, though just as often the result is a meaningful departure from expected characteristics. Theatrical performances are alluded to, and the more salacious aspects of a hero's life (e.g. Achilles' effeminacy) and prominent themes (e.g. the sorrow for Patroclus, loyalty of Penelope, significance of dreams) are played out in ways that suit the medium of prose, especially the necessary happy ending of novels. The nuanced contradictory information that some intertextual references convey continues to be the focus of ongoing scholarly debate.

Judith P. Hallett and **Judith Hindermann** discuss the influence of elegy in "Roman Elegy and the Roman Novel." Petronius and Apuleius engage and echo Catullus, Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid in a host of ways, including language, convention, and theme. For instance, Hallett and Hindermann argue that, in the voyeuristic and sexually charged Quartilla episode of *Satyricon* 16–26, Petronius offers a "resistant reading" of Propertius 4.8 and critiques assumptions central to the genre of Latin love elegy itself. Petronius assumes a readership that is highly educated and looks upon earlier Roman elegists with a cynical eye. Apuleius, on the other hand, who "revealed" the "real" women behind the pseudonyms that elegists employed, more directly embraces and validates the motifs of Roman elegists, for example, love as slavery and the dominance of upper-class men by lower-class women.

Paula James' second chapter, "Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*: A Hybrid Text?," assumes that the reader is familiar with the main gist of Apuleius' novel and will therefore appreciate the finer points in this

series of personal reflections on the novel. Not surprisingly, James' opinion of the *Metamorphoses* has changed over the decades, and she shares those changes by focusing not on one particular aspect or scholarly interpretation, but on a range of Apuleian studies and essays that have caused her to rethink her views on both author and work. The story of Cupid and Psyche is analyzed within the larger context of the "man-becomes-beast" theme of the *Metamorphoses*, an especially rich area of exploration.

Françoise Létoublon's "The Magnetic Stone of Love: Greek Novel and Poetry" shows the influence of Greek poetry in the Greek Anthology on Greek novels, using the metaphor of the magnetic stone not only "as a symbol of love and attraction between the two lovers," but also to show "how the literary genres attract each another and the most recent borrow their word material from their predecessors." Allusions to and the retelling of myths found in epic, tragedy, comedy, and lyric reflect ties to literary antecedents as well as to depictions popular in the visual arts, and the metaphors gleaned add both depth and relevance to the characters in Greek novels. Piracy and the magnetic attraction of love are other themes examined, and the result is an understanding of the importance of education in Greek poetry on the Greek novelists.

Marco Genre joins **Françoise Létoublon** in examining the influences of Greek theatre on Greek novels in "'Respect these Breasts and Pity Me': Greek Novel and Theater." The influence of theatrical performances (both comedy and tragedy) is often overshadowed by the role of epic, for example, the reference to Hecuba's baring her breast to Hector, allusions to which are found in both Chariton and Xenophon. Yet, the scene was referenced in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and Euripides' *Hecuba*, and the way the episode appeared in tragedy probably had a more immediate influence than the original scene in Homer. The vocabulary of Athenian plays likewise influences the novels, with New Comedy being the most obvious. References to theatrical performances, stagecraft, props, and dress permeate the novels and are closer and more relevant to its audience than the older epics.

Petronius' use of poems, which are integral to the plot of his story, do more than enhance the parody and humor in the surrounding prose, according to **Aldo Setaioli** in "Poems in Petronius' *Satyricon*." Some of Encolpius' poems, for example, reveal his reactions to predicaments and the changes in his mood in the midst of an episode. Other poems are recited in Encolpius' role as narrator, and as such represent authorial programmatic references. Some poems are syntactically tied to the prose passages in which they are found, and all poems (with one exception) are complete. Recently discovered

fragments of other fictional accounts in prose and poetry suggest that pairing the two was more common than once thought.

Niall Slater wends his way through stories about a man turned into an ass in the aptly titled “Various Asses.” A recent fifth addition to what appears to be four known ass stories is one of many complications that clouds our understanding as to how these works interact with and respond to each other. Apuleius’ version is Slater’s main focus with extensive passages of Ps. Lucian’s *Onos* compared for content; the newly discovered P. Oxy. 4762 fragment is brought in for its rare dialogue form and mixture of prose and poetry and explained in terms of several possible sources (e.g. Milesian tale, a fragment of Loukios of Patrae). Slater argues that a textual network of ass stories from which authors were able to pick and choose for their own narratives makes more sense than the assumption that one text served as the main source of contamination in subsequent authors. Such a textual network also adds a layer of sophistication to Apuleius’ choice to call his narrator “Lucius.”

In “Greek Novel and Greek Archaic Literature,” **Giuseppe Zanetto** discusses the five canonical Greek novels in light of their most frequently echoed antecedents: the Homeric epics. The plots all breakdown in their simplest forms to the separation, adventures, and reuniting of the male and female characters. Each ancient novel author is aware of and interacts with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in his own way, usually for serious effect, but also for humorous parody. In some instances, Homer is referenced outright, but in others allusion forces the more sophisticated reader to connect a character or incident to the right Homeric one. Homeric allusions and quotations demonstrate the deep learning of all the novelists.

In “*Ekphrasis* in the Ancient Novel,” **Angela Holzmeister** considers how ekphrasis acts and interacts in the novel, in some cases behaving as if it were a character or a hero (in a Bakhtinian sense) of the story. She relies on the discussions of ekphrasis in the *Progymnasmata*, which, though they do not mention the novels, nevertheless provide the earliest material on the subject of ekphrasis applied to the classics (e.g. Homer and Herodotus). Examinations of the use of ekphrasis in the novels at first were limited to digressions on pieces of jewelry or works of art. However, more recent scholarship shows appreciation for how ekphrasis can add meaning to an episode, even to the main plot, especially for alert readers able to recognize the deeper significance that casual readers take only as a pleasant digression. Starting with *Daphnis and Chloe*—the whole story is an ekphrasis—Holzmeister looks at how scholars have advanced our understanding of the role of ekphrasis in the ancient novel.

The final section, “Themes and Topics,” covers areas of interest

that overlap or intersect with ancient novels. **Barry Baldwin** starts with the chapter “*Miscellanea Petroniana: A Petronian Enthusiast’s Thoughts and Reviews*,” which leads the reader through a series of reviews of recent and not-so-recent books that translate, allude to, directly reference, and even turn Petronius himself into the stuff of novels. Two examples serve to represent the lot: Baldwin’s review of Jeffrey Henderson’s *The Satyricon and the Greek Novel: Revisions and Some Open Questions* (2010), which Baldwin calls “The Dating Game,” teems with knowledge worth knowing about Petronius and the *Satyricon*, and with references to relevant interpretations and scholarship. Baldwin’s review of Jesse Browner’s *The Uncertain Hour* (2007), a novel with Petronius as the subject, notes the good and bad and concludes that the work is “a good idea not always good in execution, hence for verdict fall back on *Punch’s* venerable ‘Curate’s Egg.’” Each review or note is worth reading for the depth of knowledge that Baldwin has to share.

In “Love, Myth, and Ritual: The Mythic Dimension and Adolescence in Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe*,” **Anton Bierl** analyzes Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe* as myth, complete with the functions that psychoanalytical theories ascribe to myth. Longus weaves into his written narrative the anxiety that accompanies young love, and the process of moving from childhood to adulthood is similar to a dream sequence. Longus is steeped in pastoral tradition and motifs dating back to Theocritus: by turning his novel into a myth, he creates a coming-of-age story that is appropriate to his own age and, at the same time, timeless.

Ellen Finkelpearl applies a feminist approach in interpreting the power, self-composure, and the abundance of commonsense of the female characters in ancient novels in “Gender in the Ancient Novel.” According to Finkelpearl, female characters are the stars of the ancient novels. The novels themselves subvert male expectations of gender roles by presenting strong, capable women whose wits steal the show and save the day. Heroines of the novels are proof that powerful female role models existed beyond the imperial household.

Sophie Lalanne applies her research in education, rites of passage, and gender roles to this analysis of the five canonical Greek novels and the paradigmatic influence they exerted on society in “Education as Construction of Gender Roles in the Greek Novels.” In general, the hero and heroine tend to be coevals, busy learning lessons together on how to be functioning adults. Not surprisingly, heroines receive less education than their male counterparts; males as a matter of course receive the best upper-class education to become leaders, while females are taught ultimately to play a passive role and be obedient to males. According to Lalanne, the rites of passage that heroes and

heroines undergo—separation, liminality, and reintegration—reinforce the clearly defined gender roles.

In “Greek Love in the Greek Novel,” **John Makowski** looks at the nature of same-sex *eros* in the novels and notes that while heterosexual, romantic love that results in marriage is the main focus of ancient Greek novels, homoerotic love nevertheless finds a place. There are three episodes of homoerotic love in Xenophon’s *Ephesiaka* and Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon* that follow the conventional pattern of Greek pederasty and mirror the love of the main heterosexual couple. The fact that the men in homoerotic relationships help the hero and heroine achieve their romantic ends suggests that their homoerotic relationships will enjoy similar longevity. Gnathon in Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe*, while not in a committed same-sex relationship, nevertheless assists the hero and heroine in finding their marriage. Far from being downgraded in favor of heterosexual love, homosexual characters contribute meaningfully to these narratives.

Claudio Moreschini’s “Latin Culture in the Second Century AD,” offers a broader context for the intellectual world of the ancient novel by discussing Latin authors whose writings coincide with the Second Sophistic and who frequently confront the notion of Greek literary superiority. The first is Fronto, tutor of Marcus Aurelius, whose letters contain consolation, historiography, sophistic encomium, and reveal a fondness for archaism and moderate obscurity of language. Aulus Gellius, like Fronto, seems to have been part of a group of erudite Romanized Africans and also shows a fondness for moderate archaism. Apuleius, another African, shares with Fronto and Gellius the privilege of an excellent education in popular areas of interests: medicine, science, music, and, of course, rhetoric. Apuleius also shares their fondness for archaism and the works of poets from early Roman times up through the Republican neoterics. All three, Fronto, Aulus Gellius, and Apuleius, quote Virgil not because they particularly liked him, but because he was in vogue. Moreschini’s chapter ends with neoteric poets and lesser-known authors of the time.

Peter von Moellendorff’s “τοῦτο ἀληθεύσω λέγων ὅτι ψεύδομαι—Mimet(h)ic *paideia* in Lucian’s *True History*” tackles Lucian’s hybrid approach to *paideia* (“education”) in the *True History*, which integrates diverse mimetic processes and intensifies intellectual endeavor. Thus, the *pepaideumenos* (“educated man”) is a compilation of multiple allusions, and the result engages with the serious purpose of history and literature—to distinguish truth and lies: “everything is relevant if it can be worked, via association, into combinations full of tension and rich with imagery.” Allusions abound in Lucian, and the bringing together of disparate elements is a way to play with the “truth” and

“lie” nature of history. Ultimately, the reader is responsible for extracting his own education from Lucian, which is worth the cost if it leads to an appreciation of Lucian’s points.

Judith Perkins focuses specifically on Christian fiction in “Reimagining Community in Christian Fictions.” Christian fiction often concentrated on the conversion of elite members of society, which Perkins argues was a reaction to changes in civic ideals and an attempt to more closely align disparate social groups. In particular, the Acts of the Apostles seek to co-opt euergetic munificence in the form of alms giving, especially from nouveau riche Christian benefactors. Heroes in the Greek novels lose but regain their fortunes and status, and there is no suggestion of finding unity among the different social classes. Such unity, however, was important in Christian fiction, and generosity to the poor was one of many ways to bring together the elite and lower classes.

In “The Poetics of Old Wives’ Tales, or Apuleius and the Philosophical Novel,” **Stefan Tilg** looks at the story of Cupid and Psyche, which comprises two books for an unusually lengthy digression in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*. The story is narrated by an old woman who is denigrated as feeble and bibulous but who nevertheless is able to console a young, captured woman with this tale of love lost and regained. After examining other interpretations of this instance of an “old wife” telling what amounts to an old wives’ tale, Tilg concludes that Apuleius’ narrator is designed to parody Plato and his philosophy, in particular the *Gorgias* and *Symposium*. For example, Psyche’s *curiositas* in Apuleius recalls the πολυπράγμωνεῖν (“busybody-ness”) that Socrates in the *Gorgias* argues the wise man must avoid, while the story about love (especially Cupid) that the old woman tells connects her to Diotima in the *Symposium*. Tilg also shows that the philosophical implications in using an old woman as a narrator extend to other novels as well.

Martin Winkler’s “Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus: Between Aristotle and Hitchcock” compares elements of the unexpected in the ancient novel and the modern cinema with an emphasis on the similar shock value they produce. Winkler notes that fiction relies on implausible or nearly impossible plot turns to ensure emotional involvement, in which Aristotle preferred probable impossibilities to improbable possibilities. Fake deaths and surprising returns are common fare in Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus, startling audiences through narrative in much the same way that Hitchcock’s shocking death of Marion Crane startled viewers when *Psycho* debuted. Affinities between classical textual and modern visual narratives are numerous, as Winkler demonstrates.

Maria Pia Pattoni uses Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe* to examine

reception studies in “Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe*: Literary Transmission and Reception.” She focuses on the reception of Longus in literature from the rediscovery of his text in the Renaissance to modern times. Early on, Longus was mostly read in the translations of Jacques Amyot, Lorenzo Gambara, Angel Day, and Annibal Caro, who tended to insert their own artistic stamps and imitations of the genre. After a brief period of obscurity from lack of interest, Longus and pastoral in general found new admirers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Pattoni discusses the following authors as having been influenced by Longus: Rémy Belleau, Tasso, Shakespeare, Rousseau, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Goethe, George Sand, and Mishima.

PART I

Novels and Authors

a. Greek

CHAPTER 1

Chariton

Individuality and Stereotype

Graham Anderson

Nothing is known for sure about Chariton of Aphrodisias except what the author himself tells us, namely, that he was a *hypographeus* of the rhetor Athenagoras in what we know well to have been a flourishing city in Caria (Erim 1986). Since much of the novel is set in Asia Minor, the author was on familiar ground, though very little such background detail is necessary. Attempts at dating vary from the late first century BC to the early second century AD: any time during that period is consistent with the limited degree of Atticizing we find in the author's relatively unpretentious style (cf. Ruiz-Montero 1994, 1046ff.; Reardon 1996, 319–323). The single MS ends by calling the story *Callirhoe* rather than the familiar and formulaic *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, which it uses for the individual book headings (Reardon 1996, 315). A papyrus colophon to Book 2 reinforces this title, focusing on the heroine alone.

Chariton's work is generally regarded as the earliest fully extant Greek novel, and this has often given it the status of a paradigm for the genre itself. It certainly answers to standard formulations for the ingredients of the genre: a faithful loving couple, melodramatic adventures, including apparent death, capture by pirates, threats from lustful admirers, and an overall sentimental ethos, but there is a great deal of nuancing, not to say discreet subversion, of what readers of an ideal novel might expect.

Plot and Structure

The plot is in places too dense to allow easy summary, but can be outlined as follows:

Chaereas and Callirhoe, the noblest and most beautiful young people in Syracuse, fall in love and are married. Jealous rivals foment Chaereas' suspicions that Callirhoe is unfaithful, and in a fit of jealousy he kicks her during pregnancy. She is buried, but comes to and is rescued by pirates and sold in Miletus to the local seigneur Dionysius; she bigamously marries him to safeguard the child, whom she passes off as his. However, her kidnapper, the pirate Theron, is found and confesses. Chaereas goes in search of her and is captured and falls into the hands of Mithridates, a Persian satrap who exploits Dionysius' insecurity. The plot culminates in a showdown before the Persian king Artaxerxes in Babylon: Chaereas is dramatically produced in court, and the king reserves judgment on whose wife she is now to be, while indirectly pressuring Callirhoe to yield to himself. A timely war resolves the situation: driven to desperation, Chaereas now becomes a somewhat improbable hero, and captures the king's own wife and Callirhoe. She can now abandon Dionysius, but leaves him the child she has pretended is his, and returns to Syracuse with her original husband. Her son will have the prestige of his foster-father in Asia as well as his real parents in Syracuse.

There is never the sense that the plot is a mere string of random adventures, one of the worst features of Chariton's apparent imitator Xenophon of Ephesus: it is controlled throughout by the focus on the heroine herself, the fact that she has become pregnant by her lawful husband Chaereas, and her being forced to remarry abroad to protect the child. This leaves us always with the question: how can there be a satisfactory conclusion, once she is married to another husband in another country, who believes the child to be his? And what will happen to the child? Chariton's eventual solution is in some respects unexpected, and perhaps not altogether satisfactory; however, we are in the hands of a craftsman who knows how to make the most of a genuinely well-contrived story with carefully controlled suspense.

The author's technical skill extends from the careful escalation of events themselves to the contriving of book divisions at "exciting" moments in the plot. Book 1 sets up the mainspring of the story to the point where Callirhoe has been sold into Dionysius' household (1.14); by the end of Book 2, she has reached the decision to accept Dionysius' marriage proposal in order to save her child by Chaereas (2.10). By the end of Book 3, Chaereas himself has arrived in Asia, but Callirhoe thinks him dead (3.10); by the next break, the intrigues of

Mithridates and Dionysius demand that she be taken to Babylon by the latter, but without being told the reason, and with both Dionysius and herself unaware that Chaereas himself will be there alive and in person (4.7). Book 5 sees the dramatic and climactic production of Chaereas, but we still have no inkling whose husband Callirhoe is to be (5.10); Book 6 sees the intrigue develop as the eunuch Artaxates tries to bring about the seduction of Callirhoe by the king; just before the beginning of Book 7, Tyche decides to start a war, in which Callirhoe is assigned to the king's royal ladies. At the end of the same book, Chaereas has captured Callirhoe and the others, but she is as yet unrecognized. Book 8 begins with the assurance from the author that a happy ending is in sight, but we are still not told how, or indeed what will happen to the child.

Other divisions of the text have been argued, for example, to superimpose the scheme of a (Hellenistic) five-act drama to correspond to frequent comparison in the text to the unfolding of a drama (Perry 1967, 141f.); Reardon (1982, 8) argues for a fourfold division, rightly emphasizing the escalation of *agones*. The most cogent consideration for this author is a threefold escalation between the two husbands and the royal threat to the heroine, abruptly resolved by a fortuitous but obviously convenient war; the writer's own brief intervention at the start of the last book draws a firm line between the real action and the final tidying up.

The Story Itself

There is a widespread assumption that the plot itself is Chariton's own invention: this can scarcely be so in general outline, and need not be the case for much of the detail either. It belongs to a group of popular narratives that can be described as "The Innocent Slandered Maid," which focus on this or that part of Chariton's plot (Anderson 2000, 83–89; cf. Aarne-Thompson-Uther's 2004 revised numbering of Folktale Types 881–883A). Prominent among these materials is an image of the heroine, which provides a key element of recognition, corresponding to Chariton 3.9.1. Most of them tend to solve the plot by making the heroine rise to high authority in her new home while disguised as a man, and find her betrayer and relatives in her power. However, other examples share with Chariton the motif of the heroine's forced marriage and pregnancy in a strange land, sometimes with the question of custody of a child destined for future eminence. One of these, the Old French tale *La Fille du Comte de Pontieu*, which dates from the thirteenth century at the latest, is far too early to have

been influenced by the rediscovered text of Chariton himself, and has been recognized clearly enough as a thinly concealed folktale (Matarasso 1971, 109). There are at least some analogs in antiquity to either *Callirhoe* or *Pontieu*, buried in the mythographer's variants to the tales of Danae, Auge, Semele, Helen, and others. Cueva (2004, 16–19) provides a detailed overview of the versions of the story of Ariadne, to which Chariton himself makes explicit allusion, again with a quasi-historical basis, but that of a much earlier age. Taken together, there is enough evidence that a folktale core in *some* form at least is older than any possible fifth-century historical tradition.

If we view or suspect that the story is a popular tale promoted into sophisticated literature, then we should be able to admire the author's skill accordingly, and without too much trouble with genre description; otherwise, we are stuck with Perry/Reardon labels such as "latter-day Epic for everyman" (Reardon 1982, 15). *Callirhoe* seems to me to make perfect sense as a variant of a fairly familiar traditional tale cleverly, carefully, and still fairly unpretentiously told. We only find ourselves bogged down at a theoretical level if we feel the unnecessary urge to explain why it is not a tragedy. "It doesn't seem very cathartic to us," observes Reardon (1982, 23) about the selling short of the second husband Dionysius. Here, however, I agree with Perry (1967, 138f.) that there may well be some fixture in the initial plot; the *Count of Pontieu* author has similar difficulty at the same point: his heroine had two children by the Sultan of al-Marie and none by her first husband, and she still takes one back home to France!

Some are inclined to see this kind of plot as little more than a recurrent psychological cliché (Egger 1994a, 34f.): "If this storyline sounds familiar, it only indicates how immutable popular themes can be, and how little perhaps some female fantasies have changed"; but readers must judge for themselves between her own summary of the plot and that suggested earlier.

Intrigue and Melodrama

Amid the overall plot, with its tripartite moves from action in Sicily to Ionia to Babylon, there is a great deal of scope for individual intrigue: the initial attempts to frame Callirhoe are meticulously described (1.2ff.), as are the Persian satrap Mithridates' moves against Dionysius of Miletus. His accidental recovery of Chaereas in particular triggers off a complex chain of events: Persians had attacked the hero's ship and sold the survivors; when some had escaped the resulting slavery, all were condemned to be crucified, and only a chance remark of

Chaereas' friend Polycharmus elicits the satrap's attention. It is worth noting that concentrating the intrigue in much shorter compass than the expansive psychological reactions of the characters makes for a fast narrative pace, and so helps to foster a sense that the intrigue is intensifying (cf. Hägg 1971, 89–92).

As to melodrama, which for Reardon (1982) is the principal emphasis of Chariton, we have Chaereas right at the outset pleading for ever-harsher penalties against himself for having supposedly killed Callirhoe (1.5.4f). And at each successive twist of fortune, both hero and heroine expostulate, at what can seem like increasing length, carefully reminding the reader of the unfolding plot as they do so:

Νῦν ὡς ἀληθῶς Καλλιρόη τέθνηκεν. Ἐκ τοῦ τάφου μὲν ἐξήλθον, οὐκ ἔξαξει δέ με ἐντεῦθεν λοιπὸν οὐδὲ Θήρων ὁ ληστής. ὦ κάλλος ἐπίβουλον, σύ μοι πάντων κακῶν αἴτιον. διὰ σέ ἀνῆρέσθην, διὰ σέ ἔπράθην, διὰ σέ ἔγῃμα μετὰ Χαϊρέαν, διὰ σέ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἦχθην, διὰ σέ παρέστην δικαστηρίῳ. πόσοις με παρέδωκας; τάφῳ, λησταῖς, θαλάττῃ, δουλείᾳ, κρίσει. Παντῶν δέ μοι βαρύτερον ὁ ἔρως ὁ βασιλέως. καὶ οὐπω λέγω τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργήν: φοβερωτέραν τὴν τῆς βασιλίδος ζηλοτυπίαν. (6.6.3ff.)

Now Callirhoe truly is dead! I left my tomb once; not even the pirate Theron will take me from here now. My beauty, my treacherous beauty, you are the cause of my troubles. It was because of you I was carried off and sold; because of you I married another after Chaereas; because of you that I was taken to Babylon and brought into a courtroom! How many times have you handed me over to pirates, to the sea, to the tomb, slavery, judgment? But the heaviest burden I have to bear is the king's love! And I have not even mentioned the king's anger yet; to me, yet more frightening is the queen's jealousy.

The last of these fears is not actually developed, but the eunuch Artaxates clearly threatens that the king's anger could extend to harming Chaereas, and it is this genuine breaking point that is just about to be reached by the stroke of the opportune Egyptian war. Chariton's assurance at the beginning of Book 8 that all the melodrama is as good as over is not quite true: Chaereas is still offered to Callirhoe as spoils of war without knowing who she actually is (8.1.6ff.); the king still wants to pursue his intrigue with Callirhoe (though gently dissuaded by Stateira, 8.5.6f.); and Dionysius has still to be left with the delusion that it is he whom Callirhoe really loves (8.5.13f.). Reardon (e.g. Reardon, 1982, 22) sometimes criticizes aspects of the plot: "The Montagu and Capulet theme is a very damp squib in this story." However, in fact, this serves to ignite the whole

action: without the rivalry between the couple's fathers Hermocrates and Ariston, there would be no initial difficulty to afflict the lovers and paradoxically hasten their marriage.

The Literary Texture

It was until quite recently assumed that Chariton presented an unsophisticated simplicity tailored to a very simple and undemanding readership. That is now no longer tenable as a point of view: the texture of quotation and allusion is substantial (Hunter 1994, 1056–1071 *passim*) without being stifflingly learned. Homeric quotations are used as an epicizing feature in their own right, though that in itself might be dismissed as the lowest common denominator of literary currency. However, a phrase from Demosthenes' *de Corona* 169 (1.3.1, cf. 8.1.5) or from the *Cyropaedia* demands recognition on a different level. Some of the historical allusions too seem very pointed in their implication: Chaereas' being taken down from the cross after the mention of the name Callirhoe (4.2f.) offers an amusing distortion of the celebrated rescue of Croesus by Cyrus after his mention of Solon, so memorably described by Herodotus (1.85–89); and there is an air of learned absurdity about Chaereas' taking of Tyre, not simply for military reasons as in the case of Alexander the Great, but as something so trivial as a lover's vengeance.

Moreover, because Chariton's mannerisms are not sophistic, it should not be assumed that his work is any less rhetorical (8.6.12): ὥστε ἐνεπλήσθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις, οὐχ ὡς πρότερον ἐκ πολέμου τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πενίας Ἀττικῆς, ἀλλὰ, τὸ καινότατον, ἐν εἰρήνῃ λαφύρων Μηδικῶν ("so that the whole city was filled, not as previously after the Sicilian war, with the poverty of Attica, but a real novelty, with Persian spoils in time of peace!"). There is also a discreet use of ekphrasis (cf. Hägg 1971, 93–97). In comparison with sophistic novelists, Chariton is not noted for extravagant descriptions; but what he does provide should not be ignored, nor indeed should his technique of setting such scenes. They include the funeral of Callirhoe in Book 1.6, or the furor of the trial scene in Babylon: "Who could fitly describe that scene in court? What dramatist ever staged such an astonishing story? It was like being at a play packed with passionate scenes, with emotions tumbling over each other—weeping and rejoicing, astonishment and pity, disbelief and prayers..." (5.8.2).

To these, we should add the final spectacle of the arrival of Chaereas and Callirhoe (8.6). The emphasis throughout such scenes tends to be on people and their human reactions rather than precious

objects or novelties, though the improvised beauty contest between Callirhoe and Rhodogyne might be seen as a novelty in its own right (5.2f). Sometimes Chariton's phraseology is rather stale: τίς ἄν ἐρμηνεύσειε τὴν ἑκκλησίαν ἑκείνην (who would explain that assembly?), or similar exclamations (1.1.12) seems to occur rather too often, but he is able to let the pressure of characters and events speak for themselves.

The Arts of Recapitulation

One matter of literary technique concerns the problem of reminding the reader what has actually taken place, a problem all the ideal novelists have to face (Hägg 1971, 245–287). Chariton is not content with the *Liebespaar's* expostulations. He also presents Hermocrates at the end of Book 8, encouraging Chaereas to tell his story: he himself skips over the embarrassing beginning in short order, but dwells just long enough on events to remind the reader how it all began. Chaereas is then able to take over (8.7), giving a distinctly “Syracusan” gloss on Dionysius’ marriage to Callirhoe: it was to preserve the life of a citizen of Syracuse (the child) that Callirhoe has allowed herself the feigned marriage to Dionysius. And, characteristically for the curious crowd, the Syracusans more than once interrupt the narrative so that Chaereas will be able to leave nothing out.

Humor

Chariton's handling is now acknowledged to show some lightness of touch, though there is a good deal of variation in the way scholars are prepared to formulate such an effect: the prejudices from Rohde to Perry, based first on wildly wrong dating and then on prejudgment of the audience, have now largely faded. What seemed to Reardon to be opera (1989, 20) seems to this author to be operetta (Anderson 1982, 21), given the consistency with which grand gestures are able to be undermined. Much will depend on how incidental comic touches are seen to be: they seem in particular to be applied with some frequency to the situations of the lovers themselves, so that at least some of their pathetic monologues are smiled at with reference to “those not in love,” as when Polycharmus has to prise the lovers from each other (8.1.9f.):

ἄφωνος δὲ καὶ Πολύχαρμος τὸ πρῶτον εἰσιτήκει πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον, χρόνου προιόντος “ἀνάστητε” εἶπεν, “ἀπειλήφατε ἀλλήλους” τοιαυτὰ ἔμβοωντος, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἐν φρέατι βαθεὶ βεβαπτισμένοι μόλις ἄνωθεν φωνήν ἀκούσαντες.

At first Polycharmus too could only stand there, struck speechless by this miracle. But after a time he said “Get up! You have recovered each other” He had to shout: they were like people plunged deep in a well who could scarcely hear a voice calling from above.

Attitudes to humor often affect the way we interpret other details. Reardon, on the whole opposed to it, says of the resolution by Tyche (1982, 22): “To do him justice, Chariton seems acutely conscious of the operation of tyche in his story, and one suspects that he is embarrassed by it.” Why should he be? It is just as barefaced as his break in the illusion to say there will be no more of this sort of thing in the final book. In both cases, he seems to me to be smiling at the creaking mechanics of the plot.

Historical Flavor

Much has been made of the historical coloring of the story; it has long been noted that an incident in the reign of Dionysius I of Syracuse had a bearing on the events. Here, an unnamed daughter of Hermocrates who marries the tyrant is outraged by a group of soldiers, and commits suicide (Plut. *Dion* 3; cf. Perry 1967, 137ff.); and the layers of historical veneer have been steadily mounting (Plepelits 1976, 14–19; Hägg 1987; Hunter 1994, 1056–1064 among others). Hunter (1994, 1056) notes the progressive deviation from historically not quite compatible names Hermocrates and Artaxates (Mnemon) and his wife Stateira to simply plausibly historicizing ones. That is all that is needed to pull off the stroke of marrying off Hermocrates’ daughter, who did indeed marry a Dionysius, to a Chaereas who smartly combines feats of Xenophon, Leonidas, Chabrias, Alcibiades, and Alexander the Great, all in pursuit of a love affair in which he has so far been almost an arch-weakling! A general air of the *Cyropaedia* may be significant not only for Chariton but for the history of the genre (Hunter 1994, 1058f.). It has gone unnoticed that the distinctive gang-rape motif that attends the daughter of Hermocrates in the historical record corresponds to the gang-rape of the Count of Pontieu’s daughter in the Medieval tale, and is toned down to a mere false *accusation* of immoral behavior in Chariton. There is clearly more to

be done on the comparative front.

However, the anti-historical spirit is the author's own gloss: democratic assemblies seem to serve no better purpose than to decree a "celebrity marriage" for Chaereas and Callirhoe (1.1). There is a cheerfully chauvinistic flavor to much of this: after all, Callirhoe's father Hermocrates had famously beaten the Athenians in the Sicilian campaign, as they themselves had the Persians, so what does a daughter of Hermocrates have to fear? Some wish to see in this approach a kind of provinciality (as in Theron's gibe at Athens, 1.11.6f.), but another explanation is possible: the power of Eros devalues and trivializes any historical event, to the author's own evident delight:

"Noble Hermocrates, great general, save Chaereas! That will be your finest monument! The city pleads for the marriage, today, of a pair worthy of each other!" Who could describe that assembly? It was dominated by Eros. Hermocrates loved his country and could not refuse what it asked. When he gave his consent, the whole meeting rushed from the theatre. (1.1.11f.)

Characterization

Chariton has long been recognized for his care with characterization, but the hero and heroine have been interpreted in different ways. Chaereas used to be taken to task for his fecklessness and for relying on his sidekick Polycharmus (cf. Rohde 1914, 527f.; also Bowie 1985, 47); there might also be inconsistency when he is spurred to devil-may-care desperation that leads to military success. However, here we have the lover as hero rather than the hero as lover. He is basking in epic or historical comparison with Achilles, Hector, Theseus, Alexander, or his own near-homonym the Athenian mercenary Chabrias, only to wallow in despair, suicidal rhetoric, and sheer ineptitude, until put on the right track by his ever faithful Patroclus, Polycharmus. He has the appearance of a man in the New Comic street forced into a heroic mold which the author and his readership know to be completely incongruous: that does not really have to make him either a new type of hero or a less satisfactory one (cf. Bowie 1985, 47). The author relies on the principle that all the world loves a lover, to make that lover as inept as possible: he is an expert at encompassing his own death, wishing grotesque punishment for his initial kick to Callirhoe (1.5.5), begging to be re-crucified by Mithridates (4.3.9), or to commit suicide in front of the royal palace

as an affront to the great king (7.1.6). Nor, for that matter, is the much more self-possessed Dionysius a stranger to amorous suicide plans in his turn (3.1.1).

The *Liebepaar* have much in common with the New Comic hero and heroine: boy and girl straight out of a Syracusan soap when they are not luxuriating in their ancestry (cf. Konstan 1994, 74f.). The pregnancy if nothing else ensures a greater prominence for Callirhoe, and here there is no balancing lustful overture from either sex for Chaereas to fight off on his own account: the plot itself dictates the characterization and not vice versa. Both principal characters are masters of melodramatic rhetoric (4.1.11f.): “First you buried me, in Syracuse, and now I am burying you in Miletus. Our misfortunes are not only great, they are also hard to believe: we have buried each other’s dead body.” Reardon (1982, 13 f.) still harbors a trace of Rohde’s and Perry’s contempt:

If Dionysius and the King are too civilised, Chaereas and Callirhoe themselves are even less effective; they are really attitudes, sensitized personality-matter rather than people with real emotions ... the principal people are only half-alive. Perhaps we cannot really maintain that Chariton has consciously profound things to say about life or love, or people, in universal terms.

To suggest that somehow Chariton *should* have seems to me to miss the point. Of course, Chariton manipulates homunculi in the grip of love or, in the case of minor characters, personal gain or ambition, but he has to be acknowledged as a skilled puppeteer.

Minor characters too are given meticulous attention. Theron, in particular, is both entertaining and flamboyant, and a consummately professional villain; it is illuminating to contrast him with his opposite number, Thyamis in Heliodorus: idealistic, noble, and a good deal more verbose (*Aethiopica* 1.19f.). Even the possible recruits to Theron’s pirate band are not consigned to mere anonymity: Zenophanes of Thourii and Menon of Messina have their advantages and disadvantages carefully reviewed by their lively master (1.7.2). We are never actually told, and will never know, whether these two made Theron’s final selection. There are carefully contrived cameo roles too for Dionysius’ servant Leonas and his steward Phocas’ wife, Plangon, who play a key part in contriving Callirhoe’s bigamous marriage to Dionysius in the first place.

He himself, as seigneur of Miletus and innocent dupe of Callirhoe’s plans, is given an unusual role as the novelists go: a rival to whom neither the reader nor even the heroine can be unsympathetic: one thinks of the much more fleeting threat Melite in Achilles Tatius. And here we have a critical detail: because he is of impeccable good

manners, we cannot so confidently know or anticipate as we can with the King of Persia that he is destined to drop out of the running when he does: in the end, his Ionian Greek breeding, his *paideia*, and his impeccable good manners avail him nothing, except the delusion that Callirhoe loves him (8.5.13f.). Reardon (1982, 13) suggests that “Dionysius and the King are too civilised to set the world, or this story, on fire.” However then, the plot is so strongly contrived that they do not need to.

The mass of mankind are drafted in frequently to act as a kind of chorus able to comment on the action at critical points. The Syracusans are able to match-make for the *Liebespaar* before they themselves exercise any initiative at all; and they are there again at the end to cheer on Chaereas’ return in triumph to the Grand Harbor in Syracuse (1.1.11f., 8.6.10f.). In between, we find the crowd in Babylon improvising a beauty contest between Callirhoe and Rhodogyne, a local Persian beauty (5.2f.).

Chariton is noteworthy for his observations of the emotional reactions of all his characters. Time and again, he exploits the devastating effect of Callirhoe’s beauty on those who have not set eyes on her: Leonas contrives her exhibition to Dionysius, while the Persian women warn Stateira of her beauty and are not believed. We are constantly assured that this or that pattern of behavior is natural in a lover, or a barbarian, or a woman: a Menandrian sense of *to prepon* is hard to avoid.

Sexuality

Each of the literary Greek novels has its own individualizing of sexuality. Chariton’s can be seen as the most strait-lacedly romantic, with virtually no hints of impropriety or breaks in the moral fabric: the author’s own programme in Book 8 underlines as much (ἐρωτες δίκαιοι < καὶ > νόμμοι γάμοι: “legitimate unions and sanctioned marriage” [8.1.4]). We have a reticent treatment of the marriage itself, so much so that Callirhoe’s pregnancy is actually the cue for the first admission that there has been any sexual activity at all (2.8.4; cf. Hunter 1994, 1072f.). We have also a very coy submission of Callirhoe to the overtures of Dionysius: it is, she stipulates, to be for the sake of procreation not for pleasure. Theron and his crew think in terms of profit, and not of enjoying Callirhoe for themselves, while the great king’s flirtations or attempts at such are very much in the mind of the reader rather than in any explicit detail.

Several decades of feminist scholarship have naturally underlined

the feisty character of Callirhoe (Egger 1994a, 37: “subtle traces of Callirhoe sabotaging a few gender norms”), though it has to be underlined that part of this is actually defined in terms of her being the daughter of Hermocrates. However, Haynes (2003, 51) formulates the matter succinctly: “female intelligence and initiative are less upsetting to authorial sensibilities when firmly connected with conjugal loyalty and displayed well off the public stage.” Although there is some objectification of Callirhoe, it is as much a Persian one (6.4) as a universal “male gaze”: even if Dionysius’ servants admire her when bathing, would Dionysius have objectified her in anything like the way the king is made to do? For the determined feminist, even this all-female audience of Callirhoe’s bathing seems to stand in for “the male gaze...”. Much of the rest of the time, the heroine, like Chaereas, is prone to despairing expostulation, typical enough of the novels’ female protagonists, but of their heroes as well. And in extant ancient fiction, it is only in Chariton that there is an actual abortion debate, first between Plangon and Callirhoe, and then a three-way debate between the unborn child, Callirhoe, and the absent Chaereas (2.10).

Cultural Norms and Ethos

The social hierarchies of the story are insisted upon and yet subverted throughout. Dionysius is quick to insist to Leonas that the as-yet-unseen Callirhoe cannot be beautiful, as she is only a bought slave (2.1.5): the reader already knows he will be bowled over at the sight, and that “love levels all ranks.” In general, there is a sense that Eros is in charge of the plot, and is able to rewrite the rules whenever an opportunity presents itself.

Moreover the human characters tend to be governed by a defensive sort of jealousy: Chaereas’ own suspicions are easily fuelled by the slanders about Callirhoe in Book 1, and Dionysius is even more inclined to feel insecure, especially once Chaereas is known to be in Asia. He brings down the court case on himself when he could have left well alone and might easily have dealt with Chaereas on his own initiative, but instead exposes himself to the unhealthy interest of the great king (4.7.7). The other force might be described as amorous curiosity: time and again everyone wants to see Callirhoe, on whatever pretext. The result is that love turns the whole political and diplomatic machinery upside down; even during a war, the king is thinking of Callirhoe, shameful or unworthy as he might realize this to be (6.9.5).

There has been some determination in the past to brand Chariton as “Hellenistic” (notably Reardon 1982 and 1989), and his outlook as narrow and provincial: even dating to as late as the second century AD would not of itself rule out such a characterization. However, it would be hard to insist too strongly on insuperable differences between *Callirhoe* and the romantic interludes in Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*, for example. What is clear is an emphasis on hierarchy and propriety and a Hellenistic value system, even when the characters as lovers can be expected repeatedly to undermine their own standards of behavior.

There is no obvious religious agenda in Chariton, such as to call for the explanations in Merkelbach’s *Roman und Mysterium*, but recourse to Aphrodite is prominent, symmetrically opening and closing the novel. There is an interesting nuance in the use of Aphrodite and Eros: in general, Aphrodite is the protectress of Callirhoe, and Eros the arch-contriver and intriguer, who traditionally regards moral scruple or hesitation as a form of arrogance against himself.

Greek and Barbarian

Interest in ethnicity has increased in the past decades, and Chariton provides a spectrum of contrasts between Greek and barbarian. Occasionally, there is a touch of nobility on the Persian side, and the great king is sometimes presented in that light, but Persian servility is emphasized, especially when Callirhoe’s honor is threatened (6.7.12). Lower ranks are thoroughly despised, none more so than the eunuch Artaxates, who brings out Callirhoe’s most feisty gestures of defiance. And Egyptian overvaluing of royalty also comes in for a swipe (7.6.6): “Given the innate superstition that barbarians feel towards the royal title, he could not bring himself to approach her...” However, the beauty contest is not as straightforward either as it might have been: while there is the obvious chauvinism of Greek triumphing over barbarian beauty, the female audience divides on grounds of moral approval, with the attractive ladies jealous and so against Callirhoe, and the less attractive approving of her outshining the local beauties (5.4.2). Here, as so often, Chariton’s interest in human motivation overrides mere caricature. Similarly, Stateira as the Persian queen, especially in her rapport with Callirhoe, is as often as not human first and only incidentally Persian (8.4.10): “The women would have gone on talking and weeping and embracing each other if the helmsman had not given the orders to put to sea.” Women are women first and foremost, and so they must gossip and be emotional to the last. On the

other hand, the King of Egypt is treated with total neutrality, since Chaereas conveniently allies to him.

Readership

The readership of Chariton cannot be divorced from that of the ideal novels in general. Few would now argue for Perry's notorious formula that these works were destined for "the poor in spirit," or exclusively insist on the still more widely held notion of a female readership. Such comment as we may have on Callirhoe (as in Philostratus *Ep.* 66) is distinctly patronizing, and seems to hold the popularity of Callirhoe against its author. Lesky had long ago suggested that the two women of Theocritus 15 could have been suitable readers for Greek novels; rising valuations of the genre might not hesitate to suggest that it could have won the approval of Plutarch, or for that matter of his wife. However, recent views as of Stephens (1994), Bowie (1994), and Hägg (1994, with Bowie's reply in Schmeling 1996) testify to the difficulty of agreeing on the cultural level of readership, and throw some doubt on the notion of a "reading public" of the kind we ourselves so readily take for granted. More than one level of readership, including an oral audience, cannot be ruled out, though cultivated private reading seems appropriate to the overall educational level. Bowie's (1985, 48) succinct "they had the *paideia* of Dionysius and might dream of having his rank" is smartly appealing, but can only raise further questions. Moreover, modern reading habits can themselves hardly be generalized upon with much confidence.

Conclusion

So how does Chariton handle the conventions of the genre? Before the end of the first book, we already have what could easily have been the *grand guignol* of *Scheintod*, followed by capture by pirates. However, Chariton is able to avoid farce, other than of his own contriving, by the foil effect of his characterization of the pirate Theron. His scheming in effect masks the obvious absurdity of two such melodramatic events in quick succession (compare the ineptitude of such successions of events in Xenophon of Ephesus). And once that difficulty has been negotiated, the inexorability of events takes over. The next absurdity we might see in the parallel events that happen to Chaereas when he is saved from crucifixion. However, on that

occasion, the melodrama has been “allowed” by the possibilities opening up: now that Chaereas and Callirhoe are near each other, the games of “who knows what when” can take their course, and will in effect last until Book 8. Chaereas’ military career again beggars belief, but the frustrated lover can by this time readily combine the careers of the 300 Spartans on the one hand (Chaereas can claim to be Dorian), and Xenophon’s 10,000 on the other, at an actually convincing pace. And Hermocrates’ defeat of the Athenians who beat the Persians, which no one could refute, lends credibility (of a kind) to any military and naval escapades to rescue his daughter.

The relationship to the other ideal novels has something to tell us. Often, it is tempting to bracket Chariton with Xenophon of Ephesus as “presophistic,” but the two are really poles apart in technique and spirit, and although both begin with marriage and end (almost) with the lovers reunited in bed, the key difference is that Xenophon appears as naive as his characters and cannot smile at anything or anyone. Chariton can find something to smile about—albeit often quite affectionately in any situation. And the plot is also quite different, despite the undoubted similarity of melodramatic clichés.

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CHAPTER 2

Daphnis and Chloe

Innocence and Experience, Archetypes and Art

Jean Alvares

Longus offers an apparently simple story in his *Daphnis and Chloe*, a bestseller among the Greek novels (Reardon 1994, 135; citing Giles 1989). Yet, because of its employment of archetypal elements, evocation of philosophy and religion, dense (and occasionally jarring) intertextuality and manipulation of literary conventions, and multiple implied authors and readers, interpretations of the work are bound up in readerly attitudes. Winkler (1990a, 104) compared himself to an anthropologist in discussing *Daphnis and Chloe*, but a better comparison would be to a psychotherapist with a sophisticated literary-critical bent. The story is a robust exploration of interactions with desire, not only erotic desire, but also desire for multiple ideal, indeed mythical, longings. It shares with pastoral, its step-parent, the superpositioning of contradictions (on Longus as a pastoral writer, see Effe 1999, 192–193 and Hunter 1983, 1), such as between a supposedly simple depiction of nature and the elaborate artifice employed between *muthos* and *logos*, between seriousness and parodic nonsense. *Daphnis and Chloe* continually and self-consciously reflects upon the elements of its own production and interpretation. All this is performed in the ludic spirit of a comedy of innocence, where the non-innocent world and even trauma are never forgotten, a stance familiar to pastoral (Segal 1981, 12). This story and the later romances present a decentered Hellenism and narratives that accommodate various ways of reading—for example, the morally satisfying conclusion that feature marriage and tableaux of social unity or the individual episodes, side plots, and digressions that proceed in counter to the

overarching “ideal” plot (Whitmarsh 2011). Nevertheless, while my analysis will detail many elements that allow the discerning reader to appreciate multiple interlayerings of significance (including some Lacanian perspectives¹), my central “way of reading” will focus on those archetypal mythic patterns, themes, and other elements that make *Daphnis and Chloe* the most ideal of the ideal Greek novels.

Nothing is known directly about Longus himself (for details on manuscripts, date, and Longus’ identity, see Hunter 2003, 367–370, and 1983, 1–15; Morgan 2004, 1–2). Although “Longus” is a familiar Roman name and occurs in inscriptions, no firm evidence shows that he was from Lesbos, although he may have been familiar with the geography (see Bowie 1985 and Mason 1979, 1995). There are substantial literary reasons for a setting in Lesbos. Longus certainly belonged to the Greco-Romanizing elite of the high empire and participated in that literary movement described (problematically) as the Second Sophistic. The period for the setting of *Daphnis and Chloe* is Classical or Hellenistic: city-states are independent, can make war on each other, and employ a style of warfare suited to either period. However, the absentee landlord Dionysiophanes and his landed wealth (Saïd 1999, 93–94) recall the Roman Empire more than Classical Greece.

By Longus’ time, the romance had matured and become more innovative (Whitmarsh 2011) compared to such predecessors as Chariton’s *Callirhoe* and Xenophon of Ephesus’ *Ephesiaka*. Consider Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon*, which was probably written close to Longus’ time (Alvares 2006, 1–33). Achilles Tatius employs plot elements familiar from the Greek romance in an often grotesque fashion (Anderson 1982, 23–32; Chew 2000, 57–70), while in Longus these same elements are decidedly (and sometimes comically) trimmed down (Anderson 1982, 41–42; Morgan 2004, 4; also Effe 1999, 191–193). Both *Daphnis and Chloe* and *Leucippe and Clitophon* deal extensively with the protagonists’ maturation and their relationship to normative erotic experience and Greek *paideia* (Anderson 1993; Swain 1996; Whitmarsh 2001). In *Daphnis and Chloe*, the protagonists, native Greeks, are saved despite a lack of *paideia*, while the over-sophisticated Clitophon, a Hellenized Tyrian, becomes a proper hero *despite* his *paideia*. Both narratives begin with an ekphrasis, but the narrators hold opposite attitudes toward their respective tales: Longus’ frame-narrator is ecstatic and visionary, while Clitophon seems pensive and troubled, and the reader wonders if Leucippe was lost to him after all. Achilles Tatius’ sprawl in *Leucippe and Clitophon* seems to lead nowhere, not even to secure happiness for the protagonists or much edification for the reader. *Daphnis and Chloe*, despite its small scale, accomplishes grand aims, a testimony to Eros’

power and to a utopian vision of a reconstructed society that touches the present.

Most notably, *Leucippe and Clitophon* details the complex process through which the love of Clitophon and Leucippe matures. Longus likewise explicitly makes the erotic maturation from childish innocence to a married and mated couple the central plot development, with nearly all other elements serving that end (Zeitlin 1990). Accordingly, *Daphnis and Chloe* provides impressive evidence for what Greco-Roman culture thought about desire, its pleasures and obstacles, as well as the nature of sexual identity and the relations between the sexes in their social contexts.

Actual erotic practice, especially urban practice, is clearly problematical, and the narrator's account, which promises corrective instruction, presents a myth of how Eros himself has made Daphnis and Chloe his personal project. Daphnis and Chloe can be seen as Eros' *second* project. Eros was watching over Amyrillis and Philetas (2.5.3); the latter, now retired, cultivates his garden and supervises the pastoral milieu,² but Eros then begins watching over Daphnis and Chloe. Eros is crafting a *muthos* about Chloe, one celebrated in the shrine that the narrator visits and subsequently in the narrator's text/offering. Therefore, all happenings, from the children's' exposure and rescue to the final recognition of Chloe and their marriage, are part of Eros' plan, which is that aristocratic youth of excellent pedigree should learn of love and its practices in something like its original innocence amid nature and within the pastoral world, where, protected by rural gods, they will be only gradually introduced to urban culture and its amatory problematics, until their aristocratic origins are revealed and they are wed, creating together a new hybrid, an improved form of behavior and social life for rustics and urbanites alike.

The less-than-reliable frame-narrator constantly idealizes the countryside. However, presumably limited by experiential, temperamental, and ideological factors, showing condescension and even contempt toward the countryside (see Saïd 1999, 83–88), he includes more naturalistic details that the author tends to underplay (Morgan 2003, 178–179, and 1994, 65; Winkler 1990a, 107–112; Reardon 1994, 135–147; Saïd 1999, 97–107; Pandiri 1985, 116–141). Winkler (1991, 20; also Goldhill 1995, 30–45) correctly notes that the violence inherent in *Daphnis and Chloe's* "erotic protocols" and that the lives of Chloe (and Daphnis too) are increasingly constricted as they mature. In most classical myth and literature, intense erotic desire leads to tragedy, and in the concrete practice of elite marriages, mutual love had little importance, nor much equality. However, in the romances, love wins out, with more equality between the couple

(Konstan 1994). Further, embodied love needs a proper social context to thrive, and thus the romance (and *Daphnis and Chloe* in particular) incorporates ideal notions about society and culture, as well as pastoral.

A fundamental literary theme connects to the dream of innocence and personal integrity (Frye 1976, 86). The usual threats—rivals, pirates, war—are downplayed in the novel, for the real threat to the questing Daphnis and Chloe comes from the forces of social convention. *Daphnis and Chloe* details the transition from childhood to adulthood, from innocence to experience. Pastoral often conveys a nostalgic longing for childhood simplicity, projected into the natural, rural landscape, but, as recent scholarship shows, pastoral is not an escape from awareness of the limits and evils of life; it is simply a different way of confronting them (Segal 1981, 6–8). Daphnis and Chloe must move from the world of *muthos* to that of *logos*, which corresponds to the divide between fiction and truth, a division the text thematizes (Carson 1998; Hunter 1983, 47, 114; Morgan 1994, 117–119). The realm of *muthos* and fiction has greater imaginative and emotional freedom, where truer human desire is expressed and even gained, while the world of *logos*, the Lacanian Word of the Father, can alienate individuals from themselves and each other by rendering them as objects, with more duties, but less freedom. I agree that Longus accepts some violence and oppression as the necessary if often saddening sacrifice one pays for becoming an adult member of society (Chalk 1960, 46; Turner 1960, 122). The novel's unsettling details evidence an awareness, and even protest, against this necessity.

Compare the beginning of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and *Daphnis and Chloe* (Morgan 2001). Both present imperfect narrators offering tales of transformation, education, and even salvation, with Apuleius' product more problematical, and both narrators show a sort of double perspective on events.³ Much current opinion maintains that the prologue's "I" is not the Lucius of the main story, an unreliable narrator prone to various forms of idealization (see essays in Kahane and Laird 2001). In Longus' prologue, the implied "I" is likewise an authorly construct (Morgan 2003, 171–189; Winkler 1990b, 106–107): a narrator of a story whose full significances and depths elude him. For example, the narrator does not perceive the connection between the painting he sees and the dedication Daphnis and Chloe set up, does not notice how serious the sex-play Daphnis and Chloe engage in is, is strangely silent about Philetas' paeon to Eros, and fails to appreciate Lycainion's real role (Morgan 2003, 182–189). Indeed, because *Daphnis and Chloe* is ostensibly the work of a narrator inspired by an exegete's tale of the history behind a painting, readers should suspect that, like the narrator, they will need to work out a fuller

interpretation. Both Longus and Apuleius offer blendings of realism and fantasy, and raise questions concerning their status as works of fiction, and the significance of fiction itself (Morgan 1994, 73ff).

The hermeneutic games begin in the preface (Hunter 1983, 38–51; Kestner 1973; Pandiri 1985): “In Lesbos, while hunting, in a grove of the Nymphs I saw the most beautiful thing, a painted picture, a history of Love.” The first line denotes an evocative location, Lesbos, and a significant activity, hunting, which can denote “aggressive seeking.” Clearly, the frame-narrator, a lover of beauty and a sophist, is seeking more than a game. He recalls those young men of myth who, while hunting, come upon a deity, often a nymph, and are transformed, usually tragically. A conversion/salvation experience occurs: the narrator has unexpectedly come upon a sacralized *locus amoenus*, and the reference to the beauty of the sight of the painting, which presents various episodes that, at least in the narrator’s opinion, are “all pertaining to love” and echo the *Phaedrus* and the recognition of the form of the beautiful (Hunter 1997, 23–27; Pandiri 1985, 118). The painting, the sight of beauty, and the story recalled to him the inevitable powers of love that he had forgotten (Alvares 2006, 19). Note how Longus arranges scenes rather like painted set pieces, giving a pictorial quality (Mittelstadt 1967, 752–761). Here arise questions of representation: painting or literature and reality or imitation; the narrator’s reaction to the painting itself recalls Lucian’s point in *De Domo* that a properly educated gentleman should not be stupefied by a beautiful sight, but should produce a composition equal (or even superior) to the original (Hunter 1983, 40–45; Zeitlin 1990, 432–434). The painting resides in a sacred area, a pilgrimage site, provided with an exegete who supplies the sacred tale (Zeitlin 1990, 422). The experience fills him with a longing (*pothos*) to compose something in response. *Daphnis and Chloe* is a votive dedication (*anathema*) to Eros’ power. This production of carefully crafted sophistry combines the pleasant (in its sweetness), harmony, and even musicality (Chalk 1960, 37; Hunter 1983, 84–98; Zeitlin 1990, 453) with what is educational and therefore useful (on this reference to Thucydides, see Hunter 1983, 47–50; Luginbill 2002, 233–247; Pandiri 1985, 117–119; Valley 1926, 102). His prayer to retain his *sophrosyne* could be a plea to keep his thoughts chaste while dealing with material potentially pornographic (Goldhill 1995, 13–14; Rhode 1914, 549; Wolfe 1912, 130). Or, recalling the *Phaedrus*’ Socrates, it can be a prayer to avoid a kind of inspired nympholepsy (Hunter 1997, 26–27). For Eros is Desire, which can bring up the sublime and feelings hardly accommodated by the socio-symbolic system by which we and our desires are constructed (Evans 1996, 201–203; Homer 2005, 33–45; Zizek 1991).

Longus creates and maintains an extensive pastoral world. Pastoral recalls Middle-Eastern myths of shepherds such as Dumuzi and primal paradises such as Eden. As Halperin (1983) and Berg (1965) show, Theocritus' Daphnis bears the "religious aura" of the Middle-Eastern shepherd god, passive and loveable, who is connected to the landscape, but dies tragically, and is universally mourned. Longus' recollection of the Theocritean Daphnis challenges standards of myth and pastoral, for his Daphnis will be both an iconic representative of a world, yet non-tragic. Yet, note how the Daphnis of *Idyll* I differs from Daphnis the happy victor over Menalcas in *Idyll* 9, or the seducer of *Idyll* 27 (Hunter 1983, 22–31). Further, a long tradition contrasted rural simplicity with urban decadence, and the comparison between city and country formed part of the rhetorical tradition. This contrast can also be observed in Dio of Prusa's *Hunters of Euboea*, one of the many works of an era that showed an increased interest in country life (Effe 1999, 196–200). These works express the sense that urbanites have been cut off from the natural world, its gods, and its harmonies, corrupted by the artificialities of human culture, and their longing for some return. However, in *Daphnis and Chloe*, the city-country opposition is lessened by details that undercut claims that his rustics are significantly morally superior (Saïd 1999, 98–104). Longus' conceit, noted earlier, is that these superlative children will develop in the countryside a better form of amatory and social behavior that is useful for *both* city and country.

New Comedy, another quasi-utopian genre, is an equally important influence (Heiserman 1977, 130–145; Hunter 1983, 67–70; Pandiri 1985, 139; Zeitlin 1990, 427–428), introducing plot elements foreign to pastoral and disturbing the rustic cosmos (Reardon 1994, 135–147; also Pandiri 1985, 116 and n. 3). The transition from pastoral to New Comedy represents movement from the relatively protected pastoral *locus amoenus* to an engagement with urban reality and ideology. The couple's erotic maturation is paralleled by their social maturation, also coordinated with increasing invasions of the countryside by city-folk; first the Tyrian pirates, then the Methymnian youths, followed by the Methymnian invasion, then Lycainion, and finally Dionysiophanes' party. The *telos* of New Comedy, and thus of Longus' novel, conforms to Frye's meta-genre of comedy (1957, 163–171), which concerns the formation of a new, more ideal society that marriage symbolizes, which is only achieved after obstacles are overcome, knowledge and identity gained, and, often, prior wrongs righted.

Longus' depictions of the "natural" are conventions, often overused, from pastoral, elegy, and so forth. Thus, not even knowing the name of love, Daphnis and Chloe spontaneously reproduce behaviors (pelting each other with apples, indulging in soliloquies,

exchanging oaths, etc.) familiar from the romantic and erotic genres, as if the literary was somehow also the natural. Such an interplay between the natural and art, raising complex questions about representation and mimesis (Zeitlin 1990, 430–444), was a characteristic of pastoral as well as New Comedy. Pastoral itself is the sophisticate's reflection upon his world, which is always in the background as antithesis. It is an apparent retreat into a simpler life informed with the beautiful, harmonious, and aesthetically agreeable, with the romantic-sentimental dream that these beauties could be natural, the world more human. The aesthetic art has brought out a preexisting beauty compatible with human sensibilities (Alpers 1996, 1–43). It is also a space (often quasi-divine) with leisure (and divine protection) enough for humans to enjoy. Pastoral, framing the everyday in art, brings out the mythical in the ordinary and even humble (Segal 1981, 4). Through an art that constantly, densely, and self-consciously imitates art as well as nature,⁴ Longus' world gains the aura of the natural, not natural as a mimesis of nature-as-it-is, but rather natural as a distillation of the processes of human art, a sort of "effect of the real." As noted earlier, there is a lightness of touch, a certain ironic and ludic spirit, in which art plays amid memories of innocence lost, although a "smutty" reading remains possible. At its best, the pastoral art "has the regenerative power to recapture a lost sympathy between man and nature, a lost harmony between intellect and feeling, a paradisiacal garden where the tree of life stands and love and innocence can coexist" (Segal 1981, 12; also Frye 1957, 99–101, 152–153). Thus, when the frame-narrator mimics stylized pastoral conventions, he partially embeds his own world within the pastoral mood-vision and its significances.

Longus has given *Daphnis and Chloe* the aura of myth, and archetypal patterns are accordingly important for interpretation. Not only does the name "Daphnis" have various associations with demigods, but Chloe was a title of Demeter (Hunter 1983, 17). Longus has blended the idealizing meta-genres of romance, with its depiction of the hero's life and quest, and comedy, with its emphasis on the breaking of falsehood and improper rules and the creation of a new society (Frye 1957, 186–195, 316–324 on romance; 43–48, 163–171 on comedy). The story of Daphnis and Chloe conforms to the hero paradigm (Rank 1959, 14–64; also Frye 1957, 186–206 and 1976, 65–93), which gives the plot its overall structure: a child of high rank, through some prior crime, loses his birthright, is raised in a pastoral setting, and then, after various complications (including occasional heroic action, the performance of a quest, and divine favor), regains his status, often bringing renewal to his people. The comic recognition/triumph plot is a displaced version of this hero paradigm.

Pastoral's static quality is faulted as providing no vision of action applicable to the reader's world (Alpers 1996, 33–34, who cites Schiller 1985, 211). However, the mythic paradigm of the hero's maturation and triumph, coupled with the seasonal progression, gives a forward motion that leads naturally to the New Comic plot moments of Book 3 and, especially, Book 4. The fact that this tale uses such archetypal actors, actions, and setting gives it a sense of being a sort of founding myth (Heiserman 1977, 143; Zeitlin 1990, 422), which also fits their status as marvelous children destined to be transformative agents. Indeed, the depiction of the couple's story, and the focus of a pilgrimage site, inspires the frame-narrator and closes the temporal circle and points to the possibility of creative repetition (Frye 1976, 177) that its lessons for love and society could inspire future reform.

The narrative's saturation with religious/philosophic elements (including the language and imagery of a mystery religion) and divine activity offer structural and thematic elements common to the myths and rituals of mystery cults (Frye 1976, 13; also Reardon 1994, 139). However, there is no need to believe that more formal mystic rites are referred to here (see Beck 2003; Chalk 1960; Hunter 1983, 31–38; Ker  nui 1927; Merkelbach 1962, 1988). Nevertheless, humans do long for beneficent gods, and divine helpers assist mythical heroes. Accordingly, *Daphnis and Chloe's* gods, most of whom are connected with nature, actively work for the couple's protection and are aligned with their maturation. The couple's initial protectors are the nymphs, simple nature spirits, who may also be transfigured nymphs who were victims of Pan—Pitys, Syrinx, and Echo (Morgan 2003, 185). When Daphnis and Chloe finally fall in love, they eventually become acquainted with Eros. As Daphnis matures and male aggression becomes problematic, Pan emerges as a major character whom Daphnis recalls in various details.

The novel presents multiple erotes: Philetas' speech and various passages intentionally recall the cosmogonic Eros of Orphic/Dionysian mysteries and Plato. There appears the winged rascal of Philetas' garden, the arrogant boy who orders the adoptive parents of Daphnis and Chloe to send them out into the world, with whom later the Nymphs plead to allow the marriage, and, finally, the Eros constructing Chloe's *muthos*. Opposed to the cosmic Eros is the all-too-human, day-to-day Eros, the rascal and dangerous tyrant, the Eros of our mortal desires, compulsions, fears—different erotes for different levels of Longus' text and different readers.

Dionysus, he of many names and quite central for *Daphnis and Chloe* (Chalk 1960, 34, and n. 18; Hunter 1983, 37–38), is associated with harvest, vegetation, the seasonal cycle, and wine, through whom

the rural abundance is received and enjoyed. The countryside's worship of Dionysus was vigorous, even in Roman times, and he was viewed as one of country folk's gods. Dionysus transcends and unites varied worlds, natural and social. Under the freedom of music, wine, and dance, distinctions lessen between the old and young. The rural Dionysia brings the rustics together in joyous community, and the private winter Dionysia (3.10) gathers Chloe's family together along with Daphnis as they look forward to spring. Dionysus is also well integrated into the life of urbanites (Nilsson 1957) and brings the city-dwellers into a greater, although artificial, connection with the countryside. His myths make him an outsider, even persecuted, and often a foe of established practice and decorum, yet also a world conqueror. Dionysus' links with mystery religion, with the power of life, death, ecstasy, and transformation, are well known. In tragedy and comedy, performed for Dionysus, life's sufferings and contradictions are made palatable or at least sensible. Eros' *muthos* of Chloe, displayed through the drama of *Daphnis and Chloe* (particularly the fourth book), performs exactly the Dionysic function of drama in order to create an imagined solution to contradictions, both individual and social. This is not an unproblematic activity, for the aesthetic can make the unacceptable seem natural, even beautiful.

The ornamental garden of Book 4, where nature and art imitate each other, illustrates Dionysus' labor as the presiding god of human activity that harmonizes the diverse and contradictory. As Morgan (2004, 224) notes, the garden is "organized on an urban aesthetic system," with "deliberately staged views over land and sea, reducing the natural landscape and the life and the life of those who work in it to the status of aesthetic object." It is an item to be viewed and contemplated (Zeitlin 1990, 444–446). The central altar stresses Dionysus' centrality, depicting his career, from birth through struggle to triumph. This violence, so different from the delightful harmony of Philetas' garden, points to the brutal and tragic aspects of life that the Dionysic drama makes comprehensible. This garden seems a "silent, sterile" place, where the birds do not chirp as in Philetas' bower. However, note how Pan, who is closely associated with Dionysus, is there, playing silent music, that is, the music of the imagination, where aesthetic objects are made. Accordingly, Dionysiophanes is "Dionysus manifest" not in the sense that his morality makes him particularly godlike; we later learn now Dionysiophanes exposed Daphnis, expecting him to die, only for reasons of relative poverty. He (as well as Daphnis, well connected to Dionysus)⁵ is a manifestation of Dionysus and one of the productions of the Dionysic art.

This drama's central concern, how Daphnis and Chloe gradually learn about love, its cure and contexts, knowledge, and experience,

functions structurally as the quest object. This knowledge and experience comes through instinct, imitation, and education, which are three forms of learning whose operations Longus' text explores with subtlety. As children, they begin as simple imitators of a compliant nature (Deligiorgis 1974, 3; Epstein, 2002, 31; Morgan 1994, 70), but simple imitation is not enough. In time, after they have fallen in love, they become acquainted with what human nature needs to bring to its potential and which is necessary for a truly human life. Then, questions of what to imitate and how to be educated become critical, and also whether nature, however essential, suffers some loss as it is processed by human culture.

The beginning of Eros' serious machinations (1.12) figures their initial problem and its coming (partial) resolution. Daphnis, racing after a goat defeated in a sexual battle, falls into a covered pit, along with a goat that breaks his fall. This scene signifies Daphnis' coming descent into the problematics of male aggressive "goatish" sexuality (Epstein 2002, 25–26). He is rescued by Chloe and Dorcon, using Chloe's unusually long breast band. This event symbolizes his eventual rescue by Chloe, that feminine drawing him upward in part through her erotic attraction. Dorcon, who supplies the muscle, whose lust for Chloe is now fired, and who, thwarted, will later try to rape Chloe, initially tries to win Chloe through a contest common to pastoral, and his wonderful skill at pipes signifies a special status. Philetas' pronouncement that there is no cure for love but sex shows the limitations of the pastoral perspective, and can be connected to Dorcon's violent measures. Thus, in the end, Dorcon will die and be honored as a pastoral hero (Pandiri 1985, 122; Morgan 2004, 173–175), and his family will appear at Chloe's wedding.

Unlike the conventions of other romances, neither Daphnis nor Chloe fall in love at first sight, but first form a community between themselves, their animals (Epstein 2002, 28–29), and the natural setting before sexual concerns arise. Longus remarks "You would have seen the sheep and goats parted from each other sooner than Daphnis and Chloe" (1.10.3); accordingly, they are χαίροντες ὡς ἀρχὴν μεγάλην παρελάμβανον ἐφίλουν τὰς αἰγας καὶ τὰ προβάτα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιμέσιν ἔθος (1.8). Thus, their love develops from a productive foundation of good nature, friendship, and community, which creates a basis for mutual compassion. Once they do fall in love—she by seeing him naked, he through her kiss—the question arises, "How can Daphnis manage to love Chloe without violating her subjectivity and identity, losses suffered by the women in the three inserted myths, and retain some of that innocent community with her?" The Chloe of Eros' *muthos* will avoid the fates of Phatta, Syrinx, and Echo—but to what extent? Each of these three myths, pertaining

to Daphnis and Chloe's development, also present an *aition*; the *muthos* of Chloe will be the *aition* for the shrine and for *Daphnis and Chloe*, all congruent to the narrator's claim to express profound truth through *muthos* (Deligiorgis 1974; Kestner 1973; Philippides 1980; on Chloe as the fourth myth, see MacQueen 1985).

While the Phatta myth may manifest Chloe's anxiety about not being as musical as Daphnis or having his status (Hunter 1997, 19), note that the story is narrated immediately after a scene of Daphnis' consumptive gazing (1.25), wherein he acknowledges her power over him, a power which might be unconsciously (and dangerously) resented. Daphnis indeed begins the story comparing Chloe to Phatta: "There was a maid once upon a time, maid." The myth, although non-sexual (although Phatta sings of Pitys, a victim of Pan who loses identity), asserts male strength—the hero wins by sheer volume, and a loss of female identity but not musicality follows.

By 2.12.3, their sexual experimentation has so advanced that they might have done the real thing had troubles not shaken the countryside. In the following delaying action, two plot staples of romance appear—trial and war⁶—which (particularly the war) introduce elements more alien to pastoral. The couple's subsequent leap into knowledge of the wider world's realities corresponds to a markedly more critical period of their amatory lives, where matters of law and violence will factor more. Thus, the linking of the experience of Pan and warfare—Pan-like erotic violence can endanger lovers like military violence can ruin cities. However, Pan-potential can be used for the good; note Pan's rescue of Chloe, recalling his intervention at Marathon.

The Syrinx myth, told during the celebration of Chloe's rescue, turns to even more issues of identity and male aggression. The musical, goat(!)-herding Syrinx rejects Pan as being neither human nor goat, his hybridity symbolic of Daphnis' problematical identity. Threatened with rape, Syrinx disappears into the marsh to become the reeds, which Pan angrily cuts up to form his pipes. It is important to note that these pipes, so associated with Pan's music, originate in violence and a loss of female identity. Music plays a very important role: the gods are musical, the order and harmony of music are incorporated into the human and natural world, music even offers an alternative form of technology for managing nature, as Daphnis, Philetas, and Dorcon demonstrate (Maritz 1991, 55–67). Music (and thus its power) is associated with women, and these myths thematize male attempts to control original female power, which, however violated, cannot be completely extinguished, and is instead transformed into something superior and beneficent (Morgan 2003, 69–70), as Chloe will be. That Daphnis and Chloe mime this myth, in

a Dionysic context no less (2.36.1–2), signifies its relevance for them. Daphnis' version omits the violence—he plays a tune of wooing, then of seeking and not finding. There is no explicit rape attempt. Winkler (1990b) thought that Daphnis and Chloe simply erased the rape through the aesthetic distancing of dance; accordingly, Philetas hands his pipes, which resemble those primal pipes, over to Daphnis, indicating Daphnis is his successor and has mastered the masculine and violent erotic protocols. An alternative view is that of Daphnis as a master piper crafting a better performance concerning love; and this better tune is followed, at least partially, by better practice (Epstein 2002, 34). Further, note that afterward, swearing mutual oaths, Chloe rejects Daphnis' invocation of Pan, citing the god's violence and unfaithfulness. Aesthetics have not blinded her to Pan's reputation. Chloe's mistrust gives her an opportunity to express subjectivities that Daphnis in turn can acknowledge (a trust-building activity) as she makes him swear by those beings with whom he has a sacred community and calling, his animals (Morgan, 2003, 188) and the goat that nursed him. Later, they will build an altar to Eros the Shepherd.

As the couple progress through the seasons, the sexual differentiation between them increases, as does the brutality of the myths and the possibility of an irreconcilable discord between them. The violent Echo myth is narrated after Daphnis' sexual "lesson" from Lycainion, which ends in a warning concerning the bloodiness that comes with the female's loss of virginity, coupled with her reminder that she made him a man, evidencing female power. Here, when Daphnis has gained important knowledge and faces a choice for or against violence to Chloe for his own satisfaction, the fear arises of a deep incompatibility between the sexes, which is figured in the refusal of all males by Echo, Pan's violent reaction, and how Earth hides Echo's remains across the landscape. Earth is a primal female power, a counterforce to male gods, suggesting a possible and profound incompatibility between male and female. Echo as a universal imitator recalls woman's lack of stable meaning within the male-created symbolic system, where, as a result, woman has only those qualities that are projected upon her (Evans 1996, 219–221; Homer 2005, 102; Janan 1994, 28–29). Pan's frustration and desire to know his invisible pupil thematizes the male inability to really know a woman when the male cannot think past woman as echo/pupil of himself, a stance that Plutarch, for example, recommends in his *Advice to the Bride and Groom* (Goessler 1999, 97–115; Swain 1999, 85–96). Initially, Daphnis himself, possessed of superior sexual knowledge, adopted the attitude of teacher toward Chloe (Hunter 1997, 19). Pan's frustrating inability to know his invisible pupil mirrors Daphnis' limitations in knowing Chloe when she is his pupil, his echo. Note how, after this parable,

Chloe kisses Daphnis repeatedly “for the Echo/echo said mostly the same things, as if witnessing that he [Daphnis] falsified nothing.” In telling the myth of Echo in this particular way, Daphnis also acknowledges Chloe’s power and potential, one which goes beyond her role as Daphnis’ pupil.

It is evident that the process by which Daphnis and Chloe, who initially do not even know the name of love, learn what love is and that they are in love, illustrates that “love” is a term given to an experience, and a social form of managing that experience. The protagonists’ learning the *logos* of love through the impulse of desire purposefully recalls Plato, especially in the *Phaedrus* and *Symposium* (Hunter 1997, 5–28; also Bretzighheimer 1988, 524–529). Yet, there are ironies: the countryside is exactly where Socrates cannot do philosophy, nor, despite Philetas’ discourse and visions of cosmogonic marvels, do Daphnis and Chloe make true philosophic progress. Likewise, Gnathon produces a wonderful if canned philosophical justification for his infatuation for Daphnis, casting doubt on all philosophic *logoi*, although in fact he speaks truer than he knows, having become a *theates* of Daphnis’ beauty (MacQueen 1990, 170). *Logos* can be equated with the Word of the Father, who controls and restrains desire, often through the mechanism of the law, official and unofficial. Nevertheless, there can be a significant gap between our true subjective experience and the constructions of custom (Irigaray 1996). When Chloe and then Daphnis “fall in love,” as their exasperated soliloquies show, their subjective experience cannot be squared with what they know or understand.

Philetas, who purposefully recalls the arch-pastoral poet Philetas as well as Lycidas of Theocritus’ *Idyll* 7 (Bowie 1985, 678–691), appears to assist them at this developmental impasse. He, a retired herdsman, now cultivates his elaborate garden, which symbolizes experience rendered into aesthetically pleasing objects. Philetas tells a fable-like narrative designed to make the couple understand that they are experiencing “being in love” and what to do about it. Here, the couple’s conception of their experience of desire and desire’s nature has been constructed for them though the processes of the symbolic order proclaimed by a father figure.⁷ In addition, Philetas’ pronouncement partially works; the couple admits to each other that they are “in love.”

Yet, nevertheless, the couple wonders whether Eros is a bird or a boy, if the story is *muthos* or *logos* (2.7.1). Philetas’ philosophic/cosmogonic description of Eros is rather at odds with his earthy advice, which in turn contradicts both Theocritean pastoral (Morgan 2004, 183) and Plato, where the properly philosophic couple does not physically consummate their love. Further, Philetas declares the

couple must give in to desire and yet fails to clearly spell out exactly what this entails, a silence congruent with the shortcomings of Theocritean-style pastoral, which dwells on the moment of desire, not on satisfaction, much less marriage and family (Zeitlin 1990, 426, n. 29, who cites Pongiolli 1975, 55–56; Ettin 1984, 149). The subjectivities of the individuals involved are not particularly important either, and Daphnis and Chloe thus see love in terms of a serious sickness, with no idea of its more positive potential. I have mentioned earlier how the notion that the only cure for desire is sex can present a justification for male violence. This confusion and the lack of success of Philetas’ “remedy” also points to its insufficient, even alienating nature.

Further education, which will lead them to discern a more positive side to love, is left to Lycainion, to Daphnis and Chloe’s adoptive parents, and to Dionysiophanes. Both Lycainion and especially Gnathon, that symposiastic philosopher and would-be seducer, stand in contrast to Philetas. Lycainion’s predatory name, “Miss Little Wolf,” recalls Dorcon’s attempt to rape Chloe, and the real wolf whose activities indirectly got the erotic plot started (Morgan 2004, 208–210; also Levin 1977). An experienced city woman, she, cleverly using myth as pretence, gives Daphnis his lesson (for him a mystery revelation) in sexual technique (3.16–20) after observing Daphnis and Chloe’s failed erotic attempts to imitate their animals. When Daphnis is about to rush off and sexually educate Chloe, having no idea that premarital sex might be wrong, Lycainion offers Daphnis the choice of gaining pleasure through violence to Chloe, a pleasure Daphnis refuses, even later avoiding seeing Chloe naked (3.24). In my reading, this moment of moral choice is the crucial and deciding development for Daphnis.

However, maturation also involves knowing one’s social and political identity and the conventions/problematics of society, part of the work’s political unconscious (Jameson 1981). In *Daphnis and Chloe*, the couple cannot finalize their sexual identity until their true social status is revealed, or rather, constructed. The increasing invasions from without reveal the couple’s status as subjects of various codes: plunder for the Tyrian pirates and the Methymnian army, part of the patrimony for Chloe’s father, a subject of law at trial, an economic resource for the city,⁸ and a slave who can be tortured or given away as an item of pleasure, and finally, as the son and daughter of the highest aristocrats of Mytilene. In the realm of the symbolic, where individuals are rendered as objects, social relationships are defined, such as “father” or “husband,” and “slave,” as well those exchanges involving status or money. Dionysiophanes defines who Daphnis exactly is, weaving a verifying narrative of

identity that also engages (so to redeem) an old family scandal. Megacles, Chloe's true father, produces a similar type of narrative. As Daphnis and Chloe gain a more complex identity, they experience the oppressions the law enables; note the fear they have, for example, at meeting Daphnis' master (4.6). Later, Daphnis hesitates to reveal his love for Chloe to Dionysiophanes; it is Chloe's father who insists on revealing the truth, which leads to her recognition. Daphnis is even prepared for Dionysiophanes' questions about Chloe's virginity (4.31). Clearly, Daphnis has learned all too well and quickly how love defers to matters of birth, status, and convention. Yet, while the recognized Daphnis is sorting out his new narrative of identity, he temporarily ignores Chloe (4.27), which leads to her near loss, and, paradoxically, to Gnathon's redemption. Luckily, this loss, another test, demonstrates to Daphnis how his own identity is bound to a life with Chloe.

Daphnis' increasingly asymmetric role becomes more acceptable because of his evident concern for Chloe's subjectivities. Public justification for his private enjoyment is ultimately provided by the wedding's socio-symbolic context, making the act a necessary operation within a system where all are rendered as objects and all have obligations. However, now Daphnis and Chloe are no longer the carefree near-children who simply and spontaneously imitate nature, who work out among themselves their relationship without the secrets. When Daphnis' and Chloe's attempt to imitate animal sex fails, the lesson is not just that they need human culture to teach them; they might well have figured it out themselves (2.11.3). Likewise, during sex, *physis* also instructs Daphnis what to do (3.18). What Philetas, Lycainion, Gnathon, and Daphnis' and Chloe's real and adoptive parents teach them is sex according to the city and its protocols. What has been sacrificed to a considerable extent is their freedom, their subjectivity, and even personal authenticity. The life of Dionysus illustrates the unavoidability of violence and personal sacrifice; the theater of Dionysus makes these oppressions palatable though drama's aesthetic *logos*. I am sympathetic to Winkler's opinion (1990) that the rustics' rude sounds outside the wedding chamber recall that breaking of innocence, of freedom, and the violation of subjectivity, however happy the couple in fact are. And we need not doubt that happiness, which is also the sign of hope.

The paradigmatic hero, when recognized, brings benefit to his people, often restoring an old community or creating a new one, sometimes founding some beneficial rite or practice. Daphnis and Chloe do both. Weddings are a frequent eschatological symbol for the creation of a new society; likewise, New Comedies often end in marriage. During their nuptials, held at the cave of the nymphs where Chloe was discovered, there is a utopian blending where gods, city

folk, country folk, and even animals play a part. The presence of Lycainion and Chromis suggests that Lycainion, observing how Daphnis' loyalty and love for Chloe does not depend upon sex, has learned a lesson and that her relationship with Chromis has thus been renewed (Morgan 2004, 210, 247). Lampis too attends, and even plays music, though he earlier had ruined the ornamental garden in an act of symbolic sexual violence in order to wreck Daphnis' potential marriage; and the family of Dorcon, who attempted to rape Chloe, attend, all rehabilitated through their contact with the protagonists. Afterwards, Daphnis and Chloe will live a mostly pastoral life, and fruit and milk will be their favorite foods, not fancy urban fare. Unlike Dionysiophanes, absent from his properties for 16 years, they will be proper models of aristocrats who will live among the people they own, and maintain the connection with the countryside, its gods, and values. Ensuring that their children are also suckled by animals and making the shrine that becomes the pilgrimage site represent the utopian prospect of carrying forward what has been learned and experienced into the future. The concluding phrase, "and then Chloe learned what had happened near the wood had been the playthings of shepherds," can refer both to Chloe and to the reader who must now depart the ludic, controlled space of a pastoral fairy tale (recall how horror, humor, and beauty haunt real fairy tales), and return to the "real" world. The question is to what sort of world, and how changed the traveler is. On that wedding night, Daphnis reportedly only did *some* of the things Lycainion taught him. Since their encounter was so short, what could these implied other things possibly be? I suggest that Lycainion should be seen as having unlocked Daphnis' sexual imagination, teaching him the erotic potentials between a man and a woman, only some of those potentials which he explored that night.

One can read *Daphnis and Chloe* as hidden mystery, sophistic gamesmanship, sentimental froth, and even pornography. The choice involves readerly attitudes; one is implied in Frye's notion of "the poem of expanded consciousness" (1957, 301; 1976, 125-126), in which the mundane, the comic, and even the horrible are illuminated by the glow of a dream which transcends their brute realities. Perhaps the finest achievement of pastoral is in the wantonly playful way it rehearses the old ideal themes, not because its readers are uncaring, unserious, or have not learned history's lessons, but because, without the spirit of play, the gravity of memory would crush us all. *Daphnis and Chloe*, for those who can listen, can, like the better pastoral, (re)awaken desire for that idyllic dream, even within the lengthening shadows of the world of experience and amid the silvered strands of scholarship.

Notes

- 1 The theoretical approaches of Lacan have been used successfully by scholars of Roman love elegy, which deals with many issues found in the erotic novel, particularly Janan and Miller, and this approach can produce interesting readings; see Alvares (2011). For understanding and applying Lacanian theory, I have used Janan 1994, Homer 2005, Lee 1990, and Zizek and Ross 2003, who in turn relies upon Bowie 1991, Evans 1996, and Fink 1995. For more on the “Word of the Father,” see Homer 2005, 57–59; Janan 1994, 23–24; Evans 1996, 119.
- 2 That Philetas’ son has the pastoral name “Tityrus” and resembles both goats and Eros (see Morgan 2004, 195) suggests that Philetas’ tradition too will continue.
- 3 As the observant ass, Lucius views many harsh details of Roman life, but then reveals the perspectives of the aristocrat’s mind; see Hall 1995. Longus’ frame narrator does likewise.
- 4 Almost every single passage refers to the works of various authors including Theocritus, Sappho, Philetas, Plato, Thucydides, Homer, and many more; see Valley 1926, 79–104; Hunter 1983, 59–83. Zeitlin 1990, 438, calls the text “almost entirely mimetic.”
- 5 Daphnis, the son of Dionysiophanes (= “Dionysos manifest”), is suckled by a goat as Zeus was, declares he is beardless like Dionysus (1.16.4), finds a stream which waters Dionysus’ formal garden, and dedicates his bag and skin to Dionysus (4.26.10). He and Chloe are compared to Dionysus and a Maenad (1.16.4; 2.2.2). Pan’s intervention against the Methymnian fleet recalls the god’s operations in the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*. Further, in Vergil’s fifth *Eclogue*, Daphnis is seen as founder of a Bacchic cult, and he may have been connected with Dionysic worship. Gnathon is a follower of Dionysus, and many events associated with the final recognition happen in or near his ornamental garden; see Morgan 2004, 8.
- 6 The theft of mooring rope, the war’s cause, provides an absurd touch. Scholars wonder about the connection between this war, recalling Thucydides’ account of Athenian actions on Lesbos, and the prologue’s Thucydidean claims about being useful. Clearly, Mytiliene is idealized, able to figure what actions serve self-interest, unlike Athens and avoiding war; see Trzaskoma 2005, 75–90, and Cueva 2004, 54–61.
- 7 Another individual who also “lays down the law” regarding desire is Gnathon in his speech to Astylus, a *logos* crafted through knowledge gained at the symposia of the debauched (4.17).
- 8 Note especially 3.21.2, where fishermen are oaring hard to get

fresh fish to a rich man. On Greek novels reflecting the perspective of the consumer city that utilizes the countryside, see Saïd 1999, 92 and n. 90–91.

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CHAPTER 3

Xenophon, *The Ephesian Tales*

James N. O'Sullivan

Summary: This essay contains an annotated plot-summary of the *Ephesiaca* (pp. 43–47) followed by sections on the author (47–48), his date (48), the composition of his work (48–51), his relationship to Chariton (51–53), and the later history of the *Ephesiaca* (53).¹

The *Ephesiaca* or *The Ephesian Tales about Anthia and Habrocomes*, much the shortest of the five extant ancient Greek novels of love and adventure, is ascribed to one Xenophon (of Ephesus).²

Plot

First a sketch giving the main lines of the plot.³ While reading this, it will be profitable to pay attention already to the extent to which the story is repetitive; and note also the structural principle of rapid movement back and forth between the characters, especially between Habrocomes and Anthia.

Book 1

The tale begins [as it will eventually end] in Ephesus, the sacred city of Artemis.⁴ Habrocomes,⁵ an extremely handsome youth of about 16, regarded himself as proof against the power of love. Eros made Habrocomes fall painfully in love with the equally beautiful fourteen-year-old Anthia,⁶ who spent her days in the temple of Artemis in the service of the goddess. Anthia too is captivated at first sight by Habrocomes,⁷ but their passion remains unspoken. After some time, when the children are wasting away from love-sickness, their parents consult a nearby oracle of Apollo and receive this response in common:

Why do you want to learn the end of a sickness and its cause?
A single sickness holds them both; and hence comes a release.
But I see for them dread hardships and endless toils:
Both shall flee over the brine, passion-driven,
And bonds endure among men that mingle with the sea;
And for both a grave shall be their wedding-room, and
consuming fire.
But, still, after their trials they have a better fortune
And by the streams of the Nile river to Isis the august
As saviour hereafter they set up rich and happy gifts.

The parents puzzle over the meaning of the oracle⁸ and decide on action they hope will amount to a mild but effective fulfillment of its predictions⁹: they join the young couple in marriage and send them on a voyage to Egypt. The wedding, the first night of love, and the departure from Ephesus are described. On board ship Habrocomes and Anthia swear mutual fidelity in case of separation. In the temple of Helios on Rhodes they dedicate a panoply with an inscription containing their names. Continuing on their way they are attacked by pirates, the fulfillment of a dream Habrocomes has had. Corymbus, the pirates' captain, taking Habrocomes and Anthia and a few of their servants on board his ship, burns the captured vessel and those left on it. On the journey to their base near Tyre Corymbus falls in love with Habrocomes, and Euxinus, one of his comrades, with Anthia.

Book 2

The young couple resolve to die rather than give in to the pirates' advances. From this they are saved by being taken off to Tyre by the pirate-boss, Apsyrtus, along with two of their servants, Leucon and Rhode, themselves lovers too. Manto, daughter of Apsyrtus, falls in love with Habrocomes. At first she tries to use Rhode as a go-between, but then, impatient of delay,¹⁰ writes to Habrocomes with a mixture of promises and threats, only to be defiantly rejected in his reply. Out for revenge, she accuses him of trying to rape her. Apsyrtus has him tortured and imprisoned. Anthia, Leucon and Rhode are given as a wedding present to Manto and carried off to Antioch in Syria, her husband Moeris' homeland.¹¹ Habrocomes has a dream that gives him hope of eventual reunion with Anthia. Leucon and Rhode are sent to be sold as slaves in Lycia. Manto makes Anthia cohabit with a goatherd, Lampon, who, however, respects her chastity. Back in Tyre, Apsyrtus finds Manto's letter to Habrocomes and thus discovering his innocence puts him in charge of his household. Leucon and Rhode are sold to a kindly old man. Moeris falls in love with Anthia; Manto learns of this and orders Lampon to kill the girl. Instead, he sells her to Cilician traders; their ship is wrecked off the coast of Cilicia and Anthia is captured "by Hippothous the brigand and his men" (2.11.11).¹² In a letter to Apsyrtus Manto says she had to sell Anthia because of Moeris' attraction to her.¹³ Hearing this, Habrocomes heads for Antioch and learns from Lampon that Anthia has been taken to Cilicia.

On the day after Anthia has fallen into their hands Hippothous and his brigands set about sacrificing her to Ares, but she is rescued in the nick of time by a force of men led by Perilaus, "the man in charge of the peace in Cilicia" (2.13.3).¹⁴ Of the robbers Hippothous alone escapes. Perilaus takes Anthia to his house in Tarsus, falls in love with her and wants to marry her; Anthia has the marriage postponed for thirty days. Habrocomes, now in Cilicia, meets the fleeing Hippothous,¹⁵ with whom, without mentioning Anthia, he agrees under pressure to travel to Cappadocia.¹⁶

Book 3

In Mazacus in Cappadocia, where Hippothous plans to gather a new band of men, they talk of their past lives. Hippothous relates the tragic tale of his love-affair with Hyperanthes. When Habrocomes tells of Anthia, Hippothous recognizes her as the girl he captured in Cilicia. They decide to return there to search for her; Hippothous suggests “collecting a few men, for safety on the journey” (3.3.6).

In Tarsus the thirty days have passed and preparations are being made for the wedding. To preserve her fidelity to Habrocomes, Anthia resolves to die. From Eudoxus, a shipwrecked physician from Ephesus, she gets, in return for his fare home, what she thinks is poison; in fact, he gives her a strong sleeping-potion. Perilaus laments over his apparently dead bride, exclaiming on the good fortune of Habrocomes,¹⁷ for whom his beloved has given her life. Anthia is put in a tomb, richly dressed and adorned with gold. When she wakes, she is distressed at being still alive. Robbers break into the tomb and carry off Anthia, despite her pleas to be left to die there,¹⁸ and the riches buried with her; they sail for Alexandria intending to sell her to traders there.

Habrocomes, failing to discover anything about a girl brought in with captured bandits, returns to where he is lodging with Hippothous and his men.¹⁹ There he hears from an old woman about the recent death and burial of Perilaus’ bride and the tomb-robbery. Convinced that Anthia is dead he resolves to die, but not until he finds her corpse, which the grave-robbers have evidently taken with them. He steals away on his own in the night and takes ship for Alexandria hoping to find in Egypt those who had deprived him of everything. Hippothous and his men set out to rob their way through Syria and Phoenicia. In Alexandria the grave-robbers sell Anthia to Psammis, an Indian prince, who immediately tries to rape her; she puts off the superstitious barbarian with a tale of being dedicated to Isis for a period that still had a year to run. Habrocomes suffers shipwreck near the mouth of the Nile, is captured by local “shepherds” and sold in Pelusium to Araxus, a kindly old man. Cyno, Araxus’ ugly and evil wife, falls for Habrocomes and proposes a sexual relationship to him, promising to kill her husband and marry him instead. When Habrocomes hears that she has actually killed Araxus, he leaves the house, refusing sex with a murderess. She accuses him of the murder and he is taken in bonds to “the then ruler of Egypt” in Alexandria.

Book 4

Hippothous and his robbers proceed as far as Coptus in Ethiopia where they set up a base for brigandage. Habrocomes, sentenced to death, but saved by the Nile-god from both crucifixion and death by fire, is kept under guard. On the way home to India Psammis and his entourage are attacked by Hippothous' robbers and Anthia falls into Hippothous' hands for the second time; neither of them recognizes the other.

Habrocomes is freed by the ruler and sails for Italy to search for Anthia there. Anthia kills Anchialus, one of the robbers, when he tries to rape her, and is punished by being enclosed in a pit with savage dogs. Amphinomus, who is to guard the pit, already in love with Anthia, keeps her safe by feeding the dogs.

Book 5

Habrocomes, blown off course, arrives in Syracuse in Sicily. There he makes friends with Aegialeus, an old fisherman who long ago had eloped from Sparta with his bride, Thelxinoe; she has since died, but Aegialeus keeps her mummified body in his house; this makes Habrocomes all the more eager to find Anthia's corpse as a source of consolation. He begs Apollo to fulfill the final part of the oracle.²⁰

When Hippothous and his robbers head back towards Syria, Amphinomus stays behind with Anthia; he swears to respect her chastity and she goes with him to Coptus. Hippothous' robbers kill and burn on their way north; they are defeated by an army under Polyidus, sent against them by the ruler; Hippothous escapes alone and catches a ship bound for Sicily. Polyidus, with the help of captives, captures Amphinomus and falls in love with Anthia; when he tries to rape her, she takes refuge in the temple of Isis in Memphis and he swears to respect her. At the temple of Apis Anthia receives an oracle predicting a speedy reunion with Habrocomes. In Alexandria Apsyrtus' jealous wife, Rhenaea, hands Anthia over to a servant, Clytus, to be sold to a pimp in Italy.

Habrocomes decides to leave Sicily for Italy and, if he fails to find Anthia there, to return to Ephesus, where in the meantime both sets of parents have "betaken themselves from life due to despondency and old age" (5.6.3).²¹

Leucon and Rhode's kindly Syrian master has died and left them a large fortune; they decide to return to Ephesus; on Rhodes they learn that Habrocomes and Anthia have not yet come home and decide to stay there for some time.

The pimp who has bought Anthia in Tarentum presents her to admiring customers; she saves herself by feigning epilepsy.

To support himself, Habrocomes has had to take work as a laborer in the quarries at Nuceria.

In Tarentum Anthia has a dream that makes her think Habrocomes may have been unfaithful to her; she resolves to die.

Hippothous, who has married an old woman in Sicily and inherited her wealth, goes to Tarentum on a shopping trip with his new boyfriend, Kleisthenes, and recognizes Anthia, whom the pimp has put up for sale in the market-place, as the girl left in the pit in Egypt; she does not know him. He buys her and wants to have sex with her. Eventually she tells him her true story and he recognizes her as the wife of his friend Habrocomes, whom he has been hoping to find.

Habrocomes leaves Nucerium for Ephesus by a circuitous route via Sicily, where Aigialeus has since died, Crete, and Cyprus, where he prays to Aphrodite. He stops off on Rhodes for a few days, determined, when he reaches Ephesus, to kill himself once he has raised a tomb to Anthia.

Leucon and Rhode have set up in the temple of Helios a pillar inscribed with their names beside the panoply put there before by Habrocomes and Anthia. Habrocomes is found by Leucon and Rhode sitting near this pillar; he and they recognize each other and they take him to their lodgings.

Hippothous decides to take Anthia home to Ephesus and they stop off on Rhodes, where she dedicates some of her hair to Helios with an inscription containing her name and that of Habrocomes. Leucon and Rhode see this and their report of it gives Habrocomes new hope. Next day Leucon and Rhode (Habrocomes has stayed behind, despondent²²) find Anthia in the temple with Hippothous and after some hesitation she and they recognize each other and hurry to where Habrocomes is. He hears the good news and runs to meet them. They meet before the temple of Isis, in which they acknowledge her as their savior. That night, after celebrations and tales of adventures, Habrocomes and Anthia, at last alone together again, assure each other of fidelity preserved through all trials. Back home in Ephesus they dedicate an account of their adventures in the temple of Artemis, and spend their lives happily with their friends.

In the novel itself this plot-skeleton is fleshed out not only with narrative detail, but with a large amount of direct speech.

The author

Any statements about the *Ephesiaca* and its elusive author must be based on a critical examination of (a) the novel itself, with book-titles and subscriptions, found in the single manuscript in which it is transmitted, as well as any significant relationship it may be thought to bear to the real world or to other authors, esp. Chariton, and (b) a brief notice in the *Suda*, a 10th-century encyclopedia, based on an entry in an earlier compilation by Hesychius of Miletus (6th century).

In the *Suda* our Xenophon appears between two other erotic novelists of this same name, one “of Antioch”, author of *Babyloniaca*, the other “of Cyprus”, who produced *Cypriaca*, and the entry reads:

Xenophon: Ephesian; narrative author²³; *Ephesiaca*: that is a love-story in ten books about Habrocomes and Anthia; and *About the*

city of the Ephesians; and other works.

Though the author is called “Xenophon” both in the *Suda* and in the manuscript, this is most unlikely to have been his real name, occurring, as it does, so frequently as the name of novelists.²⁴ Authors of love-novels may have taken the name “Xenophon” in homage to the famous Athenian historian who wove the love-story of Pantheia and Abradatas into his *Cyropaedia*, the usual view; or, more likely, the name may somehow have come to be connected with anonymous novels in the course of their transmission because of a perceived affinity with the historian in style and/or subject matter.

The idea that Xenophon was Ephesian, found only in the *Suda*, is likely, as is “of Cyprus” in the case of the author of the *Cypriaca*, to be merely derived from the title of the novel, which appears in the manuscript in all five book-headings and in the subscription at the end as “(Xenophon’s) *Ephesiaca* about Anthia and Habrocomes.” The *Suda* tells us the *Ephesiaca* was in ten books, whereas the manuscript text is in 5, and that is also the number given in the subscription, where there is no mention of epitomization, just as there is none in the book-titles.²⁵ The best and simplest solution here is to see with Salvini and others the “ten” of the *Suda* (represented in Greek by the letter ι) as an error for “five” (represented by ε).²⁶ The *Suda*’s “ten” was the prime basis of the theory that the transmitted text of the *Ephesiaca* is only an abridgement of a much longer work.²⁷ I shall not include a refutation of that notion in this essay, since I regard it, after the work of Hägg and myself,²⁸ as a red-herring; and the view that our *Ephesiaca* is indeed the original and not an epitome seems in any case to be gaining considerable ground recently.

“About the city of the Ephesians” can hardly refer to the content of the *Ephesiaca*, and why one should be more than skeptical about Xenophon’s authorship of a separate work of that kind will, I hope, emerge in the course of this essay. If such a book did exist, then it was the work of another. Maybe of one “Xenophon” of Ephesus here conflated with the anonymous and cityless novelist?

Date

Dating the *Ephesiaca* is crucial to the early history and development of the novel. We have no immediate indication of its date of composition²⁹ and the two supposed bases for a *terminus ante quem* usually adduced are inadequate: the claim that “the ruler of Egypt” who condemns Habrocomes for the murder of Araxus is a Roman

Prefect, holder of an office instituted under Augustus in 30 B.C., and the view that Perilaus, who rescues Anthia from Hippothous' robbers, is an irenarch, a type of peace-keeping official otherwise first attested in an inscription of 116/117 C.E. from Caria. The expression "ruler (*archōn*) of Egypt" can by no means be restricted to the Roman Prefect,³⁰ and even if it could, that would not matter here: I have no interest in arguing that the *Ephesiaca* was composed before 30 B.C. Perilaus, who is not actually given the title "irenarch," was "elected to be in charge (*archein*) of the peace in Cilicia" (3,9,5).³¹ The fact that he is represented as operating in the whole of Cilicia is enough on its own to rule him out as an irenarch³²: irenarchs were strictly municipal officers whose functions were confined to particular cities³³; and the kind of vocabulary used of Perilaus is found used of real-life territorial peace-officers, e.g. in Lycia, next door to Cilicia, long before 116/117 C.E.³⁴

But, though Perilaus and "the ruler of Egypt" are not much use to us for dating Xenophon, all is not lost and I shall return to the question of date in connection with the relationship between him and Chariton.

Composition; theme, theme-element, formula

Turning to the character of the novel itself we are on firmer ground. The most significant – I do not say the most striking, since it has not struck anyone properly until very recently³⁵ – thing about the *Ephesiaca* is its very remarkably repetitive manner: as far as subject-matter allows, the *Ephesiaca* is a tissue of kaleidoscopic repetition at the three intimately related levels of scene (or theme), theme-element (i.e. a single action *vel sim.* as a basic element or building-block of a scene), and verbal formulae or standard key-words that regularly express theme-elements.³⁶

As a small taste of Xenophon's compositional technique³⁷ consider the following passages³⁸:

5.5.8

"and he, seeing beauty such as he had never before looked upon, considered that he would have a great source of profit in the girl and for some days he let her recover, weary from the voyage and from Rhenaea's tortures,"

3.8.3–9.1

"... and [the pirates] see Anthia alive. And regarding this too as a

great source of profit, they raised her up and wanted to take her off.
...

And they, completing the voyage in no few days, put in at Alexandria and there took Anthia ashore and decided to < let her recover, weary > 39 from the voyage and sell her to some merchants.”

1.12.1

“And all the Rhodians thronged together astonished at the beauty of the children, and none of those who saw them passed by in silence, but some said it was a visit from the gods, and others bowed down and prayed to 40 them. And soon the names of Habrocomes and Anthia had spread through the whole city.”

2.2.1–4

“[Apsyrtus] came to the estate and saw Habrocomes and Anthia and was astonished at their comeliness and straight away considering them a great source of profit, claimed them for himself. ...

Their procession was gazed at from all sides and everyone was amazed at their beauty, and barbarians who had never before seen such comeliness considered those they gazed on to be gods and called Apsyrtus happy in having got such servants.”

1.2.7

“... and so on this occasion too, when she was seen, the crowd shouted out and various utterances came from the spectators, some in their astonishment saying it was the goddess, others some other lady made by the goddess in her own likeness. And they all prayed to her and bowed down and called her parents happy.”

In 5.5.8 the brothelkeeper sees Anthia’s beauty, beauty such as he has never seen before, considers that she will be a source of great profit to him, and lets her recover for a while from the voyage and what preceded it (i.e. so that she will look her best for his customers); in 3.8.3–9.1 the pirates see Anthia, consider her a source of great profit, carry her off to Alexandria (in the omitted sections, 3.8.4–7, we have two speeches from Anthia, one addressed to the pirates, the other a soliloquy on board ship, and a couple of sentences of narrative), and decide to let her recover from the voyage before selling her; in 2.2.1–4 Apsyrtus sees the young couple, is astonished at their beauty, considers them a source of great profit, and takes them into Tyre (2.2.2–3, omitted), where the people marvel at their beauty, beauty such as they have never seen before. The couple had already recovered from the preceding voyage before Apsyrtus got hold of

them, and so the ‘recovery from the voyage’ element is not used here; its place is taken by “ordering him to take good care of them, feeling that he would make a great profit if he could sell them at the right price” (2.2.5; for the ‘care’ element see also 1.15.2; 5.9.13 with O’Sullivan [1995] 143).

The three crowd-reaction scenes are also constructed on a common model: 2.2.4 “considered them to be gods and called Apsyrtus happy”; 1.2.7 “saying it was the goddess ... they prayed to her and bowed down and called her parents happy”; 1.12.1 “some said it was a visit from the gods, and others bowed down and prayed to them” (here there is no one present suitable for the crowd “to call happy”). In each case the preceding idea is, of course, ‘crowd sees the beautiful (Habrocomes and) Anthia.’⁴¹ Xenophon, just as he had standard dreams, standard love-stories and voyages, standard scenes between heroine and unwanted lovers, and so on, also had a standard basic set of theme-elements with which to construct his crowd-reaction scenes.

2.2.4 (the Tyrian crowd) following closely on the ‘great source of profit’ scene of 2.2.1, has in common with that of 5.5.8 a theme-element (2.2.4 “who had never before seen such comeliness”; 5.5.8 “seeing beauty such as he had never before looked upon”) that occurs otherwise only at 1.1.1 “<such > ⁴² beauty as had never before come to be either in Ionia or in any other land”, in what is really another crowd-scene⁴³; and “astonished at the beauty of the children” in the crowd-scene of 1.12.1 can be paralleled in Xenophon only by “was astonished at their comeliness” in the ‘great source of profit’ scene of 2.2.1. The two scene types have two semi-formulae (expressing the same conceptual theme-element) in common and exclusive to themselves, and they are in close contact with each other in 2.2. These scene-types seem to have been specially associated in the author’s mind.

The profit motif and that of letting the girl recover from a voyage occur together in 5.5.8, where the pimp sees Anthia for the first time after the voyage is over; in 3.8.3–9.1, where the pirates capture Anthia in Tarsus and recognize her profit-potential before the voyage to Egypt, the same two motifs are separated by speeches and voyage narrative. This framing of material largely peculiar to a particular context with theme-elements (usually fairly hard-set verbal formulae) elsewhere found together, in a simpler context, is not unusual in Xenophon.⁴⁴

The only adequate parallel for what I have presented here is provided by works of known oral background,⁴⁵ e.g. the poetry of Homer and Irish Finn Tales, the one tradition in Greek, the other in prose, which I have drawn on for comparison.⁴⁶ Such a comparison – extending beyond the mere occurrence of scene and formula to

various tell-tale aspects of their use and character⁴⁷ – leaves one with only one plausible conclusion: the *Ephesiaca* too is a work deriving from a background of oral storytelling.⁴⁸ I have argued that it should be seen as a transitional text,⁴⁹ a work still in close touch with its oral background, but composed in writing and even capable of accommodating – though I do not see these clearly in Xenophon⁵⁰ – literary, even intertextual, features.⁵¹ In the company of the Greek novelists Xenophon is remarkably free of anything but the occasional suspicion of a literary debt and he is the only one to tolerate hiatus to any large extent.⁵²

It has been suggested⁵³ that the repetitive-formulaic character of the *Ephesiaca* is due to epitomization, without a hint of realization of how truly implausible such a suggestion is. How are we to envisage the supposed procedure? Was a non-repetitive, non-formulaic novel somehow reduced to a highly repetitive, highly formulaic summary? Where, then, did all the repetition come from? Or was an originally repetitive, but apparently non-formulaic, novel turned, presumably by leaving out some kind of stuffing, into a dense complex of formulae displaying remarkable balance of scale and concinnity from parallel scene to parallel scene?⁵⁴ There is not a shred of evidence for such an arbitrary assumption. The salient fact here remains that “the repetitions at the different levels of theme, theme-element, and verbal formula are intimately bound up with one another as levels of the same compositional technique, and are certainly not due to an epitomator, to whom the repetition of scenes could not be ascribed.”⁵⁵

Xenophon, Chariton and the beginnings of the novel

Xenophon and Chariton are at once associated with each other and set off from the more “sophistic”⁵⁶ novels of Achilles Tatius, Longus and Heliodorus by the use of a much less purely Attic Greek; and they share so much in the way of scene, motif and phrase that it is generally and rightly believed that one of them must have drawn on the other.⁵⁷ Chariton has been (and probably still is) usually regarded as the earlier of the two. This view rests on two separate, but I suspect not unrelated, pillars, both of them made of sand.

Firstly, we are told that Chariton is superior to Xenophon in his use of shared material and that this must mean that he is to be seen as the earlier of the two with Xenophon as an inferior borrower. But, even if

one accepted this premise, it is glaringly obvious that one can just as well blandly state – it is hardly argument, either – that Chariton, in the normal progression of things, improved on a relatively primitive predecessor.⁵⁸ There is no way forward here, I am afraid, though, as we shall see, another comparative approach is much more promising.

The second reason for declaring Xenophon the borrower is that his priority would not be compatible with a hypothesis on the origin of the novel that has in recent years, in the wish for some firm foothold, surreptitiously acquired a status approaching orthodoxy. I mean the view that the novel emerged against a background of “romantic” Hellenistic historiography, which tended to become increasingly fictionalized, and that Chariton’s novel with its – however mutually incompatible – historical elements is at the nub of this development and should be regarded as the earliest⁵⁹ of the close group of novels of love and adventure to which it belongs.⁶⁰

The daunting trouble with this is that there is in fact, since the mere tendency to fiction is not enough, no evident line of development from historiography to Chariton⁶¹: there is nothing in fictionalized history that anticipates the characteristic plot of the love-romance, and the works – all of them very fragmentary – that have been suggested as possible links, apart from great uncertainty on whether any of them predated Chariton, will not carry the burden of such a role: the stories of Ninus and of Sesonchosis are fictional accounts of the lives of legendary oriental monarchs, very different from the main characters in our novels, and though they contained a love-interest, it is quite unclear what part this played in the stories as a whole and how the adventures of hero and – if any – of heroine were related to each other in the plot⁶²; and the tale of *Metiochus and Parthenope*, despite some similarities, appears also to have been substantially different from what we find in Chariton.⁶³ In matters of this kind the careful observation of differences is more prudent than the enthusiastically optimistic claiming of similarities.

There is, however, a clear affinity between Chariton and historiography: so, e.g., some of his characters, including the heroine’s father, are taken from Greek and Persian history and part of the action takes place at the court of the Persian king Artaxerxes II; but there is no concern for historical accuracy and persons, events and conditions from different periods are anachronistically combined.⁶⁴ How, then, is this pseudo-historiographical stance to be seen? Chariton would seem to have given us not historiography evolved into novel, but a novel fashioned on the kind of plot and motifs found in the *Ephesiaca* and raised to the status of literary acceptability⁶⁵ by being dressed up as pseudo-history⁶⁶ and supplied with an extensive, especially Homeric, literary texture. What Xenophon and Chariton, Achilles

Tatius and Heliodorus have in common, as their defining stock, is not the deliberate and isolated historiographical pose of Chariton, but the fund of motifs found in Xenophon with scarcely a hint of historical setting and certainly no great debt to historiography⁶⁷; that is the Ariadne's thread to guide us through provenance and progress of the ancient novel. Chariton, the first truly literary novelist, was influenced by historiography, as Longus was later, even more deeply, by the pastoral tradition. We can dispense with the notion of the novel as the "child" of historiography by some kind of literary parturition.

Though a simple comparison of Xenophon and Chariton will, as we have seen, not provide us with criteria for deciding the question of priority, our new awareness of Xenophon's formulaic technique does, however, offer a more than plausible basis for a decision on this crucial question in the history of prose fiction.⁶⁸ Where material shared by the two novelists is in Xenophon's case part of his complex apparatus of composition by formulaic theme and theme-element, we see a real difference: so, e.g., Xenophon has a number of crowd-reaction scenes, all of them fashioned with the same scaffolding of standard elements; Chariton has five crowd-reaction scenes with scarcely anything in common, and without Xenophon to compare him with we would not know that one of these scenes (1.1.16) clearly, though it has only some of the standard elements, corresponds to Xenophon's characteristic scheme.⁶⁹ In general, what we find in Chariton is a faint and fragmentary reflection of Xenophon's typical compositional technique: he does not have most of Xenophon's typical scenes at all and where there is thematic coincidence, his material, though clearly parallel, is only partially so. There is no doubt in my mind where this evidence points, since to maintain that Xenophon took the scene at "Char. 1.1.16 (which by itself would have no signs of being a stock scheme), elaborated it to some extent, and treated the result as a kind of literary straight-jacket in composing crowd-scenes, and that moreover all the repetition in the *Ephesiaca*" – without any correspondence in Chariton – "is to be explained from such beginnings, is absurd."⁷⁰

The thumb-nail early history of the novel resulting from this and in accord with other evidence would be: an oral tradition of tales of love and adventure led to the composition in writing, as a transitional text, of the *Ephesian Tales* of 'Xenophon'; it was followed, probably at no great interval, by Chariton's novel of Callirhoe, which took the primitive plot and, by clothing it in the guise of historiography and providing it with an intertextual apparatus, attempted to raise it to the level of literary acceptability; all this took place probably around or not long before the middle of the first century C.E., in time to allow the likely reference to Chariton's *Callirhoe* in Persius' (34–62 C.E.) first

satire (1.134) ca. 60 C.E. and to provide Petronius (ob. 66) with the basis for his generally acknowledged parody of the ideal Greek romance of love and adventure in the *Satyrিকা* towards the end of Nero's reign (54–68 C.E.).⁷¹

Transmission, reception and text-history⁷²

The next writer after Chariton to show knowledge of Xenophon is Aristaenetus (ca. 500); then come the entries in Hesychius of Miletus (6th c.) and the *Suda* (10th c.); and his novel was also mentioned by Gregory of Corinth (11th/12th c.). For the text of the *Ephesiaca* we are entirely dependent on seventeen-and-a-half pages of tiny writing in a small manuscript written towards the end of the 13th century and now preserved in the Laurentian library in Florence; this famous little book also contains a text of Longus, about half of Achilles Tatius, and is, apart from a few fragments, our only witness for Chariton; these form a nest of less edifying reading hedged in on both sides by works better suited to the eyes of pious monks. Still in manuscript, the *Ephesiaca* was seen by Angelo Poliziano, who published an excerpt from the first book in Latin translation (1489), by H. Stephanus (Henri Estienne, ca. 1550), and Bernard de Montfaucon (1700); the Perilaus episode was used by Massimo Salernitano as the basis of one of his novellas (1476) and from there indirectly influenced Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (ca. 1595).

In 1700 Anton Maria Salvini made a transcript of the manuscript text, to which his attention had been drawn by Montfaucon, and published an Italian translation of the novel in 1723. In 1726 the first printed text, based on a copy of a copy of Salvini's transcript, appeared in London, edited by Antonio Cocchi. The Greek text has been edited sixteen times⁷³ in all, always until 2005 by people who had either themselves not seen the manuscript at all or, while claiming to have seen it, frequently misreported it nonetheless. Of the older editions the most notable, apart from the editio princeps, are those of Locella (1796) and Peerlkamp (1818), both with variorum commentary. Very many scholars, some of them men of high reputation,⁷⁴ have given their critical attention either to the whole text, chief among these being the famous Tiberius Hemsterhuis, or to the occasional passage.

Opinions on Xenophon's merits as an author have varied very widely.⁷⁵ So, for example, from being "no less sweet" than Xenophon

of Athens (Poliziano, 1489) and “sweet and delightful to read” (J.A. Fabricius, 1728) he has become a “person of truly limited mind” (Rohde, 1876) and “a wretched scribbler” (Lesky³, 1971) of whose work we supposedly have, in any case, only an epitome; and the *Ephesiaca* has been variously called “a silly little novelette” (G.A. Bürger, 1775) and “this gem of a novel” (E.H. Haight, 1943). Over the past two centuries judgments on it have been overwhelmingly negative and it has become the fashion to refer to it in disparaging terms.⁷⁶

Whatever one’s aesthetic response to the *Ephesiaca* may be, it has, I hope, become clear that it is a most interesting document, crucial in the history of prose fiction.

Notes

1 I offer a sketch, all in English, of the material and views published (with much untranslated Greek) in my 1995 book on the *Ephesiaca* and in the Latin preface to my 2005 Teubner edition, with some response to critics and with fresh thoughts and emphases here and there. Lack of space has prevented treatment of some topics: on the novel as originally a concatenation of separate stories or novellae see Trenkner 1958 (esp. 178); cf. O’Sullivan 1995: 95 and on the implications of this for characterization in the *Ephesiaca* *ibid.* 38–39n9 with the crossreferences there. Those interested in narratology should see Morgan 2004: 489–92. The introduction to the new Loeb *Ephesiaca* (Henderson 2009: 200–2 and 209–10) contains, I discover, more or less a precis of my views. Henderson’s text and especially his version of bits of my *apparatus criticus* have, by the way, somehow become a minefield of error, including errors in the use of Latin.

2 On the author’s name and homeland see p. 47 below.

3 There is a more detailed epitome in O’Sullivan 1995: 20–29.

4 From the start the story is full of gods, which gods depending on where the action is taking place at each juncture.

5 This form of the name, with an H (a rough breathing in Greek) is the correct one, as Hemsterhuis already saw: beside “Anthia” (from the Greek for “flower”) the name will be intended to mean “he of the lovely hair” and for Xenophon “fine/lovely” will have been *habros*, not *abros*. Herodotus (no rough breathing in his dialect) and inscriptions (generally no breathings at all) are, *pace* Ruiz-Montero 1981, not promising sources of assistance here. On personal names in Xenophon in general see Hägg 1971.

6 The correct form (favored by meter 1,12,2; 5,4,11), as opposed to

“Antheia”; further O’Sullivan 2005: 3 (note on line 47).

7 Gärtner 1967: 2060, typically captious, talks of an extension to Anthia of Eros’ campaign against Habrocomes, but the plot requires an enamored girl and Habrocomes’ beauty is a natural enough cause of her reaction: note the actual wording at 1,3,1: “they see each other and Anthia is captivated by Habrocomes, and Habrocomes is overcome by Eros.”

8 Further O’Sullivan 1995: 20–1 with notes, 91–92 with nn.47 and 48.

9 On the meaning of the Greek here see O’Sullivan 1995: 22–23 with n.4.

10 The introduction of Rhode and Leucon at all at this point is to prepare for their role later on, in book 5.

11 The lovers are thus separated and are not reunited until 5,13,3.

12 The definite article is slightly odd, but too much has been made of it: see O’Sullivan 1995: 125–26; cf. *Odyssey* 4,640 (introduction of Eumaeus) with S. West *ad loc.* in Heubeck, A., West, S. and Hainsworth, J.B. 1988. *A Commentary on Homer’s Odyssey. Vol. I.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

13 Note how the all-controlling author makes Manto’s “selling” fib coincide with the truth, as his plot requires.

14 See p. 48 below.

15 On the slight time-flaw here see O’Sullivan 1995: 24n8.

16 This is to get Habrocomes out of the way and let things progress suitably in Tarsus.

17 Of whom he can know nothing, a good example of the kind of fault that must be attributed to Xenophon himself, not to any kind of editor (see O’Sullivan 1995: 91).

18 The difference between this and Callirhoe’s reaction in Chariton 1,9 is due to the fact that Anthia wakes in the tomb as a failed suicide, whereas Callirhoe never wanted to die. Gärtner’s criticism (1967: 2083–84) is, despite O’Sullivan 1995: 25n10, still repeated by Holzberg 2006: 71–72 (cf. ¹1986: 63–64) as his trump card for Xenophon’s dependence on Chariton!

19 On the presence of “men” see O’Sullivan 1995: 25n11; on the supposedly missing journey from Cappadocia back to Tarsus *ibid.* 127–28.

20 It seems that Habrocomes now sees the end of the oracle as referring to his being with Anthia’s corpse as Aegialeus is with Thelxinoe (contrast Gärtner 1967: 2067).

21 On the parents’ death see O’Sullivan 1995: 132n57.

22 A good example of plot-dictated implausibility to be attributed

to Xenophon himself, not some putative editor; further O'Sullivan 1995: 90.

23 The Greek term *historikos* was applied to a narrative prose author, whether of factual history or of a fictional story.

24 For a possible fourth novelist with the same name see Reeve 1971: 531n1.

25 Though I do not think it at all critical for the number of books, it is worth noting that, whereas in the text of the novel the lovers' names almost invariably (exceptions at 2,8,1; 2,10,4 and 5,10,6; the order at 1,12,2 and 5,4,11 is metrically determined) appear in the order "Habrocomes and Anthia" (cf. the constant "Leucon and Rhode") and in the narration of their experiences and adventures those of Habrocomes always come first, in the five book-titles and the subscription they are always in the order "Anthia and Habrocomes." This suggests that the titles do not come from the author himself. The order of names in the *Suda* is that of the text.

26 The transmission of numbers in Greek manuscripts is notoriously unreliable and there are similar errors elsewhere in the *Suda* (including variant readings within its own tradition).

27 Suggested by Rohde 1876: 401 (= ³1914: 429) with n.1 and elaborated by Bürger 1892.

28 Hägg 1966; O'Sullivan 1995: 99–139. I always regarded Hägg as having done enough to slay the epitome-dragon on his own (cf. O'Sullivan 1995: 10,102–35 [132]), but the power of academic inertia (often, no doubt, among those who had read neither Bürger nor Hägg, at least with any care) was too strong until very recently. For the relationship between Hägg's work and mine in this regard see Hägg 2004: 10.

29 Attempts to date authors on linguistic usage alone (so, recently e.g. Ruiz-Montero 1991 on Chariton; cf. Hernández Lara 1994) are futile. Scholars with a knowledge of Greek that few have today have varied wildly in their estimates in this regard; and, however (pseudo-)scientific one's approach, alone the fact that one is attempting, if one's aim is to attain any accuracy at all, to date an author not only in relation to others, but within his own writing life of perhaps fifty years should give one pause. There is a parallel here to the over-close dating of papyrus hands.

30 Further O'Sullivan 1995: 3–4. It is worth noting that the "ruler" had a blood-relative with the Greek name "Polyidus" (5,3,1).

31 Further O'Sullivan 1995: 4.

32 O'Sullivan 1995: 4–9 considered, for the sake of circumspection, both scenarios and concluded that whether or not Perilaus is taken as an irenarch, *in either case* he does not provide us with a firm basis

for dating Xenophon.

33 This central point is entirely missed by Rife 2002, who misrepresents the position taken by me (see n.32 above), takes various ill-conceived pot-shots at what he thinks I say, appropriates some significant points of mine, and ends up with something remarkably like my conclusions. His approach has, in any case, a fatal flaw: instead of trying to show that the kinds of things said of Perilaus (except, of course, for “in Cilicia”) would fit an irenarch, he needed to show – and this would have been impossible, as I had already demonstrated – that they could not fit other peace-officers that we know existed long before 116/117 C.E.

34 Further O’Sullivan 1995: 8–9.

35 This is not as surprising as it might seem: to see what is “revealed” (so, Hägg 2006: 144 [cf. “mostrato” 2002: 23], an outstanding *Kenner* of the *Ephesiaca* and its secondary literature; cf. also now Trzaskoma 2010: xxvi–xxvii, xxxvi) in my 1995 book one has, because of the way the relevant material is distributed through the novel, to rearrange the text extensively and then engage in further painstaking analysis. Claims of a prior gnostic access to the insights thus acquired, especially if they are anything but borne out in voluminous publications, should be taken with more than a pinch of salt.

36 It is not enough just to register in passing that the *Ephesiaca* is somehow formulaic: to deal successfully with Xenophon at any level, textual or literary(-historical), one must engage closely with his formularity and internalize a strong sense of its complexity, including its flexibilities and occasionally infelicitous inflexibilities. Such engagement should, e.g., forestall “emendation” of 3,12,4–5 (Konstan 2007: 38–40): further O’Sullivan 1995: 86–87, 106 with n.12.

37 For much fuller illustration and analysis of Xenophon’s compositional technique see O’Sullivan 1995: 30–68, also 103–22, 127 with n.42, 129–30, 141–43, 152–53, 154–61, 167, 174–87, and index 1 (pp. 201–6) s. vv. aural effects, crowd scene, dream, formula(e), formulaic density, keywords, motif, old man, prose, recitation, scene(s)/theme(s), theme-element(s), transitional text, transitions, unformulaic passages, voyaging and lodging; for comparison with works of acknowledged oral background *ibid.* 69–96.

38 What follows is adapted, with all Greek translated, from O’Sullivan 1995: 64–67. Formulae satisfying strict criteria of definition (*ibid.* 19) are underlined with an unbroken line when they occur at least twice within the quoted texts or with a broken

line when they occur only once in them. Repeated keywords are underlined with an unbroken line. A dotted line extending _____ or _____, or linking two such lines, indicates that material closely analogous to that above the dotted line also occurs elsewhere with the words more heavily underlined (further *ibid.* 31). The passages chosen are the most convenient for use here, not at all the most impressively formulaic.

39 This textual supplement is hardly in doubt; see O’Sullivan 1995: 59, 64–67, 175 and 1986: 82.

40 “prayed to” translates Hemsterhuis’ unquestionable emendation; see O’Sullivan 1982: 57.

41 The theme-element “beauty such as they had never seen before” (see 2,2,4; 5,5,8; cf. the use of “be astonished”, with its implication of *at first sight*) is omitted from 1,2,7, where it would not be appropriate: Anthia had often been seen by her fellow-citizens. In 1,1,1 we have a version of the theme-element adapted to suit the context (see n.43 below).

42 Translation of a supplement proposed in O’Sullivan 1982: 54.

43 The bones of the first page of the novel are those of a crowd-scene: “< such > beauty as had never before come to be either in Ionia or in any other land (1,1,1) ... they gave their attention to the boy as to a god ... there were even some who on seeing him bowed down and prayed to him (1,1,3).” This is fleshed out with a full introductory description of the hero’s beauty and attainments.

44 Compare also, e.g., 1,5,5–6 with 2,6,3 (O’Sullivan 1995: 40), 1,1,1–3 (*ibid.* 66n43) with the crowd-scenes at 1,12,1 and, especially, 2,2,4, also 5,1,6–7 with 3,2,4 (*ibid.* 54 and 58–59).

45 One should not (as, e.g. Reardon 2004 does) confuse talk – Propopian or not – of folktale, which has been the basis of much literature, with a proper formal demonstration of real oral affinity.

46 O’Sullivan 1995: 69–98.

47 E.g. the use of a formula in more than one situation (O’Sullivan 1995: 94–95), the retention of a formula inappropriate in a particular context (*ibid.* 86–87), and a whole series of oral/aural phenomena (*ibid.* 92–94). Besides, the theory of a popular, oral background will economically account for various flaws in the narrative hitherto attributed to different causes (author’s incompetence, epitomization: see especially Gärtner 1967: 2060–70 with O’Sullivan 1995: especially 134).

48 A view now accepted by, e.g., Hägg 2006: 166–67 (cf. 2002: 23–24) and 2004: 10,24, Merkelbach 1995: 346–47 with n.4 (*et per litteras*). The notion that Xenophon was only aping a popular/oral style (e.g. Ruiz-Montero, most recently 2003: 60) comes ultimately

(and nowadays, as is, alas, the use, often without acknowledgement) from Dalmeyda, who (1926: XXVII–XXXI) explained the few formulae he was aware of (see O’Sullivan 1995: 15–16) as due to the author’s wish to give his story “un air de conte populaire.” If Dalmeyda were alive today, I suspect he would himself be too intelligent to want to apply such an explanation to the true complex mass of Xenophon’s formularity, which is certainly the result of tradition and habit, not of deliberate policy. The idea that Xenophon was only copying an oral style fails to grasp the enormous difficulties of composition in such a formulaic idiom for someone for whom it had not become – by the force of repetition and habitual practice – something of a language within a language. To gain some appreciation of the great difficulties involved, try translating the *Ephesiaca* so as to preserve its formulaic texture, a task I have in hand at present.

49 O’Sullivan 1995: especially 96–97.

50 On the kind of thing one can encounter in this connection, presented as rock solid, see O’Sullivan 1995: 97n61.

51 Since Capra 2009: 47n85 expressly acknowledges the accommodating nature of my theory in this respect, it is surprising to find him in the same sentence talking of my presentation of it as “radical”.

52 For an examination of hiatus in relation to the epitome theory see O’Sullivan 1995: 135–39.

53 By Weissenberger 1996: 184–85 (picked up by Holzberg 2001: 74 and 2006: 71; contrast Bürger, Dalmeyda, Merkelbach, Gärtner: see O’Sullivan 1995: 14–16, 154) in his lengthy review of O’Sullivan 1995. Weissenberger says (p. 184) that, persuaded by Hägg and myself, he no longer believes at least in Bürger’s epitomator – the only one we had! – and goes on to see the formulae in the *Ephesiaca* as possibly the work of “an epitomator” (185). His position at least needs much clarification. In general he seems to grasp at purely theoretical straws in a rather blinkered way in the manner of an *advocatus diaboli*, and his review suffers from the fact that he shows virtually no knowledge (even in his quotations from the secondary literature) that he could not have had from the book he was reviewing (see also nn.55 and 69 below).

54 Whatever scenario one tries to play out here, none is remotely satisfactory and they all leave an impossible burden of anything resembling proof on whoever would espouse them; they simply have not been thought through at all.

55 O’Sullivan 1995: 99–100. This crucial point is missed by Weissenberger 1996: 184–85; even if the argument were not as

watertight as I believe, *it is there*. Cf. n.53 above. On the authenticity of the formulae *et sim.* see also n.69 below.

56 I.e. writing under the influence of the Second Sophistic, a literary-linguistic movement that had its heyday in the mid-first to second century C.E.

57 See O'Sullivan 1995: 145–66; recently, e.g., Reardon 1996 (= ²2003): 320 and 2004, who sees Xenophon as the imitator.

58 Cf. Nickau 1966: 544, Plepelits 1976: 7, O'Sullivan 1995: 145–66, Kytzler 1996 (= 2003): 347.

59 Linguistic considerations also play a role here (especially since Papanikolaou 1963 and 1973), but cf. n.29 above and O'Sullivan 1995: 146n7, 168n44.

60 See Reardon 1969: 295n12 and 2004: especially 184, 190, 191; cf., e.g., Hägg 1983: 17–18, 111–14, 243–44 and 2006: 145–46 (the uneconomical idea of a double *origin*, from oral storytelling [Xenophon] and historiography [Chariton], I do not find attractive), Morgan 1993: 186–87, Goold 1995: 10–12, 15, Meckelnborg and Schäfer 2006: VIII–X. Even if the talk is sometimes of influence *vel sim.* and expressions of strict generic development are avoided, it is clear that what is envisaged is *a primary impulse* shaping the novel at its birth.

61 For another dissenting view on Chariton's provenance from historiography, although for a different reason, see Whitmarsh 2005: 604–5.

62 See O'Sullivan 1995: 166n39.

63 Hägg 2006: 138–41 (cf. 2002: 17–19), Hägg and Utas 2003: 213–50.

64 See further Hunter 1994: especially 1056–64 (with earlier literature), also, e.g., Reardon 1996 (= ²2003) 324, 325–28.

65 Further O'Sullivan 1995: 96, 166.

66 Even proponents of a historiographical origin of the novel talk of Chariton's practice in a tell-tale way. So, e.g., Reardon 1996 (= 2003) 325–26: “[*Callirhoe*] purports ... to be a historical novel, in the sense that some of its characters and its background are supposedly drawn from Greek history. But this is superficial.”

67 In other words, Xenophon is not Chariton unaccountably denuded of history, but the more or less authentic representative of a tradition of story-telling that Chariton “historicized” to fulfill the expectations of literature.

68 Further O'Sullivan 1995: 154–66.

69 The presence of such material in Chariton at all is, of course, strong confirmation (contra Weissenberger: see n.53 above) of the

authenticity of the formulaic character of the *Ephesiaca*.

70 O'Sullivan 1995: 157. Weissenberger 1996: 188–89 misrepresents my argument here and wrongly sees it as dependent on the theory of oral background, from which it is kept carefully distinct (cf. O'Sullivan 1995: VII).

71 See O'Sullivan 1995: 168–70.

72 Further O'Sullivan 2005: V–XXXIV.

73 See O'Sullivan 2005: XVIII–XIX (a few of the publications listed there hardly deserve the name “edition”; so, most recently, Miralles: 1967); since then A. Borgogno, *Romanzi greci: Caritone d'Afrodisia, Senofonte Efesio, Longo Sofista* a cura di A. B., Torino 2005 (which I have not seen, but cf. Borgogno, A., “Contributi per un' edizione degli Ephesiaca di Senofonte Efesio.” *Invigilata Lucernis* 25, 2003: 31–47) and J. Henderson 2009 (Loeb; see n.1 above).

74 See the bibliography in O'Sullivan 2005: XIX–XXVIII and the “viri docti” listed on pp. XXX–XXXII.

75 Further O'Sullivan 1995: 9–13.

76 See, e.g., Anderson 1989: 126, Reardon 1991: 35–36, 37–38, 108–9, 116–18, 123. In very recent years a rather sudden, unmediated trend has emerged representing Xenophon, nowadays still generally seen as far the weakest of the Greek novels, as a highly sophisticated author, something of a philosopher (Dowden 2007, Doulamis 2007) and even a metaliterary theoretician on such matters as orality (König 2007) and space (Bierl 2006) in the novel. The burden of argument that such ideas, at any rate when they go beyond mere banalities, entail has, I feel, not been fully realized. The notion (Ruiz-Montero, e.g. 1994: 1116, most recently 2003: 59; cf., e.g., Bierl 2006: 79n34, citing Ruiz-Montero 1994) that the *Ephesiaca* is a conscious exercise in rhetorical *apheleia* (“simplicity,” which, properly understood, has nothing whatever to do with Xenophon’s remarkably *repetitive* narrative simplicity) is a particularly bogus red-herring based on misinterpretation and misapplication of the relevant Greek rhetorical texts; especially crass is the misrepresentation (Ruiz-Montero 1982: 318) of Demetrius, *On Style* 4,196, where he is talking merely of the epanaleptic repetition in the interests of clarity of the Greek particle *men* (“on the one hand”).

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Recommended Reading

Gärtner, Hans. 1967. "Xenophon von Ephesos." *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, IX A 2: 2055–2089. Out of date, but still in many respects a fundamental presentation of facts and controversies.

Hägg, Tomas. 1966 (printed 1969). "Die Ephesiaka des Xenophon Ephesios: Original oder Epitome?" *Classica et Mediaevalia* 27 118–161. Republished (translated into English and bibliographically updated) in *Parthenope* (below): 159–198. The long overdue refutation of Bürger's epitome theory of 1892, presented by Hägg with characteristic modesty and restraint.

Hägg, Tomas. 2002. "Il romanzo greco: modello unico o pluralità di forme?". In *Il romanzo, III: storia e geografia*, edited by F. Moretti, 5–32. Torino. Revised, English version ("The Ancient Greek Novel: a Single Model or a plurality of forms?") in *The Novel, I*, edited by F. Moretti, Princeton: Princeton University Press (2006), 125–155. Sets out the view that the novel developed from the "convergence of two main strands, a popular one with an oral prehistory (as demonstrated by O'Sullivan) and a more 'bookish' one, from the beginning with a strong attachment to history."

Hägg, Tomas. 2004. "Forty Years in and out of the Greek Novel: a Memoir." In Hägg, Tomas. *Parthenope* (below) 9–28. An agreeable account of the life-long involvement of a most impressive scholar with the Greek novel, starting with and repeatedly returning to Xenophon of Ephesus.

Hägg, Tomas. 2004. *Parthenope: Selected Studies in Ancient Greek Fiction*, edited by Lars Boje Mortensen and Tormod Eide. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen. A most useful collection of essays by Hägg, several of them concerning Xenophon of Ephesus.

O'Sullivan, James N. 1995. *Xenophon of Ephesus: his Compositional Technique and the Birth of the Novel*. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter. Argues on the basis of a close, revealing analysis of the *Ephesiaca* and comparative studies, inter alia, that the Greek novel had its origin in a tradition of oral storytelling.

O'Sullivan, James N. 2005. *Xenophon Ephesius, De Anthia et Habrocome Ephesiacorum Libri V*, edidit James N. O'Sullivan. Monachii et Lipsiae: K. G. Saur (Bibliotheca Teubneriana). Seems to be accepted as the standard edition of the Greek text; with introduction, bibliography, extensive apparatus criticus, and index verborum.

Trzaskoma, Stephen M. 2010. *Two Novels from Ancient Greece*:

Chariton's Callirhoe and Xenophon of Ephesos' An Ephesian Story: Anthia and Habrocomes. Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company. Lively, generally reliable translation with useful introductory material.

CHAPTER 4

Achilles Tatius, Sophistic Master of Novelistic Conventions

Kathryn S. Chew

Introduction

Of all the “ideal” novels, Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon* is the most real. Filled with lurid scenes that would make Chariton blush and Heliodorus click his tongue, Achilles’ novel pushes the boundaries of the genre. Much of our information about Achilles himself is second or third hand and as fanciful as his novel. Modern readers enjoy *Leucippe and Clitophon* because of its engaging narrator, its vivid characters with realistic motivations and behaviors, and its risqué story. The novel appeals to scholars for its unusual first-person narrative voice, its rich language that ranges from the ribald to the poetic to the erudite, and its subversive play with novelistic motifs. The wide spectrum of interpretations of this both brilliant and frustrating novel signals that *Leucippe and Clitophon* is the work of an accomplished litterateur.

The Author

The earliest extant testimony about Achilles comes from the ninth-century *Bibliotheca* of Photius (cod. 87), and the *Suda*, a tenth-century encyclopedia (*Lexicon* s.v. “Ἀχιλλεὺς Στατίος”). Both identify Achilles as Alexandrian. Photius disparages the moral quality of his story and considers the novel shameful and impure compared with Heliodorus. The *Suda* refers to the author as Achilles Statius, attributes

other works to him, and claims that he became a Christian bishop later in life. It seems quite possible that Achilles was an Alexandrian, but he most certainly does not imitate Heliodorus (see later section titled “Dating Leucippe and Clitophon”). The Byzantine manuscripts have decided the question of Achilles’ second name, spelling it with a “T.” His becoming a Christian bishop appears to be an apocryphal attempt both to justify reading a “pagan” author in Christian times and to associate Achilles further with Heliodorus, whose novel Achilles was thought to be imitating. Heliodorus also is said to have become a Christian bishop, and even to have renounced his bishopric instead of condemning his novel to the fire (Socrates *Hist. Eccl.* 5.22 and Photius *Bibl. cod.* 73; Nicephorus Callistus *Hist. Eccl.* 12.34). The enduring ancient popularity of Achilles’ novel is suggested by a Christianized sequel in Metaphrastes’ tenth-century menology, in which Leucippe and Clitophon, childless and desperate, are converted to Christianity in the hope of offspring. Their son Galaction marries a pagan woman, Episteme, and converts her, and they both are martyred under Decius. The dating of this dubious martyrdom is not entirely incompatible with the current dating for the novel.

The Text

The novel’s text survives antiquity in 23 manuscripts, which Vilborg (1955) thinks have a common ninth-century ancestor. Commelinus published the *editio princeps* in 1601. The definitive scholarly edition is Vilborg, though other versions, such as Gaselee (1969) and Garnaud (1991), have since appeared. The lexicon of O’Sullivan (1980) offers the most complete treatment of all textual resources. Vilborg (1962) is the only available English-language commentary.

There are more papyri from *Leucippe and Clitophon* than from any other novel: seven papyri from six different manuscripts. The most textually important papyrus is the first one, P.Oxy. 1250, from the late third century, which challenges the order of chapters in Book 2, inserting 2.2.1.2–2.3.2 between 2.8 and 2.9. The passage in question contains the mythical origins of the Tyrian wine fest of Dionysus and the description of a crystal wine bowl. The papyrus moves this event from the second dinner to the third and last dinner. This reading contradicts all the manuscripts, but it must be remembered that these manuscripts likely derive from a single ninth-century source. The emendation has been accepted among scholars, notably, in Winkler’s translation in Reardon 2008 (but not in Whitmarsh 2009), mainly because the papyrus offers generally reliable readings, the passage’s

deletion from chapter two is not noticeable, and its move better fits the story's erotic progress.

Dating *Leucippe and Clitophon*

Nineteenth-century scholars got off on the wrong foot with *Leucippe and Clitophon*, cleaving to Psellus' unfortunate assumption that Achilles was imitating Heliodorus' novel. Thus, Schmid (1894, 245) placed Achilles in the sixth century and Rohde (1876, 503) in the fifth century, while Wilamowitz (1905, 183) put him in the fourth century on stylistic grounds. In fact, dating Achilles after Heliodorus was part of the argument in Rohde's monumental work, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (*The Greek Novel and its Forerunners*), in which he theorized that the ancient novels devolved from decadence to simplicity and derived from love elegy and travel stories as products of the Second Sophistic intellectual movement, incorporating sophistic elements such as *ekphraseis* (extended descriptions), rhetorical speeches, and the like. As Rohde dated the Second Sophistic to the second or third century, he spread out the ancient novels accordingly, the sophisticated ones earlier and the simpler ones later: Xenophon (second to third century), Heliodorus (fourth century), Achilles (fifth century), Chariton (end of the fifth century), and Longus (before the end of the sixth century). How Rohde's definition of "simple" differs from that of the early twenty-first century!

Papyrological finds published in the twentieth century turned the dating of the ancient novels on its head. A papyrus of *Callirhoe* dated to the late second or early third century (Hunt 1910, 143) moved Chariton to the forefront of the novel genre. The parallels between *Leucippe and Clitophon* and *The Ethiopian Story* could not be ignored, however, and scholars still weighed the influence of Heliodorus on Achilles as late as 1938 (Durham). That same year, a papyrus of *Leucippe and Clitophon* (P.Mil.Vogl. 1244) was published with a late second-century date (Vogliano 1938). Now Heliodorus became the successor of Achilles! P.Oxy. 3836 corroborated the second-century date (Parsons 1989, 62), giving Achilles a firm *terminus ante quem*.

It is worth pondering why scholars persisted in assuming that Achilles was imitating Heliodorus rather than the other way around. Scholars saw Achilles as the inferior of Heliodorus: in morality, in technique, in a tendency toward the absurd, in subordinating style and story to rhetoric, and in abandoning the ideal in favor of the real. Like Rohde, these scholars presumed, perhaps following classical models, that literature deteriorated over time, that the first examples of a

genre were necessarily the better ones. Contemporary literary taste has developed to such an extent that the aspects which once were considered Achilles' weaknesses are now his strengths: his wit and willingness to push the boundaries of the genre (e.g. Whitmarsh 2003), his pastiche-like style (Fusillo 1988), his realism (Rojas Alvarez 1989), his humor (Anderson 1982), and his eroticism (Goldhill 1995). This is not to say that Achilles' is a perfect novel, but that scholarship of late has focused more on what he has to offer than on what he does not. Free of association with Heliodorus' novel, Achilles' novel can then stand on its own as a virtuoso work.

Internal evidence has refined the novel's date. In *Leucippe and Clitophon* (3.9–24, 4.1–18), as well as in Heliodorus' novel (1.1–3, 27–33; 2.1–3), there is a loose organization of pirates called the *Boukoloi* ("Herdsmen"). The Roman historian Dio Cassius reports a revolt of *Boukoloi* in Egypt in 171 CE (71.4.1–2). The fact that these Herdsmen sacrifice and consume the entrails of a centurion, similar to Leucippe's sacrifice, suggests that Achilles is basing this part of the novel upon actual events, which would place the novel in the last decades of the second century. Another piece of corroborating evidence pertains to Hellenic hairstyles: from the time of Hadrian to Constantine, it was fashionable for men to wear beards. At 2.18.3, a band of youths disguise themselves as women and shave off their beards. Plepeltis (1980, 11) suggests that this detail points to a post-Hadrianic date, i.e. after 138 CE. Finally, as Picard first noticed (1922, 52 n. 4), there is the mention of Clitophon's entrance to Alexandria through the Gate of the Sun, which is connected to a Gate of the Moon on the other side of the city by a long colonnade (5.1). Malalas describes a similar set of gates joined by a colonnade built by Antoninus Pius (138–161; *Chronographia* 11.280). If Pius was building new gates and not merely renaming extant ones, then this event could be a *terminus post quem*, mid-second century.

To sum up, Achilles is now dated to the last quarter of the second century, in the middle of the five canonical Greek novels: after Chariton and Xenophon (first century) and before Longus (early third century) and Heliodorus (mid-fourth century). *Leucippe and Clitophon* is also contemporary with other novelistic works, such as Lucian's *True History*, Pseudo-Lucian's *The Ass*, and Iamblichus' *Babylonian Story*. The number of papyri from *Leucippe and Clitophon* suggests that this novel enjoyed a relative popularity in antiquity, though from papyrological evidence it is clear that novels were far from popular literature in general.

Trends in Scholarship

As Reardon wrote, “no uncontested interpretation [of *Leucippe and Clitophon*] exists” (1994, 80). It is the ultimate ancient anti-novel that plays with and even mocks convention to such an extent that scholars often justify their readings of this novel by appealing to its unique status. There are, however, many areas of inquiry concerning this novel about which scholars agree to disagree. The most non-controversial and numerous of these are the works that address Achilles’ place in literature: literary allusions, the novel’s influence on contemporary and later writers, textual criticism, and dating. Otherwise, there are four main categories to which the rest of Achillean scholarship belongs: the novel’s style, the novel’s structure, the novel’s use of conventions, and the novel’s representation of contemporary social issues.

Scholars who comment on Achilles’ style most often conclude that he uses traditional elements in an innovative way, from *ekphrasis* (e.g. Nascimento 1999 and Zimmermann 1999) to metaphor (e.g. Bartsch 1991, Morales 1995) to myth (e.g. Reardon 2003, Reeves 2007). There are divergent opinions about Achilles’ relationship to literary tradition, from those who find influence from satyr plays (Anderson 1988), comedy (e.g. Anderson 1982), sophistic rhetoric, and philosophy (Anderson 1989, Goldhill 1995), particularly Platonic dialogues (e.g. Laplace 2007, Ní Mheallaigh 2007), or even the other ancient novels, whether satiric (Bartonková 1991) or ideal (Chew 2000). One of the most thorough analyses of this novel concludes that it is difficult to pin down (Morales 2004).

Most of the scholarship treating the novel’s reflection of contemporary society focuses on Greek identity in the Roman world (e.g. Liviabella Furiani 2000, Schwartz 2000, Waldner 2000), including critical theoretical approaches (e.g. Brethes 2003, Burrus 2005, Goldhill 2002). Scholars dispute most over the novel’s structure. While some look to Platonic dialogues (see the preceding text) or to social convention (Most 1989) for models to explain why the end of the novel does not return to its framing dialogue, others emphasize the novel’s uniqueness to account for its structural discontinuities (e.g. Nakatani 2003, Rabau 1997, Repath 2005). I have tried to resolve these problems by pointing out that Achilles reverses the traditional convention of introducing Eros first as in charge of the love affair and then Tyche, which change privileges disruption over love and accounts for the erotically unsatisfying end (Chew 2012).

While there is ample room for further exploration into the above-mentioned topics, the area ripest for development in Achillean

scholarship is the novel's treatment of novelistic conventions. Very few topics have been addressed in this area: *ekphraseis* (Bartsch), chastity (Chew 2000), Eros/Tyche (Chew 2012), ego-narrative (Reardon 1994, Whitmarsh 2003), digressions (Morales 2000), gardens (Somville 2001), *Scheintod* (Woronoff 2002), and the role of female characters (Haynes). This deficit is due to the lack of a comprehensive discussion of ancient novelistic motifs. In the interest of stimulating scholarship, the rest of this article will be devoted to that examination, working from the understanding that these conventions are established in the pre-Sophistic novels of Chariton and Xenophon and are then manipulated in the Sophistic novels, including Achilles'.

Novelistic Motifs

“Once upon a time” beginning

Chariton's (1.1) and Xenophon's (1.1–2) novels start by describing the beauty of the heroine and hero and announcing Love's intention to join them. Achilles' novel begins instead with a prologue, similar to Longus' prologue. (1–4), in which an anonymous first-person narrator strikes up a conversation with a stranger about Love, in a grove of plane trees. Clitophon's narrative begins with a mournful cast and starts from the premise that Love's unions bring suffering upon his victims (1.3). There is an obvious Platonic echo in the dialogue on love underneath the plane tree (e.g. the *Symposium*), and in that, like some Platonic dialogues, the original narrative frame is never revisited. This could account for the structure, but what about the tragic tone? Most (1989) has the most convincing explanation for this: that it was a *topos* in ancient literature for strangers to lament their lots in life to new acquaintances.

The third-person narrator

The other canonical Greek novels are third-person narratives. Lucian's *True History* and Pseudo-Lucian's *The Ass* are the only other first-person Greek novelistic works, as well as the Latin novels, Petronius' *Satyricon* and Apuleius' *Golden Ass*. Achilles' use of a first-person narrator initiates fundamental changes to the novel, such as the muting of the heroine's voice, the shifting of the story's focus from the

heroine to the hero (see later subsection titled “*The focus on the heroine*”), and the recalibration of the gods (see later subsection titled “*Eros, Tyche, and gods in general*”). Reardon (1994) points out that the psychological realism allows the novel to push some conventions, such as the heroine’s *Scheintod* and the hero’s chastity, further than a third-person narrator might. Whitmarsh (2003) explores how Achilles problematizes the act of readership through his portrayal of Clitophon as narrator and interpreter.

Love at first sight

Chariton’s, Xenophon’s, and Heliodorus’ main characters fall in love at first sight; Konstan (1994) argues that this establishes erotic equality and reciprocity for the lovers. Clitophon falls for Leucippe at once (1.4), but the heroine takes some courting before she is wooed (2.9). Leucippe’s reluctance to succumb to the hero motivates Clitophon to pursue her aggressively and adds erotic spice to the story. Once she falls for Clitophon, however, Leucippe’s devotion, like that of other heroines, is unshakable.

The elite status and beauty of the heroine and hero

The heroine and hero hold prominent social positions, which make their separation from home all the more poignant, for these couples symbolize their society, and their fate is their society’s fate (see Cooper 1996). All who see the heroine and hero liken them to gods or mythical heroes. Their beauty is their pedigree, in the Homeric sense: it represents their superior birth, nature, and character, and thus cannot be tarnished by suffering or disfigurement. Callirhoe’s beauty outshines her slave status (2.3.10). Even with her hair shorn, Anthia remains stunning (5.5.4–8), and Charicleia’s eyes shine out of her hideous disguise (7.7.7). So too are Leucippe’s looks immune to the ravages of slavery, filth, and a shaven head (5.17).

The focus on the heroine

The other canonical Greek novels center around the heroines, who represent what is desirable, suffer the most in the stories, and whose personal chastity enables them to regain their place in society (see Haynes 2003, 156–162, who finds that the emotional strength of the

heroine problematizes the hero's masculinity). Chariton's novel demonstrates the heroine's significance by its last sentence: "so much have I written about Callirhoe" (8.8.16). Moreover, the title of this novel has been recently revised from *Chaireas and Callirhoe* to *Callirhoe*, based on papyrological evidence (P.Mich. 1). Anthia's importance is calibrated by the number of her potential seducers, 11, to Habrocomes' paltry three. In Longus' novel, Pan announces that "Love wants to make a story about [Chloe]" (2.27.2), and the novel's denouement focuses solely on Chloe's experience on her wedding night (4.40). Heliodorus' story centers upon Charicleia's quest for her heritage; Theagenes is more appendage than equal. *Leucippe and Clitophon* cleverly maintains the preceding requirements for the heroine (as object of desire, target of suffering, and keeper of virginity) while focalizing the story through the hero. As Clitophon shifts in Book 6 from telling things as he perceives them in the story to including other events that he finds out later, the reader gains greater insight into Leucippe's character but is always peering through the window of Clitophon's eyes.

Eros, Tyche, and gods in general

The gods Eros/Love and Tyche/Chance are a staple of the canonical Greek novels. Eros initiates the action in Chariton's (1.1.4), Xenophon's (1.2.1), and Longus' (1.7.2, 1.11.1) novels, and Tyche complicates matters. Achilles' first-person narrator necessarily constrains the participation of the gods in the story; as events are focalized through Clitophon, the reader sees only his or other characters' interpretations of the gods' action in the world. Though Clitophon exhibits a novelistically conventional belief in both Eros and Tyche, he identifies Tyche as the god who first enters his life (1.3.3), by introducing Leucippe, before Eros makes him succumb to love.

The chastity of the heroine

Novelistic heroines must above all adhere to virginity, if they are unwed, and chastity, if married, for their fidelity is their guarantee of reintegration back into their societies after their adventures (Cooper 1996, 36–44). Thus, Chloe and Charicleia wed as virgins at the end of their novels, and Callirhoe and Anthia, who both marry at the start of their stories, maintain fidelity, after a fashion, to their heroes. Leucippe not only steals kisses with the hero (2.7–8), as other heroines

do, but she also agrees to an unprecedented premarital tryst (2.19 and 23). Compare to this the “sinless and still virginal love” that informs the kisses and embraces of Heliodorus’ couple (5.4.5). After the abortion of this tryst by the sudden entrance of the girl’s mother, who has envisioned Leucippe’s deflowering in a symbolic dream (2.23), Leucippe’s behavior becomes conventionally chaste; she even expresses a willingness to take a virginity test to console her fretting mother (2.28) and later rebuffs Clitophon’s pressure to have sex (4.1). Leucippe flirts with disaster, but in the end she is just a tease.

The hero’s sidekick

This is a convention as old as Homer. Aside from preventing the hero’s suicide, the sidekick assists the hero in his continual quest for the heroine and provides a comparison for the heroine and hero’s love. Chaireas has his Polycharmus, Habrocomes has Hippothous, and Theagenes has Knemon and Thyamis. Of these, Hippothous’ sexual preference includes both males and females, while Knemon and Thyamis prefer females. Clitophon’s sidekicks, his cousin Clinias and fellow traveler Menelaus, both have a male-oriented sexuality and, like Hippothous, have suffered the tragic loss of a lover. Achilles might be contrasting the different types of love, but there is a further rhetorical component, for he parlays this difference in sexuality to spark an explicit dialogue on the comparative virtues of boys and women as sexual partners (2.35–38).

Travels

Exploring the world is so integral to the ancient novels that Rohde (1876, 178–183) hypothesized their derivation from travel stories. The pre-Sophistic novelists use travel to create excitement by putting lovers in hazardous situations that threaten both their chastity and their lives. Longus innovates on the travel theme by having outsiders invade his country setting, and Charicleia’s quest paradoxically takes her closer to home the further she moves from Greece. Achilles uses travel in part conventionally, in part as a pretext to display his rhetorical prowess at *ekphraseis* (1.1; 3.6–8; 5.3–5) and descriptions of strange animals (3.25; 4.4; 4.19) and other lore (2.14; 8.6; 8.12).

Digressions and descriptions

Achilles pioneers the way for other Sophistic novelists’ use of

ekphraseis and descriptions, as well as forensic arguments. His artistic and horticultural *ekphraseis* serve as foreshadowing or metaphor (Bartsch 1991, Morales 2004): the painting of Europa at the novel's beginning to characterize the tenor of the story (1.1), the carefully tended garden as a metaphor for Leucippe's virginity (1.15), and the paintings of Andromeda and Prometheus (3.6–8) and Philomela (5.3–5) to foreshadow Leucippe's fates. In addition, Achilles pays attention to emotional affect on human behavior and devotes many digressions to this theme (e.g. 1.6; 2.29; 3.11; 5.13; 6.6–7; 6.19; 7.4), his initial treatment of which is programmatic: the soul, wounded by love, becomes susceptible to a variety of emotions (1.4.4–5) to which, it is implied, a whole person would not be susceptible. His cacophonous courtroom speeches entertain with rhetoric (7.11), melodrama (8.2), and comedy (8.9). Often slick, always controversial, Achilles repays his observant reader.

Pirates and adventures on the high seas

No ancient Greek novel story is complete without an encounter with pirates and exposure to the dangers of sea travel. Achilles treats his reader to a glorious description of a shipwreck (3.1–5). While Chariton and Heliodorus arguably create the most memorable pirate characters, Theron and Thyamis, Achilles adds some broader social context to his pirates; more than stock characters, they are men who act in their own interests, independent of laws and custom, and they can be anyone. First, Callisthenes, the ruffian who kidnaps Clitophon's sister Calligone by mistake (2.13; 2.15; 2.18), is not a disenfranchised youth but one lacking in parental supervision (2.13.1). Then, Clitophon's friend Menelaos knows some of the Egyptian *Boukoloi*/Herdsmen who capture their second ship (3.9–10), and thus saves Leucippe from becoming a virgin sacrifice (3.19–22). Lastly, Chaireas, a fisherman-cum-mercenary, befriends Leucippe and Clitophon, shades of Chariton's Mithridates (*Callirhoe* 4.4), with the ulterior motive of kidnapping Leucippe (5.3; 5.7). The author's familiarity with the *Boukoloi* Revolt suggests that Achilles might be enhancing his narrative with current news stories.

Separation of the heroine and hero

Various catastrophes separate both Chariton's and Xenophon's lovers, which fuels a desire in the reader to see the pairs reunited. Achilles puts a few spins on this convention. A consequence of keeping his

lovers apart is that, given the first-person narrator, Leucippe periodically disappears from the “consciousness” of the narrative. In fact, after her second *Scheintod*, the reader’s belief in Leucippe’s death lasts for 10 whole chapters, which is not so many in comparison with Heliodorus’ novel, except for the fact that Clitophon marries in the interim. Achilles also creates the innovation of the lovers being “together but apart” when an overdose of aphrodisiac drives Leucippe mad (4.9 and 10; 4.15–17), a ploy Heliodorus also adapts (8.9.21–22).

Scheintod of the heroine

A prominent feature of the heroine’s suffering is her “apparent death,” which facilitates the lovers’ separation. Chaireas fells Callirhoe with a kick (1.4.12–1.5.1); she awakens in her tomb only to be stolen by robbers (1.8). To avoid marriage, Anthia takes a soporific poison, is buried, and then kidnapped by robbers (3.5–8). Charicleia appears to be slain by a brigand (1.30.4–1.31.1), but it turns out to be another girl (2.5–6). Achilles crosses the line into melodrama with his grotesque take on this convention: Leucippe endures three grisly *Scheintoden* (3.15; 5.7; 7.1–3) plus an imagined one (2.23)—two guttings, one beheading, and one not described. An *ekphrasis* foreshadows each of these. Clinias’ comment to Clitophon after Leucippe’s third *Scheintod*, “For who knows if she is alive once more? For has she not died many times? Did she not keep returning to life many times?” (7.6.2), underscores Achilles’ self-conscious absurdity. Leucippe’s *Scheintoden* are similar to the trials of the female Christian martyrs.

Erotic rivals

Each heroine faces several seducers (Callirhoe three, Anthia 11, Leucippe four, Chloe two, and Charicleia four), and every hero except Chaireas faces at least one, usually of the opposite sex. Succumbing to seduction is the equivalent of social suicide for the heroine. Aside from the irony that Leucippe’s first unsuccessful seducer is none other than Clitophon, the erotic rivals who plague her are of the garden variety: lust-driven, self-centered men. Melite, Clitophon’s amorous pursuer, evokes Chariton’s Dionysius in the sympathy her character elicits with her lovelorn suffering. Melite stands out from other rivals because she values Clitophon’s happiness above her own, for even after she learns that Leucippe is alive, she does not succumb to

jealousy (6.26–7.1). All other rivals, Dionysius included, think first of themselves. Achilles creates a unique masterpiece in Melite, the tragic female lover. This might be analogous to the tragic male-oriented lover, since elite women usually did not determine their own relationships in the ancient world, and thus any affairs of the heart were likely doomed to failure (see, e.g. Treggiari 1991, 83–124).

The chastity of the hero

The faithfulness of the heroine to the hero is reciprocal. Habrocomes scorns all suitors. Heliodorus crafts Theagenes much in the image of Habrocomes, but Achilles and Longus play with the concept of male fidelity. To learn how to make love, Daphnis needs an actual lesson, provided by an older city woman whose passion is quelled by a single encounter (3.15–19). Daphnis' naïve motivation acquits him of true transgression. Clitophon, however, is far from a typical chaste hero. At the novel's start, he is not even a virgin, having had some past dealings with prostitutes (2.37.5). Not only does Clitophon try to bed Leucippe before any nuptial arrangement (2.19; 2.23–25), but he also tries to seduce her again mid-adventure (4.1). Then Clitophon technically violates the principle of amorous fidelity by his capitulation to Melite's desire, justifying himself by clever argument (5.27). The line Achilles playfully walks here is that the hero have no carnal knowledge of the heroine, so Clitophon states baldly to Leucippe's father that "if there is any such thing as male virginity, that is how I am with regards to Leucippe up to now" (8.5.7). Clitophon's cunning rhetoric is supported by Melite's truth trial, at which she uses a similar rhetorical ploy, swearing that she was not unfaithful to Thersander during his absence (8.11), for she does not commit adultery until after his return!

The suffering of the heroine: slavery

Erotic rivals test the heroine's chastity; other suffering, especially enslavement, tests her nobility. Like other heroines, Leucippe holds up admirably, passing unscathed through almost as many hands as Anthia. When threatened with torture to make her more subservient, Leucippe's reply evokes the stories of Christian female martyrs:

Set up the instruments of torture. Bring the wheel—here are my hands, stretch them. Bring the whips—here is my back, beat it. Bring fire—here is my body, burn it. Bring the knife too—here is my neck, cut it. See a new kind of contest: one woman takes on

all the instruments of torture and conquers them all! (6.21)
The heroine's innate nobility is as unassailable as her beauty.

The suffering of the hero: the propensity toward suicide

Heroes suffer in the novels, but not as much as the heroines, for they face far fewer erotic rivals and trials of character. Separation from the heroines is a major source of suffering for the heroes, so much so that they attempt suicide and consequently need rescuing, usually by their sidekicks, a motif familiar from New Comedy. Chaireas leads the pack, with six near suicides (1.5; 1.6; 3.3; 3.5, 5.10; 6.2), Habrocomes has one (3.10), and Theagenes threatens once (7.26). Clitophon approaches suicide twice, after Leucippe's first (3.16–3.17.1) and third (7.6–7) *Scheintoden*. Each time his friends save him. The hero's dependence upon the heroine underlines her centrality to the structure and meaning of the novel.

War

Armed conflict enters into the story of each novel and is a symbol of the world in upheaval that lurks beyond the safe boundaries of the heroine and hero's homes. In *Callirhoe*, the war between Egypt and Persia sweeps the lovers along in its wake (6.8). A campaign against pirates in Xenophon's novel (5.3) catches Anthia in its nets. In Longus' novel, war comes between the Mytileneans and Methymneans, who kidnap Chloe (3.1–2). The Ethiopians' defeat of the Persians wins Charicleia and Theagenes as spoils (9.1–20). In addition to the war that causes the lovers' meeting at the beginning of the novel (1.3), *Leucippe and Clitophon* features the war against the *Boukoloi*/Herdsman (3.13–14; 4.12–14), who capture both Clitophon and Leucippe, whose rescue puts them at the mercy of a lusty general (4.7).

The heroine and hero prove their mutual fidelity

In comparison with earlier Greek and Latin literature, sexual mores in the novels become appreciably degenerated. The heroines' proof of fidelity takes its model from Penelope (*Od.* 23.226–229). For married women, their word, their beauty, and their behavior bespeak their

honor. Callirhoe's loveliness and nobility testify to her integrity (8.1.11–12) long before she tells her story privately to Chaereas (8.1.14–16). Anthia proudly lists to Habrocomes the catalogue of men who have failed to seduce her, and Habrocomes pledges like devotion (5.14). Achilles stretches this convention with Leucippe, who is chaste in body if not in mind. That Pan, a god who has had his share of virgins, presides over her virginity test (8.6; 8.14), is pure comedy, as is Melite's farcical truth test. Heliodorus transforms this romp into ritual, inventing the gridiron virginity test for both heroine and hero (10.9).

The redemptive power of love

The Greek novel borrows the New Comedic *topos* that all eligible characters, especially the sidekicks, be paired at the story's end, their assumption of proper social roles underscoring the meaning of love. This includes not only Anthia and Habrocomes' former slaves, but also Hippothous, who adopts his young male lover. Chaereas betroths his sister to Polycharmus (8.8.12), and Dionysius takes home Callirhoe's son (8.4.5–6). In Heliodorus' novel, Knemon finds himself in love and married off, when he can no longer serve the plot (6.8.1–2); Thyamis regains his high priesthood (7.11.6), the equivalent of the social position that marriage provides. In *Leucippe and Clitophon*, love redeems Callisthenes, Calligone's kidnapper (2.18), for by the end of the novel he becomes a model citizen and wins over her heart (8.17). Notably missing from the tidy ending are the fates of Clinias and Melite. Clinias last appears in the final chapter when he announces that Thersander has fled the city (8.19.1). Melite's final act is to arrest the overseer who kept Leucippe captive (8.14). Given the sympathy aroused by Melite's character, it is not unreasonable for the reader to want closure with her story. Perhaps Melite's reward is a virtual divorce from Thersander, but that is left beyond the story's context. The lack of compensation for Clinias is more puzzling, and this question extends into the next topic.

Happily ever after

The novel ends quite matter-of-factly: the lovers quit their legal obligations in Ephesus, get married in Byzantium, attend Calligone's wedding in Tyre, then plan to leave for Byzantium after the winter. For a novel so given to description, emotion, and excitement, this conclusion disappoints. Compare Callirhoe's sentimental scene in

Aphrodite's temple (8.8.15–16), Xenophon's "and they lived the rest of their life together as one big festival" (5.15.3), Chloe's wedding night (4.40), or Charicleia and Theagenes' triumphal marriage (10.41). Beyond the lackluster tone, the ending does not fit the beginning, where Clitophon meets the first narrator in Sidon. Where is Leucippe? And why is Clitophon in Sidon? Various interpretations have been proposed: the ending follows the initial Platonic setting; Achilles departs from his "stranger's lament" structure to give an obligatory happy ending (Most 1989); the inconclusive ending shows the limits of erotic instruction (Morales 2004, 151); the novel is not unfinished but unique (Rabau 1997); or, as befits its design, the novel has a deliberately non-happy non-ending (Repath 2005). These explanations are not fully satisfying. An alternative reading takes into account that Tyche/Chance, and not Eros/Love, is the initiating god in this story. By switching the sequence of Eros and Tyche, Achilles subordinates love to chance, and it is chance that ends this novel, as Clitophon concludes by leaving his story open-ended.

Brief *Nachleben*

Achilles' novel is the inspiration for Eumathius Macrembolites' Byzantine novel *Hysmine and Hysminias*. The other Byzantine novelists obviously knew Achilles' novel but *Leucippe and Clitophon* does not inform their works to the same degree as it does Macrembolites'.

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Further Readings

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CHAPTER 5

Heliodorus, the *Ethiopian Story*

Marília P. Futre Pinheiro

The Author and His Work¹

The data available to us about Heliodorus are scarce, fragmentary, and sometimes contradictory, and the sources contain several gaps that render them baffling. The few testimonies that survive are external and internal in nature. Our earliest testimony is that of Socrates, a church historian who wrote early in the fifth century AD about events that occurred between 306 and 439 AD. In a passage of his *Ecclesiastical History* [5, 22 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 67, col. 63, and Colonna (1938), Test. I.)], he claimed that ecclesiastical celibacy was introduced by Heliodorus when he was appointed Bishop of Tricca, in Thessaly, and also that it is said that he composed an erotic book, which he wrote in his youth, entitled *Aethiopika*. (In the postscript of his work, Heliodorus refers to it as τὰ περὶ Θεαγένην καὶ Χαρίκλειαν Αἰθιοπικά “Ethiopian Story Concerning Theagenes and Charicleia.” Over the centuries, it has circulated with the titles *Aethiopika*, *Ethiopica*, *Ethiopian Story*, *The Story of Theagenes and Charicleia*, and *Charicleia*.)

The idea that Heliodorus became a Christian and later a bishop persisted in Byzantium, and in the ninth century Photius (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 73, *sub fine*; Bekker, 51b, 40–41) transmitted this information. In the fourteenth century, Nicephorus Callistus (*Hist. Eccl.* 12, 34 [Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 146, col. 860, and Colonna (1938), Test. I]) corroborated the story, but further added that, because the *Aethiopika* had scandalized so many young people, the local synod allowed Heliodorus to choose one of two options: resign his bishopric or burn his novel. He chose the first option. This information, however, is not sufficient for us to conclude that Heliodorus lived between 306 and

439 AD, since it is possible that Socrates was referring *en passant* to a practice that took place before 306 AD.

Also worthy of mention is the comment found at the end of the oldest manuscript of the *Aethiopika* (*Vaticanus Graecus* 157), which dates from the late eleventh century. Here, a fourteenth-century annotator wrote that Heliodorus, author of the *Aethiopika* and Bishop of Tricca, lived in the time of Theodosius the Great and wrote a poem in iambic verse about the manufacture of gold, which was dedicated to Theodosius, as originally claimed by Georgius Cedrenus (eleventh century). Georgius Cedrenus does not relay this information, but rather the eleventh-century chronicler Theodosius Melitenus (Colonna 1938, Test. III and XIV), who dates Heliodorus' office to the reign of Theodosius without specifying which "Theodosius" was meant. The chronographer's error is due to confusion between two homonymous individuals who lived at different times: the iambic poem about alchemy, attributed by the medieval chronicler to Heliodorus, is later than 610–641 AD, so that the emperor Theodosius who receives the dedication must be Theodosius III (716–717 AD). This misunderstanding was certainly fuelled by the most important and controversial exemplum of internal evidence: the *sphragis* with which Heliodorus concludes his novel, in which he identifies himself as Theodosius' son, one of the clan of the Descendants of the Sun.

Although they are apparently unconnected, these pieces of information provide a backdrop that help to reconstruct a hypothetical biography. Whether or not Socrates' reference to the *Aethiopika* is correct, it sets the second half of the fourth century as a *terminus ante quem* to the novel. It is known that Philostratus wrote *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* at the request of Julia Domna, but it is almost certain that, when the work was published, she was already dead, since the book is not dedicated to her (see Crespo Güemes 1979, 10–11 and n. 3). If we take into account the coincidences between Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* and the *Aethiopika*, we can establish the year 217 as a *terminus post quem* for Heliodorus.

A later date for the novel is reinforced by the similarities between the siege of Syene described in *Aethiopika* 9 and two panegyrics (*Orations* 1 and 2) of Constantius written by the future emperor Julian. In both panegyrics, Julian provides a detailed description of events that occurred in the year 350 AD, in particular the important victories of Constantius against the Persians in the East and against Magentius in the West. The coincidences between Julian and Heliodorus cannot be fortuitous, and since there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of Julian's account (supported by other contemporary sources), it is left to wonder who borrowed from whom: Heliodorus from Julian or vice versa? Whichever position one takes, arguments

point to a later date for the *Aethiopika*, which must have been composed between 350 and 375 AD.²

The Novel's Setting

Egypt represents the very soul of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*. Serving either as background scenery for the action, a privileged itinerary, or an essential port of call for the characters, Egypt is present throughout the work. The action takes place during the Persian occupation of this country, more precisely between the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 BC and the Egyptian and Persian campaign of Alexander the Great (333 BC). Egypt is therefore the geographical and human setting in which the author arranges the pieces of his narrative chessboard at the primary level of the discourse. It is also a pretext for digressions of an ethnographic nature and for highly varied descriptions filled with great exoticism, most notably those on the Nile and its floods. The Nile is, in fact, the guiding thread of all the action (Bonneau 1992 uses papyrological documents to show that both Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius had a comprehensive knowledge of the various stages in the river's cycles; for the Nile as a rhetorical topos, see Plazenet 1995). The narrative begins at an already advanced stage of the plot, at the Heracleotic mouth of the Nile, and ends at Meroe, the capital of Ethiopia, roughly 40–50 days later, accompanying Charicleia's troubled journey back to her father's home, which she had departed under circumstances that the narrator gradually reveals through extensive secondary narratives cleverly slotted into the main story.

The designs of the gods led the heroes from Greece to Egypt and then on to Ethiopia. Many of these designs are related through Calasiris, the high priest at Memphis, who plays a crucial role in the development of the plot and is the main driving force behind the action that takes place in the course of the novel's prehistory (see Sandy 1982a, 65–74; Winkler 1982; Futre Pinheiro 1991b; Rutherford 2000, 203–209; and Kim forthcoming). At the orders of the oracle, Calasiris arranges the flight of Theagenes and Charicleia (who met at Delphi), and thus allows Charicleia to return to Ethiopia and ensure the final consecration of the couple at Meroe to Helios and Selene, respectively. Calasiris appears as the true representative of the Egyptian mantle and Neo-Platonic theosophy (Sandy 1982b, 142–154). After playing a leading role for much of the narrative, he dies in Memphis, having fulfilled his mission of reconciling his two warring sons (7.6ff.).³

Egypt was the quintessential land of superstition and magic, and

Heliodoros' novel pays homage to this reputation. The episode of the old woman in the village of Bessa (6.14.3), whose spells succeed in resuscitating the corpse of the son who died in a battle between the Persian army and followers of Thyamis, is symptomatic of the explosion of activities related to the occult, magic, and superstition at a time of intense ideological and religious upheaval (see Futre Pinheiro 1991a, especially 376–377; Cauderlier 1992, especially 222). Emphasis has occasionally been placed on Heliodoros' attitude toward religion. For some, he was a devout follower of Helios, the Sun God, whose worship was fairly widespread in Emesa, the Syrian city where Heliodoros claimed to originate, according to the novel's postscript (10.41.4).⁴ Without going into details, it is noteworthy to stress that Apollo, the god who commands the unfolding of events, is identified with Helios almost at the end of the novel (10.36.3).⁵ Since the syncretic worship of Helios, the “Invincible Sun” (*Sol invictus*), became the official religion of the Empire in the last phase of the Greco-Roman world (see Cumont 1980, 114 and 134), it is reasonable that, in a novel with a religious bias, the author should have felt drawn to Egyptian deities, all the more so because the work exudes an atmosphere related to that reality. Another Egyptian divinity that appears in the *Aethiopika* is the goddess Isis, who appears to Thyamis in dreams (1.18.3ff. See Futre Pinheiro 1991, 366–367 and MacAlister 1996, 78ff. and 151). An erroneous interpretation of that apparition leads the character to commit a false murder since, instead of Charicleia, he mistakenly murders Thisbe, a flute player. In turn, at the end of the novel, Charicleia too is consecrated to Selene, the goddess of the Moon (10.41) (on the novel's final scenes, see Futre Pinheiro 1991a, especially 151–152).

One local curiosity that catches the modern reader's attention is the description of the Land of Herds (βουκολία, 1.5.2–4) and the cabins or huts (σκηναί, 1.33.4; καλύβαι, 2.3.2) constructed from woven reeds, which provide shelter for the βουκόλοι (“herdsmen”), who were active in the marshes of the Nile Delta and lived from pillaging and slave traffic. Thyamis, Calasiris' elder, son leads this gang. Thyamis took refuge with the robbers and became their leader, defending the rights of this group ostracized and condemned to poverty, whose fight had both nationalistic and religious motivations (see Rostovtzeff 1961, 337ff.; MacMullen 1966, 179–199; Scarcella 1981, 353ff.; Anderson 1984, 89ff.; Lewis 1985; Futre Pinheiro 1989, 17–42, especially 27ff.; McGing 1998; Alston 1999; and Rutherford 2000).

The narrative unfolds along the Nile, the most powerful of the gods (9.9.3) in the eyes of the Egyptians. Along the Nile, exotic animals appear, such as the crocodile “which slithers as a dark shape close to

the ground and plunges into the waters of the river” (6.1.2), and the giraffe, which is described in painstaking detail (9.27.2) and fills the subjects of the Ethiopian king, Hydaspes, with great admiration.

Calasiris gives a rational explanation for the mystery of his origin and that of the annual floods (2.28). Taking advantage of the celebration of the greatest of all festivals in Egypt, τὰ Νεῖλωα, the most important event in the Egyptian religious calendar celebrated around the time of the summer solstice (i.e. around June twenty first, when the river’s annual flooding begins), the narrator presents us with the popular version of the river’s divine nature: “those who have reached the higher grades of the mysteries they initiate into clear knowledge in the privacy of the holy shrine, in the light cast by the blazing torch of truth” (9.9.5) (in 9.9.4, the land is Isis and the Nile Osiris; see Morgan 2008, 544, n. 206 and 207).

The praise that priests heap upon the Nile for Hydaspes’ conquest of Syene is “a genuine panegyric” (Feuillatre 1966, 42), which also reveals to the Ethiopian sovereign curiosities of a scientific nature, such as the well that measures the Nile, and the sundials that, at the summer solstice, cast no shadow at noon (9.22.3–4; see Cauderlier 1992, 223).

In the far south of Egypt, the cities of Syene, Elephantine, and Philae are scenes of constant skirmishes, for the emerald mines there were coveted both by the Egyptians and the Ethiopians. These battles, which fill Book 9, introduce the character of Hydaspes, the king of Ethiopia, who, after his victory over the Persian forces, returns to Meroe, the capital, accompanied by captured prisoners, including Theagenes and Charicleia.

Meroe is described as a kind of Island of the Blessed (Cauderlier 1992, 222), as the kingdom of happiness and utopia (Futre Pinheiro 2006, especially 159–164), with special attention being drawn to the enormous reeds split down the middle, which Ethiopians used to construct little vessels (10.4.6). There is also mention of the fertility of the soil, which produces the tallest trees in the world and a prolific yield of cereal crops, with stress on the height of the palm trees that bear massive, succulent dates (10.5.2).

Which sources did Heliodorus use to describe the customs of the Egyptians and the Ethiopians in such great detail? Did this knowledge result from his own experience, or was it the fruit of book knowledge? Our author certainly mixed data from his own experience with other information drawn from various sources. Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Xenophon were undoubtedly on his literary horizons. Bonneau (1992, 213 and 215) believes Heliodorus’ knowledge of botany came from his own personal experience, and many other

elements in his work, such as the building of dykes or questions related with the Nile floods can be proved through papyrological evidence.

Heliodorus' view of Egypt in the *Aethiopika* is the reflection of a collective feeling of the Greeks and Romans, which consisted of a mixture of curiosity and attraction, and, at the same time, a sense of rejection. As Nimis stresses (2004), Egypt is portrayed as the terrifying "other" of Greco-Roman culture, at the same time celebrated as an ancient site of mystery and rebirth. He also claims that this ambivalence is metaphorically exploited in the ancient novels in order to make statements about contemporary relationships and realities (see also Smith 1927 and Brioso Sánchez 1992).

Literary Aesthetics and Rhetoric

The *Aethiopika* is one of the most remarkable works of the Second Sophistic, the literary aesthetics that dominated the Greco-Roman world from the second century BC to the fourth century AD.⁶ Heliodorus is among the greatest literary exponents of the Second Sophistic and a master of literary prose. He cultivated a style that modeled the syntax and exhausted the arsenal of rhetorical "pyrotechnics" (Colonna 1987; Feuillatre 1966, 51–102; Giangrande 1971; Krevelen 1961; Mazal 1981).

The first example of Heliodorus' rhetorical and sophistic "competence" appears in the novel's opening scene. The action begins *in medias res*, and the reader is abruptly plunged, through the literary device of an omniscient narrator, into the midst of an unusual and intriguing spectacle, the mysterious significance of which both escapes him and peaks his interest. The reader has to make his way through roughly half the narrative to understand the significance of this opening scene (at 5.33.1; see Futre Pinheiro 1987, 375ff. and 1998, 3167–3168). The narrator tells us:

The smile of daybreak was just beginning to brighten the sky, the sunlight to catch the hilltops, when a group of men in brigand gear peered over the mountain that overlooks the place where the Nile flows into the sea at the mouth that men call the Heracleotic. They stood there for a moment, scanning the expanse of sea beneath them: first they gazed out over the ocean, but as there was nothing sailing there that held out hope of spoil and plunder, their eyes were drawn to the beach nearby. (1.1.1)

The narrative is interrupted by the detailed description of the

spectacle that they beheld: a merchant ship was riding there, empty of crew but laden with freight, and there were traces everywhere of a recent and terribly bloody fight (1.1.3–7). The impact that this bizarre and mysterious scene has upon the reader is achieved, above all, by the use of antithesis and paradox:

In that small space the deity had contrived an infinitely varied spectacle, defiling wine with blood and unleashing war at the party, combining wining and dying, pouring of drink and spilling of blood, and staging this tragic show for the Egyptian bandits. (1.1.6)

The bandits, “like the audience in a theatre,” shared the same feeling of strangeness and perplexity as the reader in the face of such an unaccustomed spectacle. However, overcome by the expectation of easy profit, they threw themselves into the pursuit of riches. Using a cinematic technique (Winkler 2002), the narrator focuses in on the narrated object, describing a second tableau that is even stranger than the previous one and again catching the attention of the group of bandits: on a rock sat a maiden, a creature of indescribable beauty, who had been the victim of some cruel twist of fate but who, despite everything, had an air of courage and nobility. At her feet lay a handsome young man, so terribly wounded that he seemed to be coming round from a deep sleep, as if from the verge of death:

On her head she wore a crown of laurel; from her shoulders hung a quiver; her left arm leant on the bow, the hand hanging relaxed at the wrist. She rested the elbow of her other arm on her right thigh, cradling her cheek in her fingers. (1.2.2)

This “*Pietà* scene” (Kerényi 1973, 26) was most probably inspired by a statue or a pictorial representation of the goddess Artemis, but the scene is presented and reflected from the perspective and angle of view of the pirates, who are intratextual spectators, and through the feelings that they experience. Next, the reader is presented with a short dialogue between the young couple. Meanwhile, the evildoers, frightened by the unexpectedness of the spectacle, whose significance they did not know, scattered and dived for cover in the undergrowth. Once again through the gaze of the bandits a new description is provided, completing the portrait of the young woman whose identity remains unknown:

When she stood up, she seemed to them larger and more godlike, her weapons rattling at the sudden movement, the gold thread in her robe flashing in the sun, her hair tossing under her crown like a bacchante’s and cascading over her back. (1.2.5)

The narrator confides in us that what frightened them was not so

much the sight of the scene as the aura of mystery in which it was shrouded. Some said she must be a goddess, Artemis or Isis; others said she was a priestess possessed by a sacred fury and responsible for the immense carnage before them. However, when they saw her embracing the young man, weeping and kissing him, they changed their opinion: "How could a god behave like that?" they said. So, they left them there and ran to the ship and began to unload its abundant cargo.

After they plundered the ship and divided the riches, a second group of invaders turned up, three times larger, who put the first group to flight and took with them the young couple as hostages. When they reached the marshland that served as their refuge and dwelling, the companions of this second group of bandits reacted with the same astonishment as the first upon seeing Charicleia for the first time, concluding that their comrades must have looted a holy place, a temple or a sanctuary, and carried off the priestess too, unless she was the living statue of some goddess (1.7.2). Charicleia's beauty was such that Charicles also spoke of the fascination that his daughter exercised over crowds of people, both at the temple and in public squares, as if she were a genuine work of art and embodied all the beauty in the world (2.32.2), and Calasiris, making the most of the pirate Pelorus' passion for Charicleia, induced him to disobey the chief's orders, with the promise that he would see the goddess Artemis in person (5.3.1).

The physical description of the main characters is a recurrent topos in Greek novels.⁷ Also making use of the techniques of the *encomium* from the schools of rhetoric, the narrator depicts the physical attributes of the protagonists, praising their matchless beauty and creating through them a detailed portrait that evinces aesthetic harmony. However, if we compare the earlier description of Charicleia with the descriptions of the heroines of other novels, we can conclude that Heliodorus is more circumspect in his use of stylistic resources, and more effective since he establishes a more dramatic and functional relationship between his descriptions and the narrative (Goethals 1959, 198). In other Greek novels, character descriptions merely serve a decorative function that acts as a catalyst in the development of the diegesis, falling far short of the powerful impression created by the opening scene of the *Aethiopika* in which the description of Charicleia blends harmoniously with the account of events (compare e.g. the description of Leucippe in Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* [1.4.3] or the detailed description of Anthia, the protagonist of Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaka*, who was also a priestess of Artemis [1.2.5–7]).

The procession or parade proves to be the ideal scenario for demonstrating the characters' physical beauty. That this is a collective

activity emphasizes the main characters' physical qualities, whose magnificence sets them apart from the anonymous participants also partaking in the celebrations. Heliodorus describes the procession that takes place at the festival in honor of Neoptolemus, where Theagenes' and Charicleia's beauty monopolize the spectators. The narrator even adds that, in the presence of Theagenes' loveliness, "all these women of the lower orders who were incapable of controlling and concealing their emotions pelted him with apples and flowers in the hope of attracting his goodwill" (3.3.4–4). However, it is Calasiris who presents Cnemon with a detailed description of the young man:

... and in came the young man, who really did have something redolent of Achilles about him in his expression and dignity. He carried his head erect, and had a mane of hair swept back from his forehead; his nose proclaimed his courage by the defiant flaring of his nostrils; his eyes were not quite slate blue but more black tinged with blue, with a gaze that was awesome and yet not unattractive, rather like the sea when its swelling billows subside, and a smooth calm begins to spread across its surface. (2.35.1)

Since Theagenes claims to be a noble descendant of Achilles, the comparison with Homer's hero is a natural corollary. According to Goethals (1959, 201), there is reason to believe that Heliodorus may have drawn from Philostratus' *Heroicus* 19.5 and *Imagines* B. 2 (Morgan 2008, 408, n. 75, suggests both reflect a well-known work of art), as well as on the *Odyssey* 24.318–319, when Odysseus, seeing the deplorable state of his old father, Laertes, suddenly feels compassion gush from his nostrils. However incomplete or imprecise this description may seem to us, it is less abstract and incomplete than the descriptions made of heroes in other novels. Chaereas is simply compared to Achilles, Nireus, Hippolytus, and Alcibiades, just as these are portrayed by sculptors and painters (*Chaereas and Callirhoe* 1.1.2); Habrocomes is presented to us as a young man of rare beauty, as someone displaying the image of a true god, but also as a proud and arrogant man who looked scornfully at all and sundry, not even sparing the god of love himself, Eros (*Ephesiaca* 1.1–2).

The taste for exoticism is a characteristic trait of both Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius. Achilles Tatius describes the crocodile in great detail, and Heliodorus describes a specimen of an unusual and bizarre kind of animal, the "camelopard" or giraffe. Unlike Achilles Tatius, Heliodorus' descriptive passages are characterized by a sense of animation. Thus, the arrival of a giraffe produced universal amazement among the crowd that was watching the spectacle and threw into disarray the ceremony of Hydaspes receiving the embassies from his empire's provinces (10.27.1–4). Heliodorus at times

sporadically superimposes his descriptions upon the narrative for the sake of mere ornamentation, as a kind of literary game, as a “fête de la forme pure” (Bompaire 1958, 73), as art for art’s sake, meant to arouse aesthetic pleasure in the reader. This is the case with the description of the carved amethyst inset in the hoop of the royal ring Calasiris gives Nausicles as a pledge for Charicleia (5.14), where the representation of a pastoral scene gave the rustic scenario the appearance of a bucolic theatre (Futre Pinheiro 1981/82; Laplace 1996).

Heliodorus’ literary temperament is marked by a fascination with spectacles, which best categorizes a great number of his descriptive passages. These are macroscopic events in which the “actors” act before spectators that are either intradiegetic (e.g. the previously mentioned scene of the procession at Delphi) or extradiegetic, since the narrator is always aware of an audience that does not belong to the fictional universe and is in fact composed of his readers. When we read and visualize the descriptions of spectacles in the *Aethiopika* (e.g. the *Pietà* scene that opens the novel), we ourselves turn into an extratextual audience and become emotionally involved in the events being described. Rhetorical handbooks draw attention to the audience’s involvement in the world depicted in description and claim that description turns listeners into spectators. Nikolaus notes that “ἐκφρασις περιᾶται θεατὰς τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐργάζεσθαι” (“*ekphrasis* seeks to fashion spectators out of the listeners,” Spengel 1853–1856, 111.491).

Wolff (1912, 177) observes: “This habit of treating the world of sight by way of its effects upon people is closely parallel to the method of treating the world of thought and feeling by way of pathos—the effort in each case being to represent not the thing itself but that which the thing makes somebody feel,” and criticizes what he believes is one of the most outstanding features of Heliodorus’ technique, namely, “pathetic optics,” which focuses on the world of sight, on the effects that people, objects, and actions produce upon those who see them. An example is the description of the procession mentioned earlier that takes place in Delphi during the Pythian Games, in which Theagenes and Charicleia both participate: he, as the leader of the sacred mission, and she as the priestess of Artemis. What immediately catches our attention is the fact that Heliodorus tries to dramatize the scene, not only by reproducing the crowd’s reactions, but also through the sympathetic effect created by the beauty of the young man, whose horse, for example, apparently conscious and proud of his handsome rider, arched his neck and the brows over his eyes, and pranced along with his head held high and with his ears pricked up (3.3.7). Unlike other novel writers (cf. the static description of the king of Persia in

Chariton 6.4.1–3), Heliodorus prefers “to show” rather than merely “to tell” (Futre Pinheiro 1987, 411–413). Charicleia’s beauty is also dramatized through the effect that it provokes on the two serpents (a unique masterpiece produced by a craftsman) wound around her breast: “... they were steeped in a sensuous languor as if lulled by the sweet joys that dwelt in Charicleia’s bosom” (3.4.4).

I once noted (Futre Pinheiro 2001, 136) that:

“If the primary quality of *ekphrasis* is to provide a visual image as close as possible to the thing being described, its second most important function, resulting from the first, is its capacity to move the reader. When providing a “verbal painting”, description, as a literary device, conveys a powerful non-verbal meaning, aimed at stirring up in the reader or listener the same type of emotion he would feel if he had before his own eyes the thing being described.”

Readers of the *Aethiopika* are then invited to be spectators of the very spectacle being described to them, by sharing with the characters the complicity of a joint experience. This web of relations, at times complex, which can be established between the describer and the referent and between the describer and the audience, is masterfully handled by Heliodorus, whose revolutionary technique consists of the ability to place the images in motion, to integrate them into the dynamics of the action, thus affording them a voice of their own.

Composition and Narrative Technique

Heliodorus’ literary profile stands out from the extant Greek novels (in particular, see Chew 1993–1994; Feuillatre 1966; Futre Pinheiro 1987; Goethals 1959; Groves 2012; Hefti 1950; Nyborg 2010; Paulsen 1992; Sandy 1982a), and the artistic qualities of the *Aethiopika* justify an analysis of the processes used in handling such a refined technique. Heliodorus can be considered the most remarkable representative of the novel genre in classical antiquity and the forerunner of the modern novelists, as seen in the success that the *Aethiopika* has enjoyed over the centuries.⁸

The *Aethiopika* conveys a feeling of amplitude in time and space. The action begins in the Nile Delta and ends in Meroe, the capital of Ethiopia, roughly 45 days later. The theme of the novel is Charicleia’s return to her native land, Ethiopia, which she had left 10 years earlier,

in circumstances revealed by secondary narrators. The main action is concentrated in the last days of her return journey. After a series of unexpected events the three main characters (Charicleia, Theagenes and Calasiris) encountered during the sea voyage that followed their flight from Delphi, rarely is the action interrupted by time lapses that are longer than the basic scheme of day and night. The various phases of daytime action are frequently divided by a meal, an after-dinner conversation, a brief reflection, or an exchange of impressions before retiring for the night, in keeping with a procedure that is used most profusely in the *Odyssey* (Delebecque 1958, 118–119). Only occasionally does the narrator construct ill-defined phases, and the beginning of a new day is generally indicated through precise time references. The use of indefinite phases of time occurs mainly in the second part of the novel, which is marked by a certain fluidity and indetermination, deriving from a more infrequent use of time expressions (Futre Pinheiro 1987, 115–195 and 1998, 3152–3156). This first level of the narrative contains a series of long secondary narratives that disperse the action over a broad chronological and geographical area: the events are rooted in a past that takes us back in time to a period 10 years earlier, which is progressively revealed in a series of flashbacks (for the narratological treatment of time in the *Aethiopika* see Futre Pinheiro 1987, especially 353–453 and 1998, 3162–3171; Morgan 2007, 483–504 and 2004).

Sisimithres hands Charicleia to the priest of Apollo, Charicles, when she is only 7 years old (2.30.6ff.). At the moment Calasiris encounters his sons, the narrator comments that this event took place 10 years after the elder's absence (7.8.2ff.). Charicleia's age is revealed at the end of the novel, at Meroe, after Sisimithres has been identified as the Ethiopian envoy who had taken care of her when she was abandoned. We are also told that he had entrusted her to Charicles, in Katadoupoi, 10 years earlier (10.11.1ff.). If the reader remembers this first piece of information, he will certainly agree with Sisimithres, who estimates Charicleia to be 17 years old (10.14.4ff.). Hence, it appears she spent about 9 years at Delphi, with her flight taking place in her seventeenth year. In fact, although the chronology of this intermediate time lapse (which is filled with the sea voyage) is a little diffuse (Futre Pinheiro 1987, 396ff.), the text offers much information that enables us to conclude that the journey took place most of winter and early spring. Although the narrator never expressly states this, we can deduce that the main level of the narrative is set in the spring, when Charicleia is 17 years of age. A few days after we are told they sailed "to the sound of gentle spring breezes" (5.22.8ff.), and the boat that was carrying the three prisoners, the main characters in the story, landed at the "mouth that men call the Heracleotic" (1.1.3–

4).

It is easy to conclude that these secondary narratives, spoken by a character who assumes the role of narrator, have their own particular rhythm and autonomous chronology (Futre Pinheiro 1987, 375–453). By briefly suspending the general movement of the narrative, they add another kind of temporality governed by different principles to the main narrative. The precision chronology which was most of the time marked by clear *day and night* phases contrasts with the fluid linking of the years that belong to the past, in which the predominant feature is the iterative nature of the action (Futre Pinheiro 1998, 3161–3162). Time begins to be recorded when Charicleia first enters the scene (2.33.3ff.). The narrative covers only two key moments from Charicleia's past life, her birth and exposure by means of a flashback in the form of Persinna's letter (4.8), and the moment the gymnosophist Sisimithres handed her over at age 7 years to the priest of Apollo, Charicles, in Katadoupoi (2.30.6; 2.32.1–33.2). The intermediate time is narrated about one page of printed text (2.31.1ff.). A gap of 10 years follows, and the next action occurs at Delphi, where the events that prompt the return to Ethiopia are set in motion at the orders of the oracle and with the complicity of Calasiris (Καὶ ἔστι νῦν ἡ παῖς ἐνταῦθα σὺν ἐμοὶ παῖς μὲν οὖσα ἐμῇ καὶ ὄνομα τοῦμὸν ὀνομαζομένη... [2.33.3], "And now the child lives here with me: she is my daughter, she bears my name..."). It is intentional that no indication of the date is given for this period when the High Priest of Isis was to be found at Meroe with Persinna: this episode, essential for characterizing the narrator's personality (Futre Pinheiro 1991a, 69–83), is shrouded in mystery.

In this retrogressive development of the narrative we find the difference that distinguishes the structure of the *Aethiopika* from the structure of other extant novels, where *ab ovo* beginnings introduce a strictly chronological order and ensure that narrative's start and finish coincide perfectly with those of the story. This characteristic of Heliodorus' novel brings it closer to the technique used in the composition of the *Odyssey*, though he supplants the *Odyssey* by producing contents previously unknown to the reader. In fact, the fictional plot is not taken from the mosaic of heroic legend or even from mythology; it obliges the reader to engage in a permanent discovery of a past that does not function as a superfluous ornament or a casual picture, but rather conditions and motivates the present in a most decisive manner.

The *Odyssey* and the *Aethiopika* are also different from another viewpoint: in the middle of his story, Odysseus manages to obtain Alcinous' consent for his return to Ithaca, but Calasiris' deferred narrative affords another degree of importance in the plot. In fact,

although it does not determine the continuity and development of the action, its contents are identified with a past that guides and basically conditions the present. For this reason, the role played by prehistory in the *Aethiopika* cannot be overemphasized, as it serves as the driving force of a plot whose outcome is predestined. This unbreakable bond between past and present is an original feature of Heliodorus' novel. The characters emerge from prehistory with a specific importance to the plot and, sooner or later, they will reveal themselves to be involved in the main action in a bizarre and unexpected fashion. This is the case with Thisbe, the flute player, who will directly influence the unfolding of events, as she is later murdered by Thyamis, who mistakes her for Charicleia (1.28ff.). Nausicles, a merchant from Naucratis and the lover of Thisbe, similarly plays a decisive role in the main action: he obtained Charicleia from Mitranes, the commander of guards in the service of Oroondates, the Great King's satrap in Egypt, and passed her off as Thisbe. Charicleia had been imprisoned by the Egyptian army, captured at the moment she and Theagenes were preparing to go and meet Cnemon in the village of Chemmis. This led to Charicleia re-encountering Calasiris, who was Nausicles' guest in Chemmis (5.8–11).

Sometimes the opposite happens: a character encountered earlier at the level of the main narrative later appears linked to events situated in the past. Heliodorus plays with a limited number of characters who move in concentric circles. That is why we find a series of overlapping and interlocking stories. He masters the technique that consists of maintaining different lines of action in abeyance and using them at precisely the right moment to intensify the reader's interest and suspense: for example, through the episode that occurs between Calasiris and Cnemon, in which the narrative of the old priest is introduced, we learn that Calasiris' prehistory is closely linked to that of Theagenes and Charicleia, and that the person who receives Calasiris in his own house is none other than the merchant from Naucratis, with whom Thisbe had fled from Athens; and, finally, that Thyamis is the son of the High Priest of Isis (2.23ff.). The story thus reveals a perfect unity, a *grobe Geschlossenheit* (Hefti 1950, 34), which is the result of Heliodorus' famous economy (Hefti 1950, especially 121–127; Keyes 1922, 49; Futre Pinheiro 1987, especially 323).

The past benefits from a privileged status of autonomy and performs a fundamental role in the plot's development since it has a decisive influence on the present. It represents the last stage, and undoubtedly the most important one, in this long journey, placed from the outset under divine protection, during which the mechanisms were set in motion leading to the dramatic resolution of the destinies

of the protagonists, who are finally entrusted to Helios and Selene. In the other extant novels, the present is imposed upon the reader. The past finds itself relegated to a subordinate position, strictly dependent on the present. It is this density, this thickness breathed into the past, which led to the conclusion that Heliodorus does not reject the tradition of the circular journey (Futre Pinheiro 1987, especially 525). In fact, he renews this tradition, by establishing a compromise between a circular and a linear structure (Reardon 1971, 385, interprets the novel's action as a linear plot; the reader does not consider Charicleia's return to be a simple matter; from the outset, the journey to Ethiopia is very much like a pilgrimage).

This finely structured network that links the past and the present into a unitary, concentrated and harmonious whole is also found at the level of the main action. The novel is structured around a fairly restricted chronological scale, and the plot is condensed into a short space of time. Various processes are used in the management of the different levels of the action, some of which are also found in Chariton, Achilles Tatius, and Xenophon. However, in the *Aethiopika*, a *sui generis* technique is used: the action does not revolve around a limited number of characters, but is divided into various clusters grouped together in a dynamic constellation of relations. In this elaborate structure, everything is linked together, everything has its own weight and importance, and nothing is irrelevant or gratuitous. The main stem is gradually thickened, through the successive addition of new centers of action that are constantly multiplied, dividing and then reuniting, in order to give the impression of an organized, dynamic, and coherent whole. The method, *cellular reproduction* (Futre Pinheiro 1987, 324 and 515), presupposes a continuity in the flow of time and a constant coverage of the period of time contained within the limits of the main narrative.

However, if time as a narrative category plays an essential role in the organization of the narrative scheme, in the *Aethiopika* no great importance is attached to time itself as an independent and absolute entity. In this regard, Heliodorus follows tradition and shares with other novel writers a primitive conception of time (Hägg 1983, 195–197 and 200–201). This time, which expands or shrinks according to the needs of the plot, is subordinated to the adventures that fill the narrative framework. This particular feature is also a legacy from Homer (Frankel 1955, 1–7).

Symptomatic of this negligence is Heliodorus' near-total indifference to distances and to the time that is needed to cover them (Futre Pinheiro 1987, 147 n. 73 and 151–152). Occasionally sporadic instances of interest in marking out real time (e.g. the precise indications about the Neiloa festival, 9.9.2ff.) or analyzing

psychological time (e.g. 6.1.1ff. and 1.8.1ff.) occur. However, these cases are rare and fairly unrepresentative of the narrative as a whole. The originality of the *Aethiopika* lies, above all, in the use of a sophisticated narrative technique, and time is an indispensable category in the handling of such a complex and innovative narrative art. I have argued elsewhere that for Heliodorus the art of narration is a game, a challenge that calls for talent and imagination.⁹

The narrator's victory over time is frequently found in his humor. On multiple occasions, we are made aware of a subtle irony expressed between the lines (Futre Pinheiro 1987, 201, 233, 238 n. 5, 384, 520–521), revealing a distancing of the narrator in relation to what he is telling us. In my opinion, certain critics have exaggerated this in their comments about what they classify as defects in the art of storytelling. I believe they take certain anomalies in the chronology too seriously, which are really nothing more than acts of rebellion perpetrated by someone who, through some kind of spiritual provocation, derives sublime pleasure from violating, confusing, and subverting the rules of the real chronology. Heliodorus shows a subtle and refined sense of humor, heralding the more audacious games played with the notion of time in the modern era (Heiserman 1977, 190).

An expert in suspending, compressing, or accelerating time, the narrator of the *Aethiopika* is also skilled in the technique of manipulating suspense. He provides the reader with a well-organized system of warnings that consolidates the plot's unity, which in turn highlights his debt to epic (Futre Pinheiro 2007, 457–460; see also Schadewaldt 1966; Hellwig 1964). The plot of the *Aethiopika* is predestinated also like that of the epic, and hence the importance of supernatural anticipations (oracles, prophecies, dreams, premonitions). In Heliodorus, the supernatural dominates the adventures (Futre Pinheiro 1987, 467–486 and 1991a). The universe of the novel is inscribed in the designs of the gods and is predetermined according to their will. Readers of the novel are afforded an unequivocal lesson in wisdom: past and present are the product of a future that has always existed (Heiserman 1977, 188). In addition to the *suspense of anticipation*, the *suspense of uncertainty* is also important, with the technique of surprise and of delaying the action¹⁰ exhaustively used to stir up the reader's expectations and create uncertainty about the outcome of events (Futre Pinheiro 1987, 391–392, 522–523 and 1998, 3168–3169). The reader's curiosity is constantly stimulated because the information vital for understanding the plot is revealed to him or her only at crucial moments, when it is absolutely necessary to provide these details. Reality is not presented directly, but in separate parts, like a shattered mirror. The different aspects of one and the same reality are like the pieces of a puzzle,

obliging the reader constantly to revise his judgments. The narrator plays with the different levels of knowledge, both that of the characters and that of the reader, to maintain, suspend, and intensify suspense. For this reason, it is difficult for an unprepared reader to establish the syntax of the narrative.

Heliodorus' techniques of deliberate anticipations, equivocations and ambiguities, suspense, economy, unity of action, cinematic technique, and a fondness for the spectacular, all testify to the sophistication of his work. Some of these ingredients were already tested in epic, in drama, and in historiography, but others that appear for the first time in prose fiction are displayed with a most impressive vigor. The future adventure novel will make profuse use of all these.

Although the profound meaning of the *Aethiopika* is not limited to adventures, and the heroes travel toward an ideal along a path some consider to be initiatory (e.g. Kérényi 1973; Merkelbach 1962), nevertheless, it is the technical perfection of his art that reserves for Heliodorus a privileged place in the world of fictional literature.

Notes

1 The text is from Rattenbury and Lumb 1960; all translations are from Morgan 2008.

2 See also Morgan 1982 and Chuvín 1990, 321–325. There are however, some authors who underestimate the evidence provided by the sources and opt for a date earlier in the third century, the period of greatest splendor in solar religion. Rhode 1876 assigned the novel to the reign of Aurelian (270–275 AD), who was also a worshipper of the cult of the sun. Rattenbury and Lumb 1960, vol. I, XV, opted for a date between 220 and 240 AD, while Altheim 1948–1950, 113, proposed the period between 233 and 250 AD.

3 Petosiris, Calasiris' younger son, hatched a plot against his brother, Thyamis, to usurp his position as High Priest of Isis. This led Thyamis to abandon Memphis and become the leader of a band of robbers, the βουκόλοι. The reasons for the two brothers' falling out are related in 1.19.4 and 7.3.4 by Thyamis himself; in 1.33.2 by the narrator; and in 6.13.5 by the old woman in the village of Bessa.

4 For more detailed discussion, see Crespo Güemes 1979, 13–15, and Morgan 2003, 417. Hilton 2012 analyzes the autobiographical statement by Heliodorus in light of Julian's *Hymn to Helios*. See also Nuñez (forthcoming) for a study of the *sphragis*, its forms, and functions in Greek novels. We also find in Lucian (*Pisc.* 19, *Bis Acc.* 14.27, *Pseudolog.* 1.11, *Scyth.* 9) the claim of the author's non-Greek

origin, and status as a “barbarian.” See Whitmarsh 1998, 96–97 and Futre Pinheiro 2012, 312–313.

5 See Futre Pinheiro 1991, 359, n. 1, and 371, n. 26. Sun worship is also found in the *Ephesiaka*: divine intervention was twice responsible for saving the life of Habrocomes, unjustly sentenced to death for a murder that he had not committed. On the first occasion, the god used the waters of the Nile to knock down the cross to which the young man had been tied, and then to extinguish the flames of the fire that was about to burn him to death (4.2.9).

6 Cf. *The Lives of the Sophists* (Βίοι Σοφιστῶν) 1.481. This work is also an important testimony about the history of the Sophistic movement. For the Second Sophistic see also: Bowersock 1969; Bowie 1970; Reardon 1971, 1974, 1984; Anderson 1989, 1990, 1993; and Whitmarsh 2005. See also my “*Diē-gē-ma (Narratio)*” (forthcoming).

7 Description or so-called *ekphrasis* is one among many other exercises in rhetorical composition that are discussed and defined in the *Progymnasmata*, which were handbooks consisting of a series of preparatory exercises, inspired upon mythical stories and fictitious narratives. Aelius Theon (first century AD), the author of one of these handbooks, defines *ekphrasis* as an “informative account which brings vividly into view what is being set forth” (λόγος περιηγηματικτὸς ἐναργῶς ὑπ’ ὅψιν ἄγων τὸ δηλούμενον 7.1; Kennedy 2003, 29; Patillon 2002, 40). So, according to the *Progymnasmata*, *ekphrasis* was a literary and rhetorical device which consisted in providing a detailed description and clear presentation of the thing being represented. The two desirable qualities of *ekphrasis* as described in the *Progymnasmata* are *saphêneia* (clarity) and *enargeia* (vividness). The main characteristic of this exercise in rhetorical composition is precisely that of creating a visual image that provides the reader with the sensation of being confronted with the thing being described. On this subject, see Futre Pinheiro 2001, 127–128. For a fuller insight into the *topos* of description in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, see Bartsch 1989 and Billault 1991.

8 The most important contribution on the *Nachleben* of Heliodorus’ novel is Oeftering 1901. Wolff 1912 discusses its influence on Elizabethan prose fiction. The heritage of the *Aethiopika* in France and Britain is discussed by Sandy 1982 and 2003, 751–753. Other influences are analyzed by Gaertner 1971; Crespo Güemes 1979, 43–52; Schmidt 1989; Hägg 1983, 192–213; and Futre Pinheiro 1993. The repercussions of the *Aethiopika* in the figurative arts are illustrated by Stechow 1953 and Mason 2011.

9 Futre Pinheiro 1987, 520. The profile of the narrator manifests

itself in the course of Calasiris' first-person narrative. The difficulties of structure and composition that are directly linked to the journey undertaken by the High Priest of Isis provide Heliodorus with the sublime pleasure of playing with the fictional chronology. For more detailed discussion, see Winkler 1982 and Futre Pinheiro 1991b.

10 The technique of delaying the action was discussed by Wolff 1912, 197–198. Wolff believes that the last part of the novel provides the most significant example of this provocative tendency, and vehemently criticizes the method adopted by Heliodorus.

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b. Roman

CHAPTER 6

Petronius, *Satyrica*

Heinz Hofmann

The Work: Text and Transmission

What we in our modern editions read as the 141 chapters of the *Satyrica* is not a continuous and coherent narrative but a collection of larger and smaller fragments and excerpts, transmitted in various manuscripts and assembled into one text by humanist scholars between 1482 and 1669. There are also 25 smaller fragments from authors between the sixth and thirteenth centuries with quotations from the *Satyrica* that are not attested in our manuscripts, and another 26 poems in several ninth-century manuscripts that have been ascribed to Petronius either in the manuscripts or by the French scholars Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) and Claude Binet (c. 1533–1600).

There was, however, once a complete manuscript of the *Satyrica*, written between the fourth and sixth centuries AD, that survived the so-called Dark Ages and was kept in the ninth century in a monastery in the Loire Valley, as we know from several quotations by Heiric (†876), monk in Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, from which later scribes made the extracts in our extant manuscripts. This manuscript tradition consists of four classes:¹

1. The *shorter excerpts* or *Excerpta brevia* (O): they contain excerpts from the sections preceding and following the *Cena Trimalchionis*, i.e. from chapters 1–26.6 and 79–137.9. Their oldest manuscript is Bernensis 357 (B, ninth century) from Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, followed by two twelfth-century manuscripts, Par. lat. 6842 D (R) and Par. lat. 8049 (P), both

written in France. The copyist of **O** fancied the poems in the novel, passages dealing with poetry, poetics, and literature, and stories that lent themselves to moralizing, for instance, that of the Widow of Ephesus (chapters 111–112). He was not interested in painting (e.g. he left out the discussion in the art gallery, chapter 83) or in the plot, and he systematically skipped the pederastic passages, for example, that of the Boy of Pergamon (chapters 85–87).

Another manuscript with the *Excerpta brevia* was discovered by Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) in England in 1420, while he, during and after the Council of Constance (1414–1418), was searching the libraries of monasteries north of the Alps for manuscripts of unknown ancient texts. He sent this *particula Petronii* (**δ**) to his friend Niccolò Niccoli in Florence, where it was twice transcribed (**α** and **ξ**, both lost). The original **δ** is lost as well, but several copies were made of **α** and **ξ**, on which depended the first printed editions of the *Excerpta brevia* (Milan 1482 by Francesco Puteolano, reprinted Venice 1499 and Paris 1529, and Antwerp 1565 by Johannes Sambucus). Another copy of **α** has been preserved on pp. 185–205 of the Codex Traguriensis (**A**, now Par. lat. 7989). Its first part (pp. 1–179) was written in Florence in the autumn of 1423, the second half (pp. 180–232) by the same scribe some time later.

2. The *longer excerpts* or *Excerpta longiora* (**L**): they are preserved in manuscripts and printed editions of the second half of the sixteenth century and contain the whole extant text of the sections preceding and following the *Cena Trimalchionis*, i.e. of chapters 1–26.6 and 79–141, and some chapters of the *Cena*. They go back to a text copied by a scribe in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, who did not excerpt a fuller manuscript as the copyist of **O** had done but obviously tried to gather as much of the *Satyrica* as he could find. For this purpose, he used several manuscripts, some of which belonged also to the **O**– and **φ**–classes. He is therefore a compiler rather than an excerptor.

The transmission of the longer excerpts depends on four manuscripts, all now lost, and goes also back to France where the famous jurist Cuiacius (Jacques Cujas, 1522–1590) and philologist Pithoeus (Pierre Pithou, 1539–1596) each possessed a codex of the *Satyrica* with the longer excerpts. Pithou's manuscript came from Fleury (Saint-Benoît sur-Loire); Cujas' is

of unknown provenance. These two manuscripts and the editions Paris 1520 and Antwerp 1565 formed the basis of the *Editio Tornaesiana* (Lyon 1575), published by Denis Lebey de Batilly (1551–1607) together with the printer Jean de Tournes, whereas Pithou's two editions (Paris 1577, 1587) are based on the *Tornaesiana* and three more manuscripts (Richardson 1993; Stagni 1993).

3. The third class is represented by the text of the *Cena Trimalchionis* (chapters 26.7–78), which alone is transmitted on pages 206–229 of the same *Codex Traguriensis* (for the *Cena* called **H**) that on pages 185–205 contains also the shorter excerpts (**A**). The text of the *Cena* seems to be identical with “the XVth book of Petronius Arbiter” that Poggio had discovered in Cologne and ordered to be transcribed when he passed through Cologne on his way from England to Italy early in 1423. Both texts found by Poggio in England and Cologne were copied in Florence into what is now the *Codex Traguriensis*. It went soon into the library of the humanist Niccolò Cippico in Traù in Dalmatia, so that it was no longer available for re-copying. This explains why it has no descendants and why the *Cena* remained unknown until the codex was rediscovered by Marino Statileo around 1650. The first printed edition of the *Cena* was published by Paolo Frambotti in Padua in 1664 and caused a great sensation, but there were also some skeptics who considered the *Cena* a forgery (Pace 2007, 2011).² In 1703, the *Codex Traguriensis* was bought for the library of King Louis XIV of France and has since then been kept in Paris.

4. The *Florilegia*: the fourth class (**φ**) consists of four manuscripts of French provenance written between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries with florilegia and anthologies. They contain sentences, proverbs, poems, and some longer passages with moralizing content, among which again the Widow of Ephesus appears. These manuscripts have the same text that goes back to a common ancestor compiled probably in Orléans around the middle of the twelfth century (Rouse 1979).

Thus, it took a long time from 1482 to 1664 until the *disiecta membra* of the *Satyrica* were published in printed editions. The first complete edition that united the texts of all four classes as we have them in our modern editions was published by a certain Michael Hadrianides in Amsterdam in 1669, and the division into 141 chapters goes back to Pieter Burman (Utrecht 1709).

The Author: Who Was Petronius?

The name of the author of the *Satyrica* is given in the manuscripts as “Petronius,” “Petronius Arbiter,” “Petronius Arbiter Affranus,” “Petronius Arbiter Satiricus,” or “Satyrus.” This means that the only secure name of the author is “Petronius” because “Satiricus,” etc., is wrongly derived from the title of his work, and “Arbiter” is taken over from a famous chapter in Tacitus’ *Annals*; Tacitus mentions four men, among whom is a certain Petronius, who in AD 66 had committed suicide (*Ann.* 16.17.1); then he sketches a vivid portrait of this courtier of Nero who was proconsul in Bithynia and later consul and who was notorious for his extravagant and voluptuous life style: “He spent his days sleeping and his nights working or enjoying himself,” Tacitus writes, “and had made luxury a fine art” (16.18f.). After his consulate, “he returned to his old vices or pretended at least to do so, and was admitted to the small circle of Nero’s intimates as tutor in refinement” (*arbiter elegantiae*, i.e. referee in matters of elegance and taste). Later, he fell in disgrace with Nero and celebrated his suicide by opening his veins, binding them up, and re-opening them again, just as the fancy took him, talking with his friends and listening to their frivolous songs and light verse, having a good meal and sleeping for a while so that his death, though forced on him, should appear natural. In his testament, he refused to flatter Nero or any of the courtiers: “Instead he wrote out a full description of the Emperor’s vicious activities, prefaced with the names of his male and female partners, and specifying the novel form his lust had taken,” and had this document sent under seal to Nero (trans. Sullivan 1968a, 29f.).

It is obvious that the scribes of the manuscripts identified the author of the *Satyrica* with a consul and courtier of Nero. The same person is mentioned in similar light by Pliny the Elder, who says that “T. Petronius, a former consul, when he was going to die through Nero’s jealousy and envy, broke his fluorspar wine-dipper, which had cost 3,000,000 sesterces, so that the Emperor’s table would not inherit it” (*HN* 37.20), and by Plutarch, who criticizes the unscrupulous practice of accusing silly people “of tendencies and weaknesses the very opposite of their real failings,” which “may take the form of sneering at reckless and extravagant spenders for their petty-minded and sordid ways, as Titus Petronius did this with Nero” (*Mor.* 60 d–e, trans. Sullivan 1968a, 27–30). There is no doubt that Tacitus, Pliny, and Plutarch are speaking of one and the same person though Pliny and Plutarch give “Titus” as his first name, whereas the only manuscript of Tacitus (*Laur.* 68.2, s. XI) in chapter 17.1 has no

praenomen but in chapter 18.1 the *praenomen* “C.” (Caius). However, is this person the author of the *Satyrica*?

The problem is complicated because nowhere in the ancient tradition is it said that this T. or C. Petronius has written the *Satyrica* and because, on inscriptions and papyri, several Petronii have come to light with different first names and *cognomina* and with a record of various offices held; none, however, can with certainty be identified with Nero’s courtier. The hottest candidate was P. Petronius Niger, cos. suff. AD 62, who is now usually identified with Nero’s courtier and the author, but there is no evidence that he ever was proconsul in Bithynia (Völker and Rohmann 2011). Nevertheless, scholars have tried to find analogies between Tacitus’ description of C. Petronius and the characters of the novel, to discover words and phrases from Tacitus’ chapter in the text of the novel, to see Petronius as a figure within the literary and artistic activities at Nero’s court, and to place the action of the novel, the characters, the events, geographic and personal names, the daily life, the society and its members (slaves, freedmen, citizens), and the legal background of some scenes against the historical and cultural evidence of the Neronian age, and thus anchor both author and novel around AD 60 (Rose 1971; Sullivan 1968a, 1985).

Other scholars look at relations between the novel and contemporary literature and interpret Trimalchio as a caricature either of Nero or the philosopher Seneca, or the poet Eumolpus as that of Seneca, with special reference to the phonetic assonance of *senem calvum*, said of Trimalchio (27.1), and *senex canus*, said of Eumolpus (83.7) and find numerous allusions to Lucan’s *Pharsalia* in the poem on the Civil War (chapters 119–124), although the interdependence of both poems has repeatedly been doubted (Baldwin 1981; George 1974; Smith 1975, 214ff.; Sullivan 1968b; 1985, 1675ff.; Völker and Rohmann 2011, 670ff.). However, none of the arguments is convincing or supported by evidence outside the text and Seneca’s and Lucan’s writings, so that the identification of Tacitus’ Petronius with the author of the novel was further questioned and the *Satyrica* given a date by some at the end of the first century, or in the first half of the second century (Davialt 2001; Flobert 2003, 2006; Henderson 2010; Martin 1975, 2000; Marmorale 1948, put the date at the end of the second or beginning of the third century AD, and Ratti 1978 between the second and the fourth century AD; see Vannini 2007, 85ff.). One should bear in mind that Tacitus’ report of the career, manners, and lifestyle of C. Petronius “Arbiter” is not in the least proof for his being the author of the *Satyrica*—on the contrary, it suggests that this person, for whom not a single line or work is attested, could not have written such a long, complicated, multi-leveled ingenious work of

fiction. The author of the *Satyrিকা* was highly talented and extremely well read in both Greek and Latin literature and must have known some of the Greek romances and comic-realistic novels such as the *Iolaus*, the *Tinouphis*, or the *Phoenikika*. The setting in Neronian time or a bit later does not require contemporary composition, especially since many Greek novels are also set in a distant historical past. A date of composition in the first half of the second century by an otherwise unknown Petronius (later erroneously identified with the “Arbiter” in the *Annals*), or an author taking the name of Nero’s courtier as *nom de plume*, would suit better the history of the genre and the type of author demanded by such a work.

The *Satyrিকা*: Title, Contents, Structure

The title given by the manuscripts (*Satyricon*, *Satiricon*, *satirarum liber*) leads to the Greek neuter plural Σατυρικά, “Stories of satyr-like things,” i.e. “Randy Stories,” because the satyrs in Greek mythology were randy and prone to sex. The form *Satyricon* is to be understood as Greek genitive plural (Σατυρικῶν), governed by *libri*, “Books,” not as neuter singular (Σατυρικόν): the whole title can be rendered as “Books of Randy Stories.”

How many books did those Randy Stories comprise? This is difficult to say because the “book(s)” from which extracts stem contradict each other in the manuscripts and elsewhere. According to evidence, the *Satyrিকা* consisted of at least 16 books, and what remains comes from Books XIV–XVI. Müller concluded that the Quartilla episode before the *Cena* stood in Book XIV and that Poggio found the indication “Book XV” at the beginning of the manuscript of the *Cena* from Cologne, but that the *Cena* is too long for one book and must have covered two books, i.e. XV and XVI (Müller and Ehlers 1983, 408ff.; cf. Müller 1995, xxiff.). On the other hand, van Thiel (1971, 21ff.) observed against the excessive calculations of Sullivan (1968a, 34ff.) that the average book length of the ancient Greek novels and Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* is 20–25 Teubner pages, so that he calculated three or even more books for the *Cena*; this would considerably reduce the total length of the novel to 400–600 pages, of which some 150 are preserved (Harrison 1998a).

The text is a first-person narrative told by a certain Encolpius, who was a young man at the time of the story, but seems considerably older at the moment of narration. He is accompanied by his boy-love,

the young Giton, and a third youth called Ascylltus, who also has designs on Giton and tries, with varying success, to pinch him from Encolpius. This love triangle lives on the fringes of society, makes its living with little thefts, flatters the rich, cheats the gullible, and is always in search of a free meal and sex. Thus, they move from place to place, have various encounters with all kinds of people, and have all sorts of adventures that form the bulk of Encolpius' recollections. When our text begins, they are in a Greek city (81.3), a small town at the bay of Naples, a fictitious place reminding one of seaside resorts such as Puteoli or Baiae, though Jensson (2004, 122ff.) adduces good arguments for Naples itself.

1-11: Encolpius discusses with Agamemnon, the rhetor who runs a nearby school, about the decline of rhetoric and education. When Ascylltus leaves the group, Encolpius looks for him, but gets lost in the city. An old woman leads him into a brothel where he meets Ascylltus. Both succeed in fleeing the place and finding their lodgings, where they meet Giton, who complains that Ascylltus was going to force him to have sex. Ascylltus, after quarreling with Encolpius for a while, decides to leave the two the next morning.

12-15: That same evening, Encolpius and Ascylltus try to sell at the market a stolen cloak to a farmer who by chance wears the old tunic that the friends had lost earlier. They make sure that the gold coins sewed into the tunic are still there, and after a debate with the police the two parties eventually take possession of their respective clothes.

16-26.6: Sitting at dinner in their lodgings, they are interrupted by Quartilla, priestess of Priapus, and her two servant maids Psyche and Pannychis; Quartilla complains that the youths had disrupted the rites of Priapus that she had been celebrating: she fears a "3-day fever" (an attack of malaria), for which she seeks remedy from the sacrilegious youths. After they promise their silence forever and offer to help her overcome the fever, Quartilla explains that sex is the required remedy. She and Psyche make approaches to the young men, but in spite of intensive care(ssing) and a whole bottle of aphrodisiac emptied by Encolpius, he remains impotent, though apparently successful with Quartilla a while before (24.7). After some disturbance caused by burglars and the unsavory kisses of a disgusting *cinaedus* ("Queen"), Quartilla proposes that Giton deflower the 7-year-old Pannychis. While Giton and Pannychis are locked up in a room, Quartilla and Encolpius watch them through a peephole in the door.

26.7–78: *Cena Trimalchionis*: Two days later, one of Agamemnon's servants calls the trio to a banquet hosted by the immensely rich freedman Trimalchio. Encolpius carefully describes the various dishes and circumstances under which they are served; the superstitious, stupid, and boastful character of the host who makes a fool of himself through his lack of education and ordinary behavior; the talks of other freedmen at the table; and finally Trimalchio's wish to witness how he will be mourned and praised after his death. However, the funeral trumpets are taken for fire signals. As the fire brigade rushes in, the trio escapes with Agamemnon, who exits from the story.

79–82: Old jealousies flare up again, and when Giton declares Ascyltus his lover, Encolpius locks himself up for 3 days and then attempts to kill Ascyltus, but to his own relief he is disarmed by a soldier.

83–99: Encolpius enters an art gallery where he meets the seedy poet Eumolpus and strikes up a conversation: Eumolpus speaks about his love affair with a boy in Pergamon and declaims against the decline of the art of painting, and when Encolpius admires a painting of the fall of Troy, Eumolpus extemporizes 65 verses on that topic until he is chased away by people throwing stones. He and Encolpius arrange to meet for dinner, provided that Eumolpus refrains from reciting his poems. In the bath, Encolpius discovers Giton, who complains about Ascyltus' bad treatment and begs Encolpius to take him home, where they enjoy their reunion. During dinner, Eumolpus makes advances on Giton and again recites verses, which prompts Encolpius to try to throw him out. Giton and Eumolpus imprison Encolpius in the room, who plans to hang himself in despair when both return. Giton pretends to commit suicide with a razor, which is just a stage prop that barber apprentices use to learn their craft. After this love comedy, Eumolpus and the innkeeper argue and come to blows; Encolpius locks himself with Giton and watches the fighting through a peephole in the door. Suddenly, Ascyltus, who had Giton searched for by the police and was looking for him all over the inn, breaks into the room but does not find him because Giton has hidden under the bed. After some quarreling between Ascyltus, Encolpius, and Eumolpus, the boy betrays himself by sneezing, but eventually Encolpius, Eumolpus, and Giton are reconciled, whereas Ascyltus here exits the story. The new trio (Encolpius, Eumolpus, and Giton) leaves the inn and follows a seaman on board a ship.

100–115: On the ship, Encolpius overhears menacing words of

indignation obviously uttered in a dream by a man whose voice sounds familiar, and a woman who mentions the name “Giton.” Eumolpus says that a certain Lichas is the owner of the ship and is bringing a lady called Tryphaena from exile to Tarent. This news almost kills Encolpius because—in a section of the novel now lost—he obviously had had intimate dealings with Lichas and his wife Hedyle, and had stolen a sacred rattle and robe of Isis, tutelary deity of Lichas’ ship. There also must have been a relation with Tryphaena, who gave up Encolpius as lover for Giton and whom Encolpius later probably pinched.³ After sketching various schemes of escape from that dangerous ship on which they are locked as Ulysses in the cave of the Cyclops, Encolpius and Giton are disguised and branded by Eumolpus as runaway slaves with shaven heads. However, a passenger reveals their disguise to Lichas and Tryphaena, prompting an *anagnorisis*, a scene of recognition: Tryphaena recognizes Giton from his voice, Lichas recognizes Encolpius by fingering his genitals. A kind of trial begins with a harsh accusation by Lichas, framed by two perfectly delivered pleas by Eumolpus. Soon the conflict turns violent and, as in an epic poem, after fighting and signing a truce contract, the parties are reconciled. Eumolpus tries to liven up the party with a fatuous poem on hair, various jokes about the unreliability of women, and the novella of the Widow of Ephesus, which is received by the seamen with much laughter but by Tryphaena with a heavy blush and by Lichas with an angry outburst. Suddenly, a storm comes up: Lichas is swept overboard and drowns. Tryphaena with her slaves gets in a lifeboat and disappears from the story, while Encolpius and Giton await their death in the waves. Fishermen who enter the wrecked ship in search of prey rescue the lovers and also discover Eumolpus murmuring verses down in the captain’s cabin, who is most displeased at being interrupted in his poetic furor. The fishermen bring them to their huts, where the next morning Lichas’ corpse is washed ashore. This leads Encolpius to long reflections about human fate. They cremate the body, and Eumolpus composes a funerary epigram.

116–141: The three continue to a town that they see from the top of a hill and learn from a farm manager that it is the once-famous town of Croton, which is full of legacy hunters. Eumolpus schemes to trick the legacy hunters and have a good time for a while: he will pretend to be a very rich but childless landowner from Africa, while Encolpius and Giton pose as his slaves and spread the news that he has lost a huge amount of money in a shipwreck nearby, though he was little concerned because he had

copious loans and properties in Africa and daily awaited transfers of money. Encolpius advises Eumolpus to feign bad health by coughing and suffering from constipation and diarrhea, to make up daily his balances, and to revise regularly his last will. Having rehearsed this mime to everybody's satisfaction and amusement, they set off for Croton, and to make the journey more enjoyable, Eumolpus recites his epic poem on the Civil War (119–124). In Croton, the news of the rich but heirless landowner from Africa spreads quickly, and the legacy hunters greet them with all sorts of invitations, banquets, and gifts. Philomela, a most honest mother, even offers her boy and girl for sex. A rich lady of easy virtue called Circe with a passion for lower-class men falls in love with Encolpius, who, playing the role of the rich man's slave, had assumed the name Polyaenus (an epithet for Ulysses in Homer), and sends her maid Chrysis to invite him for a rendezvous. However, eventually she is left deeply frustrated because "Polyaenus" suffers from impotence. After an exchange of letters with Circe, to whom Encolpius pledges his love, she orders the witch Proselenus to try a magic charm on him, but he disappoints her again and is chased away. Realizing that he is impotent also in the presence of Giton, he returns to Proselenus, who hands him over to the treatment of Oenothea, priestess of Priapus. However, when, after many magic rites, she tries to cure him finally with a leather phallus and wipes his genitals with a bunch of nettles, he escapes the treatment. At home again, he complains that he has become the victim of the wrath of Priapus, but Chrysis enters the room and declares that she is madly in love with him. Eventually, Encolpius' potency seems to be restored (140.12f.). In the meantime, the situation for Eumolpus has become difficult because no ship with money has arrived from Africa; the legacy hunters grow skeptical and indignant. To prevent the disclosure of the fraud, Eumolpus dictates his will in which he bequeaths his fortune to those willing to cut his corpse to pieces and eat it in public after his death. A certain Gorgias declares to be so prepared, and the last section is a speech by Eumolpus or, rather, one of the legacy hunters, in which he tries to dispel scruples with recommendations for the cooking and seasoning of human meat and some historical examples for cannibalism.

The question remains: what happened before our text begins and how does the story continue? For an hypothetical reconstruction of the whole novel, one can draw from four sources of information: (1) the fragments in ancient literature that are quoted as coming from Petronius or were attributed to him by modern scholars (51 according to Müller 1995); (2) the information given by Encolpius—the narrator

—and persons in the narrative in retrospective soliloquies and dialogues about events that had happened earlier or will happen later but that do not occur in our extant text; (3) the conventions of ancient, especially Greek, erotic fiction; and (4) some assumptions about what must or may have happened in the lacunae between the excerpted passages.

Most scholars adopted and developed ideas first put forward by Bücheler (1862) and Klebs (1889) that, at the beginning of the story in Massilia,⁴ Encolpius had committed some offences against Priapus, the ithyphallic god of fertility, whose wooden statues with an enormous erected red phallus served as scare-crows in Roman gardens. Therefore, he was stricken by Priapus with impotence, and this wrath of Priapus followed him throughout the story until he was finally healed from his defect by the god himself in his sanctuary in Lampsacus at the Hellespont. In a short poem (139.2), Encolpius compares his sufferings from the *gravis ira Priapi* with the fates of mythical heroes like Hercules, Laomedon, and Pelias who were persecuted by other deities, but mainly with that of Ulysses who had blinded Polyphemus, the son of Neptune, and had to suffer the wrath of Neptune until, after a period of long wanderings, he could return to Ithaca. Since there are more allusions to the *Odyssey* in Encolpius' narrative, scholars thought that the wrath of Priapus was the overarching theme of the novel and calculated a 24-book structure analogous to that of the *Odyssey* (Schmeling 2011, xxiiff.; Sullivan 1968a, 34ff.; van Thiel 1971).

Other scholars doubted this reconstruction, the 24 books, the wrath of Priapus as *leitmotiv* of the *Satyrical*, and the final redemption of the hero in the shrine of Priapus in Lampsacus (Baldwin 1973; Slater 1990, 40f.). In his new and stimulating reconstruction, Jensson (2002, 2004) interprets the two crucial fragments I and IV to the effect that Encolpius, a Greek in Massilia and a poor man, was a worshipper of the wooden effigies of Priapus found throughout the gardens of that town because he himself was on par with him, i.e. his penis was of similar dimensions. During a pestilence in Massilia, he had offered himself to be publicly fed for a whole year and was then, dressed as a scapegoat (he is called *latro* "thief" and *pharmace* "scapegoat" by Lichas, 107.15), led around the city with curses and finally banned from it. Perhaps already in Massilia he had affairs with Tryphaena, Hedyle,⁵ a certain Doris (126.18), and the boy Giton, and when he, as an *exul* (81.3), came on board the ship of Lichas he again met Hedyle, Tryphaena, and Giton, two other *exules*, from whose various (sexual) relations the later conflicts on Lichas' ship arose. This first voyage took the party, probably via Rome where Encolpius had been during the *Saturnalia* in the middle of December (69.9), to the

Bay of Naples where in a big harbor city Encolpius together with Giton (and Hedyle?) escaped from the ship after he had stolen the robe and sistrum of Isis (114.5). While they were fleeing Lichas and Tryphaena (what happened to Hedyle is unclear), Encolpius and Giton made a living on petty crimes as we learn from Encolpius' retrospective monologue (81.3–5),⁶ from his letter to Circe (130.1–6), and the episode of the stolen tunic and the gold coins sewed into the cloak (12–15). At that time, Ascyltus seems to have joined Encolpius and Giton, before the first chapter of our text begins.

The crime Encolpius committed against Priapus, therefore, did not happen in Massilia but was the *inexpiable scelus* (17.6) at the shrine of Priapus of which Quartilla accuses him and which consisted of impersonating Priapus himself with the help of his oversized phallus. Encolpius seems to allude to this scene in his prayer to Priapus (133.3) when he says that he did not lay hands on temples as a sacrilegious enemy but that he was poor and worn by strained circumstances and thus had committed a crime not with his whole body—"but only with my penis", one has to complete the sentence. Moreover, the wrath of Priapus is not always effective since Encolpius is sometimes perfectly able to enjoy sex; he is only rather surprised to find that the god's punishment should hit him again in Croton, so far away from that Greek city and so long after that hybrid performance during Quartilla's priapic rituals.

What happened after the Croton episode? It is certain, based on comparison with the Greek novels, that the episodic structure continued, and the story of Eumolpus' African estates may hint to a continuation on the other side of the Mediterranean. From there, a journey to Egypt, the fabulous wonderland of ancient fiction, is possible, but remains a speculation. A second factor could be Encolpius' jealousy for rivals of Giton, who permeate the action from the beginning and form the changing constellations within the triangle Encolpius–Giton–rival: Tryphaena, Hedyle (?), Lycurgus (?), Ascyltus, Eumolpus, Tryphaena; perhaps Eumolpus is replaced by one or more persons in the final sections of the novel. In any case, the two voyages on the ship of Lichas before chapter 1 of the extant text and in chapters 100–115 are structural axes and organizing elements of the plot, such that one may expect similar voyages before the end of the story. Whether Encolpius finally would return to his hometown, as the lovers in the Greek novels or Loukios in the (ps.-) Lucianic *Onos* do, or stay in another city in the Roman Empire as Lucius in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, remains unclear as well. See Jensson (2004, 103ff., 171ff.); Schmeling (2011, xxiiif., 549); Sullivan (1968a, 76ff.); van Thiel (1971, 50f., 61f.); and Walsh (1970, 76).

The *Cena Trimalchionis*

The central and most coherent episodes are chapters 26.7–78.8, where Encolpius narrates the dinner in the house of the rich freedman Trimalchio that he Giton, Ascyltus, and Agamemnon attended. It offers a kaleidoscope of scenes in which other freedmen, neighbors and friends of Trimalchio, discuss problems of their daily lives—family matters, economics, moral decay—tell stories, have words with Encolpius and his friends, whose rhetorical education and intellectual superiority they consider arrogance, and enjoy a variety of dishes, entertainment, and surprises their host provides. Trimalchio, however, does not realize that he often annoys his guests with incoherent table conversation: he tries to show off his learning and constantly gets things wrong, so that our friends often cannot keep a straight face and burst out with laughter. The speeches of Trimalchio and his fellow freedmen in Encolpius' ironical rendering are an important source for the spoken “vulgar” Latin that differs considerably from the “urban prose” of the other parts of the *Satyrica* (Boyce 1991; Petersmann 1977).

The *Cena* belongs to a literary tradition that goes back to Plato's and Xenophon's *Symposium* in the fourth century BC and extends to the *Cena Cypriani* and Macrobius' *Saturnalia* in late antiquity. Its main literary models are Plato's *Symposium* and *Satire* 2.8 of Horace, in which the comic poet Fundanius tells a friend of the banquet given by Nasidienus (Bodel 1999, 39f.). Both Nasidienus and Trimalchio are social climbers who impress their guests with extravagant and surprise dishes and old wines, dominate the conversation with banal stories and silly remarks, leave their guests for a while (Nasidienus to give orders in the kitchen, Trimalchio to go to the toilet, freeing up their guests to talk frankly), are occasionally carried away by their emotions and dissolve into tears, and suffer a small incident: at Nasidienus', a baldachin collapses and covers guests and dishes with lots of dust; at Trimalchio's, a young acrobat falls on his arm but without hurting him seriously; finally, at both banquets, the guests, being no longer able to stand their hosts' excesses, lose their appetites and eventually flee. There are also parallels between the guests: Maecenas at Nasidienus' has his counterpart in the rhetor Agamemnon; Nomentanus, the crawler in Horace, in the freedman Hermeros; and the uninvited “shadows” (*umbrae*) of Maecenas, Vibidius, and Servilius Baltro correspond, respectively, to Encolpius, Giton, and Ascyltus brought along by Agamemnon.

As to the *Symposium*, the intertextual relations lie in some structural features and in the speeches that form the backbone of Plato's dialogue and those of the freedmen: the pleader Phileros is, as

the sophist Pausanias, “a cynical advocate of moral indifference,” whereas poor Ganymedes defends, like Phaedrus, the old moral values and religious traditions; Seleucus, lamenting his dead friend Chrysanthus, is the same “pedantic purveyor of pseudo-scientific medical wisdom” as the physician Eryximachus; Niceros and Aristophanes are both first reluctant to speak because they are afraid to be ridiculous, and then both tell a story about the duality of man: Niceros about the double nature of a soldier who turned out to be a werewolf, Aristophanes about the original dual nature of man as a globular being with double limbs and organs; the mason Habinnas who, coming with a great entourage from another party, arrives late and already drunken, as does Alcibiades at Agathon’s (whose role as host is played by Trimalchio), both “introducing and prompting the final revelation of the main character” (quotations from Bodel 1999, 40), i.e. Trimalchio and Socrates; finally, both dinner parties come to a sudden end with intruders from outside: a band of revelers in Plato, the fire brigade in Petronius.

Grossardt (2009) sees a string of intertextual relations with the *Iliad*: the mural painting with scenes from *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in Trimalchio’s villa (29.9); the interlude of the *homeristae* performing scenes from the Homeric poems (59.3); the kitchen slave playing the role of mad Aias when he carves the cooked calf (59.7); the *Mauerschau* (*Il.* 3.161ff.) parodied in Hermeros describing to Encolpius the participants of the banquet (37f.); the pleading of warriors for leniency reflected in the pleadings of the cook who allegedly had forgotten to disembowel a pig (49), of the slave who had broken a cup (52.4ff.), and of the acrobat who had fallen on Trimalchio (54). However, despite these and other observations, one should ask whether this really proves the existence of a Homeric subtext or is rather meant to caricature Trimalchio’s boastful habits and his and the freedmen’s lack of education.

The idea of death so permeates the *Cena* that some interpret it as a Dinner of the Dead, Trimalchio’s villa as underworld, and the whole narrative as a labyrinth with a carefully balanced structure (Bodel 1994, 1999; Döpp 1991; Herzog 1989; Hope 2009): Encolpius learns that Trimalchio has a clock and trumpeter to remind him every hour how much of his lifetime has already passed (26.9); then Encolpius reads an inscription (28.7) that any slave leaving the house without the master’s permission will receive 100 strokes (i.e. it is impossible to leave the underworld) and is greeted by a magpie (28.9), a bird connected with death and underworld. Just about to enter (29.1f.), he is frightened by a huge dog watching the entrance (Cerberus) until he realizes that it is painted on the wall; later (72.7ff.), this dog comes alive and prevents the friends from leaving Trimalchio’s villa/

underworld and causes Ascylltus and Encolpius to fall into a fishpond (Styx) until rescued by a butler; Giton feeds the dog with scraps from the dinner (the Sibyl calming down Cerberus with a drugged scrap in *Aen.* 6.417ff.), while the butler warns them that the guests must leave by a different route from which they arrived (cf. the Sibyl's description of the downward slope *Aen.* 6.126ff., and Aeneas leaves the underworld through the Gates of Sleep *Aen.* 6.893ff.). They try in vain to find the exit and feel trapped in a new kind of labyrinth (73.1, a reference to Aeneas admiring Daedalus' labyrinth on the temple doors at *Cumae* in *Aen.* 6.23ff.) and are forced to return to the feast (underworld) by entering the baths as they did first in 28.1, so that the whole feast starts over again and seems to be perpetuated *ad infinitum* until they use the confusion of the fire brigade to escape this world of the dead for good.

Other references to the realm of death and underworld are the wall paintings with scenes from Trimalchio's life until his apotheosis (29.2ff.), which are typical for sarcophagi and monuments that designate the house as a burial chamber and the dinner as a feast among the dead (cf. Trimalchio's remark that wine lives longer than wretched man, and the silver skeleton thrown by a slave on the table, 34.7ff.). Later, two freedmen Seleucus (42) and Habinnas (65) tell of the funerals they attended before the dinner, Seleucus lamenting the frailty of human nature. Eventually, the whole *Cena* culminates in the staging of Trimalchio's own funeral, a rehearsing of his death: the reading of his will; the lament and tokens of gratitude of the servants; the instruction for Habinnas as to his statue, tomb, and epitaph; the ominous sign of the crowing cock; Trimalchio's sketch of his life, a kind of self-obituary and *laudatio funebris* that balances the wall paintings in 29.2ff.; his embalming and being covered with burial garments; and the funeral music of the trumpets that causes the fire brigade to burst in and end the feast.

The Inserted Novellas

It is a typical feature of ancient Greek and Latin novels that the characters whose adventures are told by the narrator adopt for themselves incidentally the role of narrators and tell stories either about themselves (e.g. Xenophon's Hippothous and Aigialeus, 3.2; 5.1.4–11; Heliodorus' Cnemon and Calasiris, 1.9–17; 2.24.5–5.33.3), or about events they witnessed or heard from others. Most remarkable are stories told by Lucius and others in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*: Aristomenes (1.5–19), Thelyphron (2.21–32), the slave of Charite's

household (8.1–14), or Lucius himself (9.5–7; 9.16–29); the most famous is that of Cupid and Psyche which an old woman tells to Charite, who is held captive by robbers (4.28–6.24).

Given its fragmentary state, the *Satyrিকা* contains only four lengthily inserted narratives: the two ghost stories of Niceros and Trimalchio and the two novellas of Eumolpus. Niceros tells the story of the transformation of a soldier into a werewolf (61f.), assuring his audience that he witnessed everything himself: he, accompanied by a soldier, departed at night to his mistress. The soldier, in a cemetery at midnight, took off his clothes and urinated a circle around them, whereupon he changed into a wolf and disappeared howling in the woods. Niceros checked those clothes and found them petrified and, deadly frightened, fought shades with his sword until, completely exhausted, he reached his mistress' house, where he learned that a wolf had just killed all the cattle and that a servant had run a spear through his neck. Niceros immediately returned home and saw only blood, not the soldier's clothes in the cemetery; at home, he found the soldier lying in bed, his neck being treated by a physician (Pàroli 1986; Blänsdorf 1990; Boyce 1991, 85ff.). Trimalchio takes up the topic (63) and tells a similar story about witches who had stolen the corpse of his former master's favorite boy and exchanged it for a straw puppet. A huge and strong Cappadocian slave fought with the witches outside and ran one through with his sword, making her groan, though they all remained invisible; when the slave went back inside, he was bruised all over his body and never looked the same again: he suffered delirium and died some days later.

Ghost stories and apparitions were a favorite topic in ancient literature; in tragedy (Atossa in Aeschylus' *Persae*, Laius in Seneca's *Oedipus*), comedy (Menander's *Phasma*, Plautus' *Mostellaria*), epic (the shades of the dead in *Odyssey* 11, Hector and Polydorus in *Aeneid* 2 and 3, Erichth's necromancy in Lucan's *Pharsalia* 6), and many prose genres including the novel, as seen in the stories of Aristomenes and Thelyphron in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (1.5–19; 2.21–30) (Stramaglia 1998, 1999). Encolpius does not believe Niceros or Trimalchio, but joins the apotropaic ritual to ward off nocturnal ghosts. A belief in ghosts, werewolves, witches, and magic was not limited to the lower classes: the educated elite also believed in them, and they played a prominent role in religious and philosophical discussions until late antiquity, even in Christian authors from Tertullian to St. Augustine.

Eumolpus tells the other two stories, which belong to the genre *Milesian Tales*. *Milesian Tales* are ascribed to "Aristides of Miletus" (second/first century BC) and circulated in a Latin translation by a certain Sisenna. Only one word of the Greek and 10 short fragments of the Latin version are preserved, but a recently published papyrus

might also apply. These stories were notoriously pornographic and had thus a bad reputation. Their literary form seems to have been a continuous narrative with inserted poems and a first-person *Rahmenerzählung* in which Aristides—presumably the innertextual narrator confused with the author—reports the stories he heard from others, perhaps at a banquet or similar occasions. In this function, they occur in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* where at the beginning the narrator promises his readers various stories “in that well-known Milesian style” and in the course of his narrative inserts numerous tales of sexually explicit and salacious content.⁷

In the first story, Eumolpus speaks of how he succeeded in seducing a handsome boy in Pergamon, with whose parents he had been quartered. Posing as a man of high moral principles, he was considered as one of the “philosophers” but (mis)used his position as pedagogue so that eventually his lust and, as it were, that of the boy were gratified: first, he was allowed a kiss for a pair of doves, then he was allowed to touch the boy all over for a pair of cocks, and finally full intercourse for a horse. However, when Eumolpus fails to bring the horse, the boy gets evasive; a couple of days later, Eumolpus approaches him again but the boy threatens to tell his father. Eventually, he yields to his teacher and asks twice for an encore; Eumolpus at the fourth time fails to keep up and now *he* threatens the boy to tell his father.

One noticed long ago (Cameron 1969; Dimundo 1986; McGlathery 1998) that this story is a reversal of another scene from Plato's *Symposium* (217a2ff.), namely, Alcibiades' narrative of how he tried to seduce his teacher Socrates who, however, refused all his overtures. It enriches the reader's picture of Eumolpus, who, when Encolpius first encounters him in an art gallery, is described as a gray-haired, slightly shabby old man with furrows on his brow (83.7). Eumolpus introduces himself as a poet “of not completely unimportant talent,” but soon is seen “as a fit companion for Encolpius and his runaways, and as a threat to the anti-hero's relationship with the young Giton” (Anderson 1999, 58), for whom he develops a considerable attraction.

Eumolpus also narrates the novella of the Widow of Ephesus (commentaries by Pecere 1975 and Vannini 2010, 234–263) during a *cena* on Lichas' ship in order to pass the time: Tryphaena's flirtation with Giton leads him to attack the fickle character of women, and he tells a story about the matron who was widely renowned for her *pudicitia*, i.e. her faithfulness and marital virtues. When her husband died, she moved with her maidservant into the tomb, refusing food and drink and firmly resolved to die. A soldier guarding some crucified robbers nearby noticed the light inside the chamber, and when he saw the corpse and the sad widow, he soon figured out the

cause of her lament and how to heal it. First, he offered her his own modest meal and tried to comfort her with all the rhetorical arguments of consolation literature at his disposal. While the matron remained in her relentless grief, he found success with her maid, who accepted his wine and food and tried on her part to induce her mistress to give up her mourning. Eventually, the lady was persuaded to eat and drink, and having satisfied these basic needs she realized that the soldier was quite a good-looking man. It did not take much for him to win over the chaste lady entirely, and their first wedding night was followed by two more. During the third night, however, the parents of one of the robbers removed their son's body from the cross for a proper burial. The soldier, terrified and fearing capital punishment for the desertion of his post, wanted to commit suicide, but the lady declared that she "would rather make a dead man useful than send a live man to death," and ordered the soldier to fix her husband's corpse up on the empty cross so that, as Eumolpus ironically concludes, "the people wondered next day by what means the dead man had ascended the cross."

This novella seems to have been well known and widespread before Petronius as an example of satiric invectives against women. Its main point, however, lies in Eumolpus' way of narration and the ironic undertones and comments he weaves in, especially the exaggerated praise of the matron's singular chastity and virtue at the beginning and the break with these virtues at the end. When Eumolpus has the soldier realize that the woman found her *desiderium* for her dead husband unendurable, he means not only "regret" but implies also ardent and unfulfilled sexual desire. The soldier's and the maidservant's words of comfort and persuasion reveal that the poet Eumolpus is experienced in persuasion and art of consolation, as seen when he gives his audience to understand that they, of course, know the temptation that usually follows a full stomach, i.e. sex (112.1), and when he characterizes the widow as "not less pitiful than faithful" (112.7) and as a "most clever lady" (112.8).

Scholars have long noted (Fedeli 1986, 27ff.; Vannini 2010, 252f.) that the widow-maidservant-soldier triad corresponds to Dido, her sister Anna, and Aeneas in *Aeneid* 4, where Dido, a widow who has vowed to stay faithful to her dead husband, is persuaded by Anna to yield to her love for Aeneas. Aeneas is the foreign soldier who intrudes (metaphorically speaking) into Dido's cave of grief and chastity; both eventually pass their wedding night in a cave where they sought shelter from a thunderstorm. Eumolpus contrives these allusions to the *Aeneid*, ironically undercutting his own narrative by having the maidservant twice quote a line in Latin from the *Aeneid* (34.38), though the story occurs in Greek-speaking Ephesus, and—

given that the story stems from Aristides' *Milesian Tales*—at a time when the *Aeneid* was not yet written at all!

The Widow of Ephesus, one of the most sophisticated and artistically elaborated narratives in the ancient novels, had an impressive *Nachleben* in Western literature from the late antique adaptation in the fable collection of the so-called “Romulus” through the Middles Ages (John of Salisbury *Policraticus*, Jacques de Vitry, Etienne de Bourbon, *Gesta Romanorum*, *Historia septem sapientium*) and the early modern period (George Chapman, Walter Charleton, Saint-Évremond, La Fontaine) up to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (de Musset, Daudet, Hamsun, D’Annunzio, Christopher Fry) (Huber 1990; Vannini 2010, 23ff.).

The Poems⁸

Poems on the fall of Troy seem to have been popular at this time, cf. Nero’s recital of his *Halosis Ilii* while Rome was burning in AD 64 and Lucan’s *Iliaca*, both lost, for which *Aeneid* 2 was the main epic model. Eumolpus rearranges Vergil’s sequence of events and re-evaluates Laocoon’s role, with Sinon mentioned just in one line. At a closer look, however, the poem is not an ekphrasis of one or more paintings in the art gallery, but a report by a Trojan eyewitness (v.11 *o patria, ... credidimus*, 35 *respicimus*) in chronological order, from the building of the wooden horse to Laocoon’s warning, the attack of the snakes, the death of Laocoon and his sons, up to the moment when the Greeks climb out of the horse and start to destroy the city. Thus, it shows the characteristics of a messenger’s speech, for example, as in Senecan tragedy. Language, style, and meter, however, render the Senecan model imperfectly, and the rhetorical bombast and clumsy syntax ridicule Eumolpus’ poetic shortcomings rather than Seneca’s art, ironically unmasking, as it were, his own pretensions of being a poet “of no mean imagination” (83.8). Other critics see in the *Troiae Halosis* a parody of the style of Senecan drama and other tragic versifications that were performed in those days at numerous public and private occasions, about which we know through the letters of the Younger Pliny and verses of Martial and Juvenal. Less probable, however, is a direct parody of Nero’s or Lucan’s lost poems or of Vergil himself, or a serious intention in the sense that Petronius wanted his readers to understand the poem as an artistic piece of a true Vergilian poet or an example of the literary taste prevalent in Neronian times (Walsh 1970, 47: “a deliberately mediocre poem inserted to ridicule the tragic declaimer”; cf. Habermehl 2006, 151ff. and Vannini 2007, 285ff.). The

public that witnessed this declamation throws stones at the poetaster so that Eumolpus, sarcastically “recognizing this tribute to his genius” (90.1), flees the gallery. It is left to the reader to decide whether those people have adequately judged Eumolpus’ poetic gifts and whether the author of the novel shares this judgment.

The poem on the Civil War (119–124.1) also raises debate regarding its purpose, poetic qualities, and function. In six sections, it exposes the outbreak of the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey early in January 49 BC: historical narratives are found in sections III (prodigies, vv. 122–143), IV (Caesar’s army crossing the Alps and the Rubicon in winter, vv. 144–208), and V (panic in Rome, senators and Pompey flee, vv. 209–244), whereas in sections II and VI the intervention of supernatural forces is described, and in section I the moral decay as a consequence of Rome’s world domination is declared the main cause of the war (vv. 1–66) (Walsh 1970, 50: “the chief purpose is derisive parody of the poetic styles of Seneca and Lucan”; cf. Connors 1998, 100ff.; Häussler 1978, 106ff.; Vannini 2007, 288ff.).

Traditional moralizing and supernatural or divine actions restrain the historical narrative and set Eumolpus’ poem in strong opposition to Lucan’s epic. Nevertheless, scholars list many allusions to the *Pharsalia*: to Books 1–3 published during Lucan’s lifetime (he participated in the Pisonian Conspiracy and committed suicide on 30 April 65 AD) and to the remaining seven books that came into circulation after Nero’s death (9 June 68 AD).⁹ On the other hand, scholars have also detected numerous references to the *Aeneid* and advance the theory that Petronius had Eumolpus plunder Vergil rather than Lucan and, to a lesser degree, Ovid, Seneca, and Livy (21.32.7ff.) on Hannibal’s crossing of the Alps (George 1974; Häussler 1978, 107ff.). Eventually, those scholars who reject that the author of the *Satyrica* was Nero’s courtier and date the novel in the first half of the second century AD demonstrate that Eumolpus’ poem draws heavily on the *Punica* of Silius Italicus (†AD 101/2). Grimal’s view (1977) that the *Satyrica* precedes Lucan’s *Pharsalia*, and that Lucan was borrowing from Petronius, has not met with great approval.

Is the *Bellum Civile* with its traditional divine machinery a serious alternative to / parody of Lucan, or just another ridiculous example of Eumolpus’ high aspirations? Connected to this question are the poetic theories that Eumolpus discusses in the preceding chapter 118, where he announces, as an illustration of his convictions, the poem on which he had been working on board the ship of Lichas during the storm, though it is lacking the final touch (his shipwreck a symbol for the shipwreck of his poetry?):

Anyone who attempts the vast theme of the civil war will falter

under the burden unless he is full of literature; for history should not be recorded in verses: historians can do that far better. Instead, the free spirit of genius must plunge headlong into poetic and obscure utterances and divine interpositions and stories coloured by mythology, so that what results seems rather the prophetic utterances of an inspired mind rather than a sworn testimony made before witnesses. (trans. Rouse and Connors)

The poem embarrassingly unmasks Eumolpus as a mediocre poet; his misapplied theories, his blustering about the decline in the arts, and his self-presentation as a moralist and connoisseur on painting (88) reveal him to be a man of pretense; as a story-teller, however, he receives the full attention and applause of his listeners. The poetic theories expounded in chapter 118 and the sample of his epic on the Civil War are certainly not a judgment by Petronius on Lucan,¹⁰ but rather a satiric demonstration of the inability of contemporary poets—those of the first half of the second century AD, I would argue—to match in their own works the high demands of poetry. It is again the task of the reader to discover the discrepancy between the ideals in chapter 118 and their realization by Eumolpus in chapters 119–124.1, and he may be relieved, as Encolpius is, after Eumolpus “at least” has finished “pouring out his monstrous deluge of words” (124.2).

Models, Sources, Genre

The *Satyricon* has always been seen as a conundrum within the genre of longer fictional narratives because of its (supposed) extraordinary length and its mixture of prose and verse. Further disturbing elements were the narrator’s (and, behind him, the historical author Petronius; Conte 1996) parodic and satiric view of the world, the lower-class setting and characters, and the many unabashed (homo)sexual passages that were in direct contrast to the “ideal” Greek love romance. Therefore, scholars have sought Greek models for the *Satyricon* analogous to the (lost) Greek *Ass-Novel* and its epitome, the *Onos*, which since long had been recognized as the model for Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*.

Richard Heinze (1899) advanced the thesis that the *Satyricon* parodied the characteristic features and motifs of the Greek “ideal” love novel, starting with replacing the heterosexual couple of a distinguished family by the lower-class, homosexual lovers Encolpius and Giton. According to Heinze, Petronius combined the parody of the Greek “pathetic-erotic” novel and the Roman Menippean Satire to create a new, realistic “comic-erotic” novel. Although at that time the

dating of Greek novels still relied on Erwin Rohde (1876), and no ideal or parodic Greek novels were known that predated the *Satyrিকা*, Heinze nevertheless claimed that their existence could convincingly be deduced from the existence of the *Satyrিকা*. More recently, however, a constant stream of papyri with fragments of 40 hitherto unknown Greek novels has come to light, including some comic–realistic types with strong resemblances to the *Satyrিকা* (see Stephens in this collection).

In addition to the *Phoenikika* by Lollianós and the prosimetric *Iolaus* and *Tinouphis* fragments, there is a fragment (POxy 4762: Obbink 2006) in third-person narrative about a sexual encounter between a woman and an ass that might come from the *Milesian Tales* (May 2010): it would prove that the *Milesian Tales* were prosimetric and contained an ass story, and thus corroborate Apuleius' claim in the preface to the *Metamorphoses* (1.1) to present “different sorts of tales in that well-known Milesian style”.

Such a view, however, conflicts with current chronology of the Greek novels: 30 and 40 years ago, scholars believed Chariton wrote in the first century BC, but recent research dates Chariton, Xenophon, the *Ninus Romance*, and *Metiochus and Parthenope* to the middle of the first century AD, and places the comic–realistic novels between 75 and the first decades of the second century AD, which would mean Petronius could not yet have known any of those Greek comic–realistic novels (Bowie 2002; Tilg 2010). This, however, is only true if the author of the *Satyrিকা* was Nero's courtier; if he dates to the time of Trajan (98–117 AD) or Hadrian (117–138 AD), Petronius could have known a number of Greek novels, both “ideal” and comic–realistic, on which to model his *Satyrিকা*.

Therefore, it is no longer necessary to see the *Satyrিকা* as a Menippean Satire (Relihan 1993) just because of its mixture of prose and verse (Dronke 1994). On the contrary, a link between Petronius and the Menippean Satire on generic terms has to be ruled out, as Astbury (1977) and Jensson (2002, 2004) have convincingly demonstrated. These observations lead to the conclusion that the *Satyrিকা* is a Roman adaptation of a Greek hypo-text in the style of the *Milesian Tales* with their specific narrative structure and their frivolous and salacious subject matter, with a blend of Greek and Roman elements in which “on top of the Greek base is added a Roman linguistic and cultural layer” (Jensson 2004, 287), and that its author Petronius was not Nero's courtier but wrote it in the first half of the second century.

Notes

1 For the complicated history of the textual transmission, see Müller 1961, vii–lx; Müller and Ehlers 1983, 381–484; Müller 1995, iii–xlvi; van Thiel 1971, 1–24; and de la Mare 1976. - For full bibliographies see Schmeling and Stuckey 1977 (with complete list of manuscripts, printed editions and translations), Smith 1986, and Vannini 2007.

2 A real forgery were the supplements to Petronius by François Nodot, who in 1691 claimed to have received a manuscript with the complete text of the *Satyrica* found in a private library in Belgrade in 1688. The forgery was soon unmasked (Laes 1998; Stolz 1987). A witty attempt at rewriting (not forging!) the lost first part of the *Satyrica* is the supplement by Harry C. Schnur *alias* C. Arrius Nurus (1907–1979), edited by Sacré (1992); cf. Laes 2000.

3 For hypothetical reconstructions of these earlier events, see: Jensson 2004, 116ff. and 151ff.; Sullivan 1968a, 43f.; van Thiel 1971, 42ff.; also see these commentaries: Habermehl 2006, 337f.; Breitenstein 2009, xvif. 21ff.; Schmeling 2011, 397ff.; and Vannini 2010, 102ff.

4 That part of the story was set in Massilia, and Priapus there played a certain role we learn from the fourth-century commentary by Servius on Vergil (*Aen.* 3.57) and from the fifth-century writer Sidonius Apollinaris (*Carmen.* 23.155–7), now fr. I and IV Müller (1995).

5 She is presumably to be identified with Lichas' wife (113.3), who was seduced by Encolpius in *Herculis porticu* (106.2), i.e. in the Colonnades of Hercules: but one should better follow Walsh 1970, 74 and read in *Herculis portu*, i.e. modern Monaco, so that this affair happened *en route* from Massilia to Campania.

6 Whether the other self-reproaches in 81.3 (*effugi iudicium, harenae imposui, hospitem occidi*) and 130.1f. are to be taken at face value is doubtful; cf. Habermehl 2006, 34ff.; Schmeling 2011, 342ff. and 495ff. For a literal understanding, see Jensson 2004, 145ff. and 162ff.

7 For more on *Milesian Tales*, see Harrison 1998b; Jensson 2004, 255ff.; in the *Satyrica*: Müller 1980; Fedeli 1986; Sega 1986; Lefèvre 1997. Rawson 1979, 331ff. is probably right in supposing that Sisenna, the translator of the *Milesiae*, is not identical with the politician and historiographer L. Cornelius Sisenna (ca. 118–ca. 66/5 BC).

8 See also Setaioli in this collection; further Setaioli 2011, Zeitlin 1971, and Sommariva 1996. Commentary on the shorter poems: Courtney 1991.

9 For parallels with Lucan: Stubbe 1933, 74 n. 1; Sullivan 1968a,

174ff.; Rose 1971, 65ff. and 87ff.; Häußler 1978, 106ff.; and Courtney 2001, 184 ff.; for a full commentary, Guido 1976. Rose 1971, 60ff. and Häußler 1978, 110ff. discuss whether Petronius could have known the as-yet-unpublished books of the *Pharsalia* between Lucan's death and his own in AD 66 (if the author of the *Satyrica* is Nero's courtier) by recitation or circulation of drafts.

10 Coffey 1976, 187: "No opinion expressed by any character in the *Satyricon* may be abstracted from its setting and attributed without reservation to the author"; and Beck 1979, 241: "The quality of Eumolpus' poetic works ceases to be an unsatisfactory enigma and becomes instead a superb example of Petronius' skill at characterization."

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Slater, N.W. 1990. *Reading Petronius*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press. In the wake of John J. Winkler’s seminal study on Apuleius (*Author & Actor: A Narratological Reading of Apuleius’ The Golden Ass*, University of California Press 1985), Slater tries to show the unreliability of the narrator Encolpius (and his author Petronius) and to reconstruct, on the basis of the reader-response-theory, the various responses of various readerships and the possible but not compulsory meaning of the text.

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CHAPTER 7

Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*

The Nature of the Beast

Paula James

The Beginning

I took on the task of introducing this ancient Latin novel with some trepidation. You would think that someone steeped in this remarkable prose narrative for many years would be excited at the opportunity to promote his or her work to a wider readership. I did, however, wonder about this ancient novel's reception in the here and now and how best to whet appetites for Apuleius' story of magical metamorphoses. There is enough sex and violence in *The Golden Ass* to fulfill stereotypes of the morals and mores of the Roman world, as it is generally perceived in popular culture. On the other hand, the modern reader of this text might simultaneously bring different assumptions about the classical past, believing it to be the cradle of civilization in a cultural sense (the Greeks) and a model of military organization of advanced building and engineering (the Romans).

It might come as a surprise to our notional modern reader to discover a racy story (almost a graphic novel, with a fair dose of S & M) in a familiar form, a work of prose fiction—and thereby hangs a tale! There are lively debates among classical scholars about the nature and status of this kind of writing in the Greco-Roman world. I shall go into more detail about the definitions of genres in my essay on Apuleius. *The Golden Ass* is in a sense a stand-alone work, but also a common point of reference in discussions about the structure, tone, content, and purpose of romantic, fantastic and comic adventure stories of ancient times. So, who was responsible for this literary

The Author

Apuleius was African, born c. 120 CE in the town of Madauros (modern Mdaursch, Algeria). North Africa had long been a Roman province and, as one of two sons of a local magistrate, Apuleius enjoyed modest wealth and status. He is likely to have conversed in Punic (native African) and Latin, was educated at Carthage and, as a young man, traveled to Greece on a grand tour, perfecting his knowledge of the Greek language and the riches of Greek culture.

At this time, the Roman Empire enjoyed relative economic and social stability under Antoninus Pius, a relatively “light touch” and stay-at-home emperor, in contrast to Hadrian, his predecessor, who was much more high profile, traveling extensively and especially through the Greek provinces. Whatever the character of the ruling regime, aggressive or defensive in its foreign policy, the Empire was always in a state of military tension. Under Antoninus, there were wars and hostile incursions at the frontiers, and at no point in its history could the Roman world be internally and universally “policed” in any modern sense. There were lawless swathes of countryside, notwithstanding a far-reaching urban culture that has left a worldwide legacy of impressive material remains and also a fascinating array of literary evidence about Roman art, architecture, and sophisticated social structures.

Apuleius became a successful orator at Carthage, the flourishing capital of the North African province which, typically, combined indigenous and Roman cultural and religious traditions. He was also honored with statues in other cities of the province, a not unusual colonial success story. His public lectures and writings indicate that he was well versed in Greek philosophy, and that he followed the Platonic school. Apuleius’ surviving works range widely: we have treatises on Plato’s philosophy (ascribed to Apuleius, but their authorship is disputed), and a work on Socrates, Plato’s teacher, and the intriguing *Apologia*, which is the author’s lengthy trial defense against charges of using magic to seduce and marry an older widow. Did this happen or is it an exercise in persuasive and entertaining oratory? Whatever the truth, such a rhetorical rebuttal might well have helped Apuleius to celebrity status in a world where performance and the public display of knowledge were highly rated and assisted upward mobility.

We also have the *Florida*, a series of speeches on all kinds of topics

—cultural, ethical, and anthropological—in which we receive sound bites about Apuleius’ interests and attitudes. However, Apuleius’ lasting claim to fame in the modern world is his *Metamorphoses*, better known as *The Golden Ass*, a fantastical tale of transformation with a prologue promising wonder and delight for its readers—*Lector, intende: laetaberis* (“Reader, concentrate: you will be glad you did!”).

The Golden Ass is a narrative fiction told in the first person. In the ancient world, this could indicate that, at least in parts, it constituted what we might now call “life writing.” Aurelius Augustinus, better known as St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo in modern Algeria, was another Romanized African who penned a confessional narrative about religious conversion over 200 years later, puzzled over whether Apuleius had pretended to be turned into an ass or had really undergone the experience (*Civ. Dei* 18.18). This suggests that Augustine, who never mastered Greek, was not aware of the derivative nature of Apuleius’ work, the *Onos* story ascribed to Lucian of Samosata. The *Onos* (full title, *Lucius or the Ass*) is itself a problematical text being an epitome, a shorter version of a longer and more layered work in Greek, also called *Metamorphoses*. This text does not survive, but is alluded to in a large compilation of “book reviews” by Photius, patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century CE.

We could pass over Augustine’s apparent belief that a man might become an ass with a superior smile; and yet scholars since have speculated upon less fantastical autobiographical moments seeping through Apuleius’ multi-layered text. Andrew Laird’s 1993 discussion of the “factual” nature of the story still sparks debate about the ancient and modern readers’ reception of texts written in the first person. There is not world enough and time to explore the subtleties of “ego” narrative in a taster essay like this one, but a browse through the many interpretations of the novel’s Prologue (Kahane and Laird 2001; Keulen 2007), where Lucius, the hero, appears to introduce himself, will demonstrate that the topic of narrative identity (identities) is by no means exhausted in scholarly circles.

The Plot

Apuleius’ mainframe narrative concerns a well-bred and well-schooled young man, Lucius, who visits the town of Hypata in Thessaly, a region associated with witchcraft especially in literary traditions, and who is turned into an ass as a result of meddling in magic. Both in his human and donkey forms, the hero, Lucius, experiences or witnesses a variety of bizarre and disturbing events and episodes and overhears

others, including the substantial centrally situated story, Cupid and Psyche, introduced as an old wives' tale. This fable is a lengthy interlude that has attracted a great deal of attention and has proved as slippery to characterize as the main narrative. This story of the love god in love with a beautiful princess whose name means Soul was, as far as we can tell, a new myth in and of its time. Cupid and his mother Venus drift in and out of character as gods of sexual passion, making the fable yet another story of altered states.

It is possible to identify themes of transformation in all the stories surrounding the mainframe narrative about the ass. The motif of metamorphosis¹ is rarely confined to corporeal and physical dimensions in ancient literature. Apuleius' novel deals in the miraculous, the vagaries and vicissitudes of fortune and at least one transformative journey of a spiritual nature. Lucius is lucky enough after a good deal of suffering and humiliation to be restored to his human form by the good graces of the Egyptian goddess Isis. He becomes her acolyte and is initiated into the priestly cults of both Isis and Osiris.

The Plot Thickens

For the first three of the 11 books or "chapters," Lucius settles into Hypata, eager to see what the city has to offer. On his way to the outskirts, he meets two travelers and hears a horror story about witches and the tragic outcome of their sorcery for those who cross their path and thwart their desires. Not deterred, though no doubt deliciously terrified, Lucius, after finding his lodgings with letters of introduction to the town's miser, Milo, and having a strange and somewhat humiliating experience in the local fish market, starts to search Hypata the next day for evidence of magic.

Lucius imagines the presence of things unexpected and supernatural lurking beneath the surface of stones and fountains. We assume that he systematically explores the familiar tourist attractions in which Hypata evidently excels—the baths, the temples, the public works. However, Niall Slater (2008, 242–243) observes that Lucius is listening and looking out for figments of his imagination during his city excursion: "The result, however, is that we readers tour the world of the narrator's mind: all of these elements of nature he imagines to be metamorphosed human beings."

The hero's constant circling of the city is not fruitless: upon turning into the *forum cupidinis* (literally "the market place of desire," but meaning, more prosaically, the provision market), Lucius runs into a

wealthy relative. During the exchange of greetings and pleasantries, his aunt Byrrhena anxiously informs him that his host's wife is a witch to be avoided at all costs. Pamphile, which roughly translates as nymphomaniac, is always on the lookout for lovers as comely as our hero. Lucius promptly rushes back to his lodgings with a plan to get closer to the sorceress and his hostess, Pamphile.

The narrative proceeds along convoluted lines as Lucius calculatingly embarks upon an affair with the sexy slave girl, Photis, which sets off a disastrous train of events. In Book 2, Photis botches a task for her mistress who needed hair clippings from a young boy from Boeotia, the current object of her desire, and Photis substitutes the hair of goat hides that were being prepared as wine skins. The drunken Lucius is fooled into attacking the animated vessels, believing them to be robbers entering Milo's house. He undergoes a mock trial for murder, which turns out to be the centerpiece of a local festival where Risus, god of Laughter, is celebrated. Lucius had been asked to find material for merriment at his aunt Byrrhena's banquet on the previous evening, where another guest, Thelyphron, a man mutilated by witches, narrated a second cautionary tale, which the company received with gales of laughter. Lucius demurred but the curious incident of the goats in the nighttime fortuitously for the Hypatans furnished the means for his contribution.

The worst is yet to come: after the humiliation of the Laughter "trial" and through another of Photis' errors, Lucius is turned into an ass. Photis agrees to help Lucius spy upon her mistress to make up for her role in his public exposure. Lucius excitedly witnesses the witch fly forth into the night as an owl, in pursuit of erotic encounters. Photis gives in to his eager pleading and rubs on the ointment that should grow feathers upon her lover. Unfortunately, Photis, comically accident prone, passes the wrong pot to Lucius and he is transformed into a very earth-bound ass. From Books 4 to 10, he has a life of tedious travel, toil, ill treatment, and degradation, relieved occasionally by intriguing incidents, farcical and tragic, and more stories of magic and mayhem.

Lucius' metamorphosis begins a series of adventures, punctuated by "secondary" stories relayed by the ass but with other fictional characters taking the narrative reins, as the ass changes hands, travels through Greece, and sees life high and low in the raw. He overhears raucous, sinister, and tragic tales of adultery and betrayal, is ill treated and tortured, and then falls on his hooves as it were. Recognized and paraded as an exceptional beast with human desires (he is even seduced by a beautiful and high-born woman), his fortunes seem to have taken a turn for the better—but not for long.

His horror and fear at being put on show in the arena as an ass

copulating with a criminal woman prompts him to break free from a potentially fatal situation. He takes flight and prays to the moon on the shores of Cenchreae for a fostering divine savior to end his misery. All the exhausted ass wants at this stage is closure, and he seems to be inviting death. Enter the goddess Isis, who appears before Lucius after his fervent prayer to the moon and instructs him to eat roses at her festival, which proves to be an appropriate setting for his retransformation in more ways than one. Lucius' previous attempts to consume the antidote to the transformation spell have gone awry. Isis guarantees his access to the longed for flowers.

At several points during his life as an ass, Lucius, in spite of retaining his human personality and his enquiring mind in a bestial form, has despaired of ever finding himself again. When he is re-transformed and restored to humanity at the Festival of Isis, the presiding priest, forewarned about the miracle in a divine dream, is ready with some choice words about the lessons Lucius should have learned. Here was a handsome and privileged young man in possession of *doctrina* (advanced learning), but he foolishly allowed his curiosity to catapult him into dangerous and demeaning desires. Lucius became the plaything of blind Fortuna. Isis is seeing-Fortuna (almost an "overseeing" Fortuna), and the novel's hero finally enters her safe haven: *In tutelam iam receptus es Fortunae, sed videntis, quae suae lucis splendore ceteros etiam deos illuminat* ("Now you have been accepted into the protection of Fortune, but the seeing Fortune, who lights up even other gods with the brilliance of her own illumination." [11.15]).

Life writing—Lucius' excellent adventure

The priest's speech is a rapid distillation of the story's basic plot, a flashback of his suffering with a passing mention of his encounters with brigands, wild beasts, and the daily fear of death that is a slave's lot. Lucius' nights of vigorous sexual activity with the slave Photis might be in the priest's mind when he mentions the hero's falling into servile pleasures (*serviles voluptates*, 11.15), but this is an oblique phrase, considering the evils of servitude Lucius has suffered. The swerves of Blind Fortune have also punctuated his bestial and human existence, dragging him down to the depths, in spite of the odd tantalizing upturns during his adventures as an ass.

Commentators have identified several signs and significant scenes before Lucius' transformation in the third book that prefigure his asinine life, which suggest that, as a man, he was halfway to being a beast. Lucius is manipulated into humiliating situations and, at one

point, his transformation seems to be predicted as he stares at a lifelike sculpture group depicting the myth of the unfortunate Theban prince, Actaeon, in the courtyard of Byrrhaena early in Book 2. Actaeon spies on the goddess Diana as she bathes naked; he has been cunningly carved as if already changing into a stag. This ekphrasis, an elaborate description of an artwork that can be thematically significant for the viewers inside and outside the text, is a link to Lucius' unbridled curiosity. To his peril, he recognizes none of the consequences of meddling in the unknown and spying on powerful females.

Photis, though herself a slave, physically straddles and saddles this freeborn young man, who becomes addicted to their sexual encounters. During the Festival of Laughter in Book 3, his host, Milo, and the local dignitaries, under the pretense of arresting him for murder, lead him around the town in mimicry of a purification parade known as the *lustrum*, which would usually involve an animal groomed for a religious occasion. Lucius is a very unwilling participant in the day dedicated to Risus, god of merriment, a deity who resides only in the pages of Apuleius' novel, unless lost ancient texts reappear to enlighten us.

However, in the big finish to *The Golden Ass*, Isis is presented as a supernatural figure who can be approached, adored, and trusted to turn around Lucius' life. Apuleian devotees are divided over the fervently religious conversion of the hero in the final book. Is it at odds in tone, pace, and character with the rest of the novel? It is a very different resolution to the Greek narrative on which the story seems to be based. In the primarily comical *Onos* story, there is no religious resolution. Lucius lights upon some roses in the amphitheater, eats them, and sheds his ass form. He then returns to the noblewoman who paid money to his keeper for a night of passion with the ass, thinking how thrilled she will be now he is his handsome human self. Scornful of his reduced sexual prowess (the ass had a member the manufacturers and purchasers of Viagra can only dream of), she has him thrown out of the house.

Opinion is divided over Lucius' fate in Apuleius' version—is it comical, a satirical resolution for the gullible and curious protagonist still being deluded by the smoke and mirrors maybe not of magic but of a false religion?² Isis has been viewed as another powerful and controlling female with suspect supernatural attributes who has enslaved the hero. The Greek Lucius takes his drubbing out of the fine lady's house with an amused philosophical air; the Latin Lucius walks the street of Rome, as a priest of Osiris, with a shaven head—the bald acolytes were figures of fun in Roman satiric traditions—and yet has no sense of self-irony.

First Impressions

Surely all these ingredients and uncertainties would be appreciated by a modern reader, but what about the foreign nature of the world in which the fantastic tale takes place? How alien or alienating is the ancient novel, both in content and structure? I became intrigued by the idea of restoring the responses of a first-time reader of this unusual, even unique surviving text. In a groundbreaking critique of the novel's nature as a "philosophical comedy about religious knowledge," John J. Winkler (1985) argued that Apuleius "wrong foots" the first-time reader rather like the writers of detective fiction. Unexpected twists and turns, not least the final book, force us to rethink the meaning and narrative trajectory of Lucius' incredible journey:

It is one of my contentions that the AA [*Asinus Auritus* or *The Golden Ass*] is not simply a problem of interpretation from our point of view in the twentieth century, a vantage from which we can notice readers through the ages disagreeing about the meaning of the work, but that in itself and for any reader it raises problems... (14)

I decided it would be worth recapturing a perspective on Apuleius' prose narrative that was truly "innocent" of theoretical big issues in the scholarly debate, bearing in mind Winkler's emphasis (1985, 13) that a first-time reader is not to be equated with a naïve reader. Of course, Lucius, the narrator, seems to relay much of his story from an innocent or, more accurately, ignorant viewpoint and to make assumptions he then has to correct. The narrator takes us on the journey without the benefit of his hindsight to help us on our way. In the logic of the fiction, Lucius must be writing the book after his retransformation, but does this assumption demonstrate that the reader has been entrapped into accepting the truth of the tale?

I decided to try Apuleius out on secretarial and coordinator colleagues at the Open University center who have attended the occasional lunchtime seminars I offer on my current research and course writing. They read *The Golden Ass* in translation and also selections from Tomas Hägg's 1983 book *The Novel in Antiquity* as they were intrigued to know about modern-looking fiction in the Greek and Roman world. I alerted them to the significant expansion of interest in the Greek Romances as complex texts and the controversies over where works like *The Golden Ass* and the earlier Latin prose "romp," Petronius' *Satyricon*, might interrelate chronologically and culturally. The group encountered Apuleius in a variety of translations, and this in itself led to some interesting differences in their responses,

especially about how ancient or modern the novel felt. On reflection, my new readers would have benefited from dipping into Carl Schlam's accessible 1992 overview of Apuleius' novel *The Metamorphoses of Apuleius: On Making an Ass of Oneself*, which manages expertly to cover a great deal of ground, suggesting as well as summarizing ways in which such a rich text can be read and responded to. I emphasized the role of Winkler's 1985 book *Auctor and Actor* in stimulating a ferment of ideas about this work but being a tougher read at their stage in the game, particularly in the number of rich cultural registers it insinuates into the fabric of Apuleius' novel. We did discuss Winkler's application of theories of narratology to *The Golden Ass*. I also briefly set the scene for these ancient novel novices with a taste of Apuleian scholarship from culturally expansive contextualization to microscopic linguistic and literary readings (see Chapter 20 in this volume, "Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*: A Hybrid Text?").

One of the secretarial coordinators, who was studying Open University social science modules in her spare time, was struck by the violence and horror in this "lurid world," but wondered about its potential as an historical source, especially in laying bare relations of power, patronage, and hierarchical social formations that operated within the proto-Gothic setting of the story. Her particular interests convinced me that not all readers would want to plunge into *The Golden Ass* without chronology and contextualization. Schlam and Finkelpearl (2000) did a splendid survey on scholarship of Apuleius' novel from every possible perspective that included summaries of critical interpretations in *The Metamorphoses as a Representation of Life in the 2nd Century*. For instance, legal themes and allusions feature in the novel, albeit in the most incongruous places, for example, on Mount Olympus. The last decade has witnessed Apuleian scholarship moving ever onward on all fronts.

Historians accept that social realities may be satirized and subverted, as well as synthesized and intensified to create the novel's dystopian ambience, but an increasing number of commentators are writing about issues of cultural and social identity, dominant ideologies, and political destabilization within the narrative. Edith Hall argued in 1995 that the Greek *Onos* story highlighted aristocratic hegemonic power by housing a high-born youth in the body of a bestial slave, and this prompted ancient novel scholars such as Jean Alvares (2007) to take a closer look at the paradoxes of political accommodation lurking in the text of *The Golden Ass*.

"Difficult to get into"

In spite of being exposed to all kinds of explicit and shocking images in contemporary culture, my colleagues still found the novel a rollercoaster of contrary moods and unexpected situations. The course manager of the Open University's Creative Writing modules said the novel relied on a telling not a showing technique, which sent me scurrying back to explanations about effective narrating techniques from the perspective of writers of fiction today. On reflection, it seemed to me that Apuleius was adhering to Henry James' dictum, "dramatize, dramatize, dramatize," that this "novel before the novel" did indeed offer a feast of sensory details, giving descriptions impact, showing as well as telling the reader things about place, character, and emotions. It is difficult to judge an early example of prose fiction from a twenty-first-century perspective, and it is possible that a number of canonical classical authors would fail Creative Writing courses across the genres!

For my first-time readers, *The Golden Ass* was not quite a "novel" as they understood the term. They "struggled to get into it" and would probably have very much agreed with C.S. Lewis's deft description of the work: "*The Golden Ass* is a strange compound of picaresque novel, horror comic, mystagogue's tract, pornography and stylistic experiment." This slight bewilderment with the "nature of the beast" is compounded by the novel's narrative swerves and its variable tones. Apuleius also imports elements (scenarios, language, plotlines) from Greek and Roman drama and mime and exploits literary modes familiar from satire, epic, and love elegy. In the academic world of Apuleian studies, very few scholars would think it necessary to defend Apuleius against charges of sloppy sequencing and just plain weird plotting here and there, but this style of narration disturbs first-time readers who experience rather than recognize the strange weave of ancient genres. The frequent reader of the text may assume that particular motifs and concepts (philosophical, rhetorical, psychological) hold this multi-stranded narrative together, but does that make the narrative inconsistencies melt away? How much do we have to supply in sequence and subtext to make sense of the story (stories), and is that all part of the Apuleian *jeu d'esprit*? I have energetically spoken out for the unity of *The Golden Ass* and, early on in my acquaintance with the work, concluded that Apuleius' detractors were missing the subtleties of his structural principles. I wonder if I was right.

Conspiracy Theories

After some discussion on apparent non sequiturs in the narrative, my focus group speculated upon aspects of Lucius' experiences in Hypata, especially the scenes of false accusation, as these seemed to involve the most mercurial pieces of plotting Apuleius had introduced (we assume) into the Greek mainframe story. Take the Risus Festival, for example. All the Hypatans are in on the joke, but Lucius lives a nightmare until the bodies of three burly burglars he has described at his trial (he embellishes the truth by giving them dialogue) are uncovered and the huge audience bursts out laughing. In our reading group, we speculated upon who might have stage-managed this public event and how far ahead. Lucius' central role was surely not something left to chance by the festival organizers? In other words, we tuned to Winkler's mischievous detective story template for the novel and tried to answer the question "Whodunnit?" (or a pantomimic "behind you" as far as Lucius is concerned). Looking back at the reactions of key Hypatans to Lucius before the festival, the reader should realize that the hero is being singled out as particularly attractive and eminently suitable to play the perfect fool on this religious occasion. Milo, his host, praised his looks and manners (1.23). His aunt Byrrhena and her personal assistant effused over Lucius' beauty and modesty (2.3). As soon as influential members of the town set eyes upon him, he was earmarked, culminating in a direct request that he willingly celebrated the God, Risus, with an entertaining performance. A star was being groomed but not for a pleasant experience. Lucius felt as if he is dying a death of humiliation at the Risus Festival and believed he was about to be tortured, and then executed for murder.

It is worth recalling that Lucius had run into his relative Byrrhena during his voluntary tour of Hypata. He had been circling around the city in an obsessive way, leaving no corner of it unexplored or untouched. This prefigures the *lustrum*, touching every nook and cranny in a ritual of purification, which he performed for the community when he is led around the same city like a lamb to the slaughter on the day of the Risus Festival. It would seem he had manipulated himself into the candidature of a fool for a day.

Any reader is free to speculate and supply motives and hidden agendas, but the conspiracy theory does not really explain subsequent events when Lucius is accused of criminality for real and blamed for the actual burglary of Milo's house. Lucius the ass hears how he has been made the scapegoat for the robbery in which he himself formed part of the plunder. He bitterly laments the calumny that was gleefully reported by the robber scout on his return from town, and this time it is no charade. Once again, the Hypatan society deliberately strips him of his worth and falsely accuses him. This is a mysterious turn of

events as Lucius brought letters of recommendation and was closely questioned about his hometown by Milo on the very first night in Hypata. His old school friend and self-important official, Pythias, had recognized him at the fish market. His aunt and entourage eagerly embraced him. Overall, his good character seemed unassailable. He was even offered a statue by the chief magistrates to celebrate his performance at the Risus Festival. There is actually no logic to his being suspected of the crime other than his sudden disappearance. I have since wondered if Lucius the ass, taken by force from the town, has repeated his role as scapegoat, but this time it is the robbers' crime and guilt he has carried away with him, as well as Milo's treasure.

Changing the medium!

I did not come away with the impression that my first-time readers would necessarily revisit the novel, but it had aroused their interest in the geography, the political structures, and the belief systems of this period of the Roman Empire, as well as prompting them to rethink assumptions about literary forms and styles, ancient and modern. I would have been intrigued to discuss possible dramatizations with them and whether a translation to the stage or the screen would make Apuleius more or less accessible, especially as *The Golden Ass* is increasingly viewed by classicists as a performance piece made up of eminently performative pieces. This is not necessarily to pander to the tendencies in modern consumerist culture mentioned by Winkler (1985, 10–11) and first raised by Roland Barthes, namely the practice of “casting aside a story once it has been ‘devoured,’ so that we can go on to another story, buy another book.” Rather, it is interesting to explore how a visualization of a vividly written text might illuminate its *mises en scènes*, as well as its themes and thematic continuity. A wondrous tale of magical metamorphoses and the twists and turns of fate or Fortuna cries out for dramatizing and for cinematic special effects. There has been at least one BBC 3 radio production that took the Isis conversion seriously and made the finale aurally atmospheric. I also attended the critically acclaimed if over-long production of the novel at London's Globe theatre in 2002. This highly creative and exuberant dramatization by Tim Carroll (Master of Play) with an English translation by Peter Oswald admirably met the challenge of bringing this story to life for a modern audience. Classicists like to emphasize to students in cultural history courses who might be reading Greek and Latin texts in a prose translation that the grand narratives of epic are invariably in poetic form. It was paradoxical, but

proved very successful, that Peter Oswald opted for a verse translation of Apuleius' prose text. The novel is, after all, both epic and dramatic. Imaginative staging and quite a bit of risk-taking (a jumble of styles and set designs spanning centuries of popular cultural forms, from fairground, circus, music hall, and silent cinema) made this an intriguing experience for the audience.

The Globe's *The Golden Ass* managed to evoke a rich range of moods and was a tragicomedy with moments of real poignancy alongside scenes of slapstick. For those familiar with the novel, these choices reflected Apuleius' stylistic swerves and juxtaposition of high and low literary forms in his novel. Mark Rylance's performance as the long-suffering Lucius was the dramatic heart of this stage version. Rylance's Lucius appeared as a debonair man about town catapulted into a world without refinements, so the sense of loss of identity and privilege was palpable. The actor had a physically demanding role as he trundled up and down the stage with a mallet swinging between his legs and dragging a low and cumbersome cart to signify his life as a beast of burden, a pantomime donkey but also a nod to the Victorian freak show "where the half-animal and half-human were paraded before the public for entertainment" (Zoë Gray, *Globe Theatre Programme*, 2002). The audience was swept along in a picaresque world where the grotesque and godlike all formed part of the big carnival. Rylance managed to convey an unshakeable naivety and innocence as an ass, as all pretensions had been stripped away by his metamorphosis. This is perhaps the quality that the amazed crowd at the Isis festival recognizes in the naked, newly (re) born man:

felix Hercules et ter beatus, qui vitae scilicet praecedentis innocentia fideque meruerit tam praeclarum de caelo patrociniū, ut renatus quodam modo statim sacrorum obsequio desponderetur ("What a lucky fellow he is, by Hercules, and three times blessed, one who has surely deserved, by the innocence and trustworthiness of his former life, such exceptional protection from heaven that he is like a new man, instantly committed to the priestly cult" [11:16]).

Apuleian commentators have sometimes assumed that the crowd is misreading the situation and indeed Lucius' character, carried away by the moment because the hero has been blessed by the goddess and embraced by her priest. Perhaps, as readers outside the text as opposed to viewers inside it, we are missing the visual impact of Lucius' rebirth as the *coup de théâtre*. On the other hand, Lucius' perceived *innocentia* might make him suitable, yet again, as a sacrifice, a troublesome thought in the light of Lucius' subjugation to Isis and following a festival where he is once more, as on the Risus day, the

center of attention. Isis did save the hero in Oswald's retelling of the story for the Globe, but she also appeared selling "ices" on the beach, an enjoyable pun and a way of bringing the great goddess down to earth, to say nothing of her dealing in an overpriced commodity.

The Globe production interestingly redeemed Photis, who followed her luckless lover through the scenes attempting to bring him roses for his salvation. In the novel, the liaison with this sorceress' apprentice ends on a sour note. Lucius looks back upon her as a witch who enslaved him, which is somewhat economical with the truth. It is perhaps significant that the well-born woman who pays for sex with Lucius the ass (this occurs in Book 10, in a scene that corresponds to the Greek version) is unintentionally the cause of his near-humiliation and slaughter in the arena, but she does not suffer censure in the Latin novel. All the same, it would seem that there is no safe sex in Apuleius. This is the subtext of Psyche's story, who is both rescued and raped by Cupid, the god of love. The significance of the narrative interlude for Lucius, the listening ass, is still being hotly debated, as the heroine of the inset fable seems to parallel Lucius in misplaced meddling and inappropriate behavior with supernatural forces before being elevated by divine intervention. Psyche suffers as a slave and is tormented and degraded as she performs tasks for a grimly transformed Venus. The heroine makes one final mistake, falling at the last hurdle, but Cupid saves the day and Psyche wins immortality and enjoys an apparent happy ending. My first-time readers recognized all kinds of fairy and folktale elements in the story and could see why it could be and has been so effortlessly extracted from the novel in its literary and artistic afterlife. The Globe production was universally praised for an imaginative staging of this story. The goddess Venus was represented by a gloved hand with a cigarette holder, a symbol, perhaps, of refined elegance and cruelty. Cupid and Psyche appeared as gorgeous puppets in the style of Japanese Bunraku theatre, and their story was accompanied by glorious singing—a mini opera with Claire van Campen's music modeled on the Greek *Harmoniae* mode. This entranced critics and audiences alike, in addition to underlining the illusory quality of the episode in Apuleius; for a classicist, the puppets could have doubled as shadows in the cave, a metaphor of Plato's for the transient images that humanity receives as reality.

In Apuleius, the interlude of Cupid and Psyche is told by the drunken robber to the housekeeper to quiet the traumatized girl, Charite, whom the robbers have captured for ransom, but the fable is not without its darker and deeper sides. As a mythical tale, it contains divine machinery with gods interacting on the heavenly and earthly planes, as well as striking familiar poses from mime and comedy. The

presence of either or both love gods in all their sensuous and sensual beauty might lend *lepos* (charm, allure) to the story. Nevertheless, the fates of those in the thrall of these overpowering emotions represented by Cupid and Venus, *outside the confines of mere fantasy*, expose the lawlessness of love and the destructive potential of passion. Presenting Cupid and Psyche as a superior puppet show within a play of fantastic fictions makes its unreal nature explicit.

What to believe!

This brings me back full circle to the joyously celibate Lucius, who closes the story, going about priestly college duties and keeping his head shaven to celebrate his status as acolyte of Osiris. The old Lucius had quite a fetish for luxuriant locks, so it is small wonder that scholars have wondered about the hero's sacrifice of his hair in the service of god. Is Lucius still being manipulated into playing the fool? Thinking back to the Globe production, we may wonder whether he has ended up as just another "freak show." If he is parading his bald head wherever he goes in Rome, it is possible that Lucius is yet again and unwittingly performing another purification ritual. The place has changed but Lucius' *lustrum* lingers on. Those skeptical of Lucius' happy ending might say so. What we are shown, if we have eyes to see, can be in tension with what we are told, provided, of course, we can work out who or what is our narrative source for the showing or the telling. I have to say that my group of first-time readers did not detect satire in the Isis book and perhaps there is something to be said for taking the text at face value and going with the spiritually fervent flow of Lucius' conversion.

In this introductory chapter, I have also done some eccentric circuits during my journey through *The Golden Ass*, relating parts of Lucius' story and the stories Lucius relays while simultaneously trying to alert the first-time reader to the joys and conundrums of these different narrative "arcs." In "Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*: A Hybrid Text?," which also appears in this volume (as Chapter 20), I focus on some of the strategies that scholars of Apuleius have employed to address the challenges of *The Golden Ass*, but this should be seen as a complementary discussion, not necessarily a "specialist" debate. All the first-time reader needs to do is finish Apuleius' novel before embarking upon the next chapter, as by then s/he will have joined the ranks of the knowing and attentive (*scrupulosus*) reader. *Intende!*

Notes

- 1 *Metamorphoses* appears on the manuscripts and is assumed to be the author's title to the work, in acknowledgement of its Greek model.
- 2 "Smoke and Mirrors" was the title of Brigid Libby's stimulating paper about Isis as charlatan delivered at the ICAN conference 2008 in Lisbon, and which was published in 2011.

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There is a good choice of readable translations of Apuleius' novel: Robert Graves' 1950 Penguin *Golden Ass* (revised by Michael Grant in 1990) is a lively free version still widely available, and Jack Lindsay's rich prose rendition, which captures the poetic rhythms and exuberance of the original (Bestseller Library, 1960), is worth searching for second-hand. Within the last 15 years, distinguished Apuleian scholars have produced high-quality translations, for instance, Arthur Hanson in the Loeb series (Harvard University Press, 1989), E.J. Kenney (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998), P.G. Walsh (Oxford University Press, 1994) and, most recently, J.C. Reilhan (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2007).

Recommended introductions to the novel are Peter Walsh's 1970 *The Roman Novel* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press), James Tatum's 1979 *Apuleius and The Golden Ass* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), Carl Schlam's 1992 *The Metamorphosis of Apuleius: On Making an Ass of Oneself* (London: Duckworth), and John Winkler's groundbreaking but intellectually challenging 1985 *Auctor and Actor: A Narratological Reading of Apuleius' Golden Ass* (Berkeley and Los

Angeles: University of California Press). The casual reader and new student of Apuleius may find entries in comprehensive works of reference, such as the Oxford Classical Dictionary, are a good starting place for understanding the author, his context, and place in the literary canon.

For those who have a more intimate and scholarly acquaintance with Apuleius, the Groningen commentaries on *Metamorphoses* (completed under the expert leadership of Maaïke Zimmerman, but initiated and sustained by such distinguished Apuleian scholars as Ben Hijmans, Victor Schmidt, Berber Wesseling, and U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser) are a must-read. The commentaries also provide many insights into the cultural, literary, and narrative texture of this singular piece of prose fiction. E.J. Kenney's 1990 commentary on the fable of Cupid and Psyche (Cambridge University Press) and Gwyn Griffith's 1975 detailed account of the religious rituals and allusions within the Isis book (Leiden: Brill) are invaluable complements to the Groningen collection. The proceedings of the Groningen colloquia (including the two volumes specifically on *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass*) and *The Ancient Narrative* series have built up a bank of stimulating critiques of the novel from close readings of particular episodes to thematic studies and the historical and social contexts of the work.

Since the mid-1980s, there have been a number of monographs, articles, and chapters on Apuleius' novel teasing out the text's literary allusiveness, narrative strategies, philosophical timbres, folklorist elements, and the psychological, social, and ethical implications of its treatments of belief, sex, gender, and animal, human, and divine identities. Authors not already mentioned here who have produced books focused solely upon *The Golden Ass* are (in chronological order of their publications): Paula James, Ellen Finkelpearl, Stephen Harrison, Judith Krabbe, Nancy Shumate, Stavros Frangoulidis, Maeve O'Brien, Regina May, and Luca Graverini.

Eminent scholars in Classics have written influentially on Apuleius and his works, produced commentaries on individual books of the novel (see Groningen commentaries cited earlier), and / or edited essay collections, and journal supplements and conference publications, all of which also explore and expand the themes and motifs outlined here. Key names are Anton Bitel, Stephen Harrison, Vincent Hunink, Ahuvia Kahane, Wytse Keulen, Andrew Laird, Thomas McCreight, Danielle van Mal Maeder, Stelios Panayotakis, John Penwill, Gerald Sandy, Warren S. Smith, Rudi van der Paardt, and Maaïke Zimmerman. Two key works on the reception and refashioning of Apuleius' novel through the centuries are Robert Carver's 2007 *The Protean Ass: The Metamorphoses of Apuleius from*

Antiquity to the Renaissance (Oxford University Press) and Julia Gaisser's 2008 *The Fortunes of Apuleius and The Golden Ass* (Princeton University Press). Since this chapter (and Chapter 20) were first drafted, Apuleian scholarship has continued to blossom. Any devotee of *The Golden Ass* can conduct regular searches for essays, articles, and books about this fascinating ancient narrative that have been emerging in the last few years. Sadly there is as yet no movie on the horizon.

CHAPTER 8

Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri

Giovanni Garbugino

Even though some scholars might disagree, I side with Schmeling's assertion (1998, 3270) that the *Historia* can be deemed as "the third of the Latin novels after Petronius' *Satyricon* and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." On the other hand, it is true that there are few certainties about the *Historia* and many doubts. To start with, the name of the author is unknown: the Apollonius of the title is not the author, but the hero of the novel. Regarding the date of composition and its original form, scholars have radically different views: while Klebs (1899, 228–280) and Schmeling believe that it was written in Latin in the second century AD, Rohde (1914, 435–453), Kortekaas (1984, 97–125), and Mazza (1985, 610–615) hold that it was written in Greek in the second or third century and translated (or reworked) into Latin in the sixth century AD. Other scholars think that the extant Latin text is the epitome of a Greek original irretrievably lost. Even the plot of the novel has not failed to give rise to speculations about the sometimes-cloudy connections between the episodes.

An Unconventional Opening

The fairy tale atmosphere of the opening (*In civitate Antiochia rex fuit quidam nomine Antiochus ... Is habuit unam filiam, virginem speciosissimam*: "In the city of Antioch there was a king named Antiochus ... He had one daughter, a most beautiful girl") is soon upset by an unexpected event that plunges us into the gloomy situation of an incestuous love: widower Antiochus falls in love with his daughter and violates her. At first, the daughter meditates thoughts of suicide, but her nurse persuades her to comply with her father's lust. At this point, the reader is disconcerted and unable to

understand the possible future developments of the story. Incest is an irreversible event. There is no restoration for the characters once stained. It is evident, in addition, that the princess of Antioch, notwithstanding her royal birth and extraordinary beauty, will not be able to be the heroine of the story after having been a party to her father's crime (Schmeling 1998, 3276–3277). The surprising character of the opening has led Rohde (1914, 446–447) and Perry (1967, 294–302) to suppose that the sequence of Antiochus was introduced by the Christian *Bearbeiter* in lieu of a narrative section with different characteristics. Yet, incest and the character of Antiochus are vital for ensuing developments of the story, as they represent that negative model of father–daughter relationship that Apollonius with much effort will try to avoid reproducing. It has also been supposed that there may be a connection with a famous historical incident that occurred in Antioch. Antiochus I entered fictionalized historiography and legend as the protagonist of an event that had caused a scandal: secretly in love with his stepmother Stratonice, he had sunk into a serious state of physical and moral prostration that would have led to his death if his father Seleucus, advised by the court physician about the reason of the disease, had not generously handed over his wife and kingdom to his son (Archibald 1991, 38–44).¹ On the other hand, as Perry (1967, 151) has remarked, novels often develop from historical events and names.

The prelude closes with another fairy tale motif. Antiochus, in order to keep the incestuous relationship secret and have the beloved only for himself, subjects the princess' suitors to a test by posing the following riddle: "I am carried by crime, I eat my mother's flesh; I seek my brother, my mother's husband, my wife's son. I do not find him." The first part of the riddle is a riddle itself, and it is the only part which Apollonius can solve ("When you said: 'I am carried by crime,' you did not lie: look to yourself"). The second part, incomprehensible in relation to the father–daughter incest, can only be understood if we consider it as alluding to the more famous mother–son incest, and notably that of Oedipus.² Penalty for failure to solve the riddle is decapitation, and all suitors, no matter whether they solve the riddle or not, lose their heads. The folkloric rather than fictional motif of the nuptial contest is common to many Eastern fairy tales, among which is the famous story of Turandot. Notably, the contemporaneous presence of the motifs of father–daughter incest, of the nuptial contest, and the suitors' decapitation seems to recall a common anthropological matrix that goes back to ages when power was handed over through women.³

Apollonius

Apollonius presents himself at the court of Antioch as a suitor to the princess' hand and solves the riddle. Antiochus denies that the solution is right but, inexplicably, instead of having him murdered, grants him 30 days to reconsider his answer. Apollonius returns to Tyre where, in his library, he consults books of philosophers and Chaldaeans and the correctness of his answer is confirmed, but he also realizes the risks he is going to run. Therefore, he decides to escape from Tyre during the night, and this is the beginning of his peregrinations (4–7). When he arrives in Tarsus, a fellow citizen named Hellenicus informs Apollonius that Antiochus has offered a greater reward on his head. When he meets Stranguillio, a citizen of Tarsus, he learns that the town is suffering from serious famine. Apollonius, after delivering a speech to the citizens, offers them 100,000 measures of grain at a very favorable price. The thankful citizens erect a statue in praise of Apollonius (8–10). After a brief period, the young man decides to sail for Pentapolis, but in a storm he is shipwrecked on the shore near Cyrene. He is rescued by an old fisherman, who, like St. Martin, shares his cloak with him and shows him the way to the town. In the gymnasium of Cyrene, Apollonius meets Archistrates, king of Cyrene, who is impressed by his expertise in a game of ball and invites him to court for a banquet. During the banquet, the king's daughter is invited by her father to console the shipwrecked by playing the lyre. Apollonius performs after her showing his ability not only in lyre playing but also in singing and dancing. The princess is enchanted by the artistic talent and learning of the stranger and persuades her father to keep him at court as her personal tutor. As a matter of fact, she has fallen in love with him, and because she cannot conceal her feelings, she pretends to be ill. Archistrates is worried and summons the physicians who, obviously, are not able to diagnose the cause of the illness. In the meanwhile, three young and noble suitors request the king to persuade the princess to choose one of them as her husband. Archistrates asks them to write their names on some tablets, which Apollonius delivers to the princess so that she can make her choice. In the end, the princess manages to overcome her hesitations and writes back a note to her father, in which she states she wants to marry "the man who was robbed of his inheritance by shipwreck." This is set as a riddle, which is solved by the riddle-solving expertise of Apollonius, and the king agrees to bestow his daughter's hand to the stranger (11–23). The episode sounds inappropriate in the context of a novel for its hints of humor and the unusual procedure of exchange of notes between Archistrates and his daughter. For this reason, Perry (1967, 307)

believes that it may have been written for a stage performance “where everything had to be pictured on the outside of a house, in a street or a public square.”

When the princess is six months pregnant, Apollonius learns that Antiochus and his daughter have been killed by lightning and that the kingdom of Antioch is being kept for him. He sets sail for Antioch with his bride who, notwithstanding her pregnancy, wants to follow him. While at sea, the ship is hit by a storm, and the bride, while giving birth to a daughter, loses consciousness and is believed to be dead. She is buried at sea and her coffin is washed ashore near Ephesus, where she is rescued by a physician who makes the arrangements for her funeral honors. Luckily, a young disciple of the physician realizes that she is still breathing and manages to revive her. The physician, complying with the prayers of the young woman, arranges to house her in the temple of Ephesus among the priestesses of Diana (24–27).

Tarsia

After leaving his daughter Tarsia in Tarsus with the married couple Stranguillio and Dionysias for upbringing, Apollonius devotes himself to the merchant profession and goes off to Egypt where he remains for 14 years. Life in Tarsus is not easy for Tarsia, who has grown up to be a beautiful girl. Dionysias, envious of her beauty and intelligence that eclipsed her daughter's, engages a killer to murder her. Tarsia escapes the attempted murder but she is snatched by pirates, who take her to Mytilene where she is sold to the owner of a brothel at a slave auction. Tarsia, thanks to her eloquence and skill in lyre performances, manages to preserve her virginity by acquiring the admiration and protection of Athenagoras, the lord of the town, who falls in love with her and loses out to a pimp in the bid to own her (33–36). It has been noticed that this episode has a theatrical character surprising in a novel. The animated scene of the auction between Athenagoras and the pimp recalls, according to Klebs (1899, 305), the competition between father and son for Pasicompsa in Plautus' *Mercator*. As Perry notes (1967, 315), the comedy or pantomime is also recalled by the scene in which Athenagoras and another young man eavesdrop at Tarsia's room to follow her “clients” coming and going (35).

When Apollonius returns to Tarsus after a 14-year absence and learns the misleading news of Tarsia's death, he confines himself to the bilge level of his ship and orders his crew to sail for Tyre. He is

caught up in a storm and this time deposited on the shore of Mytilene. During the *Neptunalia*, he meets Tarsia, who has been sent by Athenagoras to relieve his sorrow, without identifying her. In order to distract Apollonius, she submits a number of riddles but, being unsuccessful, she bursts into tears and starts telling the story of her life, which leads to the recognition and denouement of the story (37–47). After marrying off his daughter to Athenagoras, Apollonius, advised by a prophetic dream, sets sail for Ephesus, where he is reunited with his wife. Together with his wife, his daughter, and son-in-law, he sails for Antioch, where he takes possession of the kingdom, then for Tyre, where he appoints Athenagoras as king. After that, he calls at Tarsus to inflict the deserved punishment upon the married couple Dionysias and Strangulio, and then sails for Cyrene. Here, the aged king Archistrates has just the time to rejoice at the return of his nearest and dearest. One year later, he dies peacefully, bequeathing his kingdom to them. After inflicting punishments, Apollonius bestows awards to the fisherman, who had shared his mantle with him, and Hellenicus, who had advised him of Antiochus' threats. In keeping with the rules of romance, the wicked are exemplarily punished and the virtuous are rewarded for their virtues with money donations and titles of rank. The ring is closed by the birth of a male heir whom Apollonius appoints as king of Cyrene to replace the deceased Archistrates. The anonymous author reports that the hero lived happily with his wife to the age of 74 years. The RB redaction specifies that Apollonius wrote a diary of his adventures and made two copies, depositing one in the temple at Ephesus and another in his own library (48–51). We can presume with certainty that this detail appeared in the original version of the story, as its authentication by a written document is a typically fictional narrative device designed to increase the reader's confidence in the reliability of the narrative (Fusillo 1989, 66–67).

The Textual Tradition of *Historia Apollonii*

In the tradition of the *Historia*, not one but two different versions of the text exist, termed RA (*Redaktion A*) and RB (*Redaktion B*), since the pioneering work of Klebs. To complicate matters further, other versions borrowed freely from both redactions, combining the different variances. The best known is RC, which developed as the scribes, instead of borrowing faithfully from RA and RB, introduced

arbitrary alterations where they believed they were finding incorrect forms or inconsistencies. As this process of progressive alteration continued in the later transcriptions of the manuscripts, the *Historia* is a typical example of *texte vivant*. For a long time, editors did not feel the necessity of keeping RA and RB as distinct, in the misguided belief that they would be able to reconstruct the original version of the novel. However, since Riese's second Teubner edition (1893), all editions of the *Historia* present at least the two RA and RB redactions. Schmeling (1988) has also made RC accessible to the reader, a version that borrows in almost identical proportions from RA and RB. Scholars have completely different views about the importance attached to the two main versions. According to Klebs, the two RA and RB redactions must be considered as equally reliable as they both borrowed independently from the no-longer-extant original. On the other hand, other scholars, recently above all Kortekaas (1984, 24–58), are inclined to consider RA as the version that is more similar to the original as, from a linguistic point of view, it is less correct than RB, which for its classical restraint is considered as the “prima variandi forma” (Riese 1893, iv–viii). The subject is complex and cannot be examined here in all its aspects. However, some features that have been handed down only in RB are significant for the reconstruction of the story line and support Klebs' theory. Only RB records the important news of Apollonius' diary. It is also worth remembering that the scene in which Apollonius pretends to conjure up the spirit of Tarsia to unmask the wicked Dionysias and Stranguillio is reported only in RB. The expedient, which is effective from a narrative point of view and essential for the appreciation of ensuing developments, is a fictional device that also appears in Chariton (Wolff 2001, 238). Furthermore, while the author of RB knows the role of Lucina in the description of Tarsia's birth (25), the author of RA mixes up the name of the goddess guardian of birth with the name of Apollonius' wife. Other significant examples could be mentioned (see Garbugino 2004, 23–47), but what has been presented is sufficient to state that the contribution of RB to the reconstruction of the plot of the *Historia* is fundamental and its utilization with RA is essential.

As I said previously, the two redactions diverge in an irreversible way in many passages of the story, mainly because of interpolations and omissions, but also at times because of the different sensibilities of the scribes, who in some cases felt themselves authorized to change the text as if they were the authors. However, the presence of many passages of identical tenor in the two redactions suggests that there was only one source (Riese 1893, vi), which, whether deriving from a Greek model or not, was unmistakably written in Latin. This needs to be pointed out, because Kortekaas' hypothesis, which postulates a

Greek epitome on top of the stemma formed by the two Latin redactions, is not acceptable (Merkelbach 1995, 10–11).

Dating

Klebs' thesis that the *Historia* dates back to a Latin original of the third century is hardly tenable. Many aspects of the vocabulary and syntax of the text invalidate this dating and suggest a later period. For example, terms and usages that were not used before the fourth century can be quoted: *ministeria* ("tableware," 14), *sabanum* ("towel," 51), *salutatorium* ("reception hall," 33), *paranympheus* ("best man," 51), the adverb *inviolabiliter* ("inviolably," 14), and the pre-medieval usage of *servitium* with the meaning of "service" (14 and 15). As regards syntax, the pre-Romance preference for analytic forms instead of indirect cases, the improper or wrong usage of reflexives, preference for present participle, the usage of *ille* as a definite article, and using objective clauses with *quod* and *quia* instead of the infinitive clause (*passim*) presuppose a redaction dating later than the fourth century (Thielmann 1881, 27–43; Augello 1989, 65–78; Wolff 1996, 8–9).

There are also numerous Christian tracts. God is often referred to in the singular (4, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 28, 30, 31, 32, 35, 39, 40, 41, 43). He is worshipped (31, 32), and even an angel is mentioned (48). Quotations from the Bible (with predilection for Tobiah's book) and scriptural constructions (Thielmann 1881, 4–26) are also found. The scene of the sharing of the mantle (12) recalls hagiography and, more precisely, the well-known episode of St. Martin's life, which was made popular by Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St. Martin* (3.1–3); the motif of the virgin in the brothel recalls the lives of St. Agnes, St. Agatha, and St. Theodora.

Klebs and Schmeling object that it is a process of mere infiltration of later elements. They hold that it is the duty of the editor to expunge them in the attempt to pursue the Latin original of the third century. This thesis meets an obstacle that is difficult to overcome: the presence, in 42–43, of 10 *Aenigmata Symposi*, a work that apparently dates to the fourth or fifth century AD⁴. Klebs (1899, 223–225) has tried to remove this *terminus post quem* by arguing that the 10 riddles were introduced in the Christian reworking in lieu of a *catastrophé* determined by a pagan *deus ex machina*. However, it can rightly be objected that a novel that opens with a riddle finds its most suitable conclusion in the solution of other riddles. On the other hand, we can also wonder if it is wise to trace a later reworking back to the existence of a narrative device fundamental to the architecture of the

novel. A change of this kind would qualify our editor as a real author and the text that has reached us as the only version of the novel, no matter what the remote origins were.

If, regarding the *terminus post quem*, we must keep to that supplied by the presence of Symposius' riddles (fourth–fifth centuries AD), regarding the *terminus ante quem*, we have at our disposal two points of reference: (1) the anonymous treatise on grammar of the end of the sixth century, *De dubiis nominibus*, which mentions a passage found in Chapter 13 of our story; (2) the statement of Venantius Fortunatus (died 568 AD), who writes in his poems (4.8.5): “I wander as a vagabond exiled far from the shore of my homeland, more desolate than shipwrecked Apollonius, guest of the waters” (*tristis erro nimis patriis exul ab oris / quam sit Apollonius naufragus hospes aquis*). Incidentally, the quotation of the passage in our story in *De dubiis nominibus*, which according to Glorie (1968, 611–721) can be tracked down to the area of Bordeaux, might be indicative also of the location of the early area of diffusion of the treatise, in that, when it comes to literature of the fifth and sixth centuries, the anonymous author seems to be acquainted with writers from southern France only. On the other hand, this localization seems to find confirmation in the presumable recollection of the well-known episode of the sharing of the mantle in St. Martin's life (12) and in some linguistic details of the *Historia*, which can be classified as Gallicisms (Thielmann 1881, 42).

A clue for the late character of the novel comes from the utilitarian and degraded view of culture and education, which are considered as mere means to success (Lana 1975, 75–102). Similar deductions can be inferred also from the fact that the author does not seem to know classic prosody and metric, as demonstrated by the rhythmic features which the hexameters of Symposius assume in the context of the *Historia*, as well as the rhythmic lines of Tarsia's song (41).

A Greek Model?

The presence of Symposius' riddles in 41–42 raises questions also regarding the problem of the supposed Greek source of the *Historia*. If a Greek model was really used, we must hold that Symposius' riddles were introduced in the Latin reworking in lieu of riddles in Greek (Wolff 1999, 282). The same should be assumed with regard to the poetical Latin reminiscences in the text that has reached us. The description of the storm (11), the scene of Apollonius' narrative in the royal palace of Archistrates, and the ensuing falling in love of the princess (17–18) are strewn with Virgilian and Ovidian reminiscences.

The novel's beginning recalls the opening of the tale of Cupid and Psyche, and the description of the love sickness of Archistrates' daughter (18) seems to be influenced by Apuleius' tale of the wicked stepmother (Klebs 1899, 288–289). However, the hypothesis of such reworking implies that the *Bearbeiter* took liberties more appropriate to an author than to a translator. A linguistic analysis does not point out significant evidence of a Greek model, as several Greek terms in the text are of old acquisition, while others, which belong to the post-classical vocabulary, seem rather to “bespeak the degree to which Greek and the extensive literature of translation from Greek had become part of the language” (Hexter 1988, 189).⁵ Two papyrus finds (PSI II 151 [= Pack 2642] (2) and P. *Mil Vogliano* 260), which present a character named Apollonius in a situation vaguely similar to that of the court banquet in Cyrene (14–17), have been traced back to the supposed Greek model of our novel (Kussl 1991, 155–159). However, the queen, who in the papyrus tries to conquer Apollonius, is not compatible with the plot of the *Historia*, which is based on the chaste marriage between Apollonius and the daughter of the king of Cyrene (Morgan 1998, 3355). Its connection with our novel, in spite of Holzberg's efforts (1990, 95–98), can hardly be proved. With regard to the Greek origin of the *Historia*, reference has been made to a riddle found in a graffito discovered by Hepding during the excavations in Pergamon (1908–1914), which seems similar to Antiochus' riddle. However, this graffito belongs to the Byzantine period, and it is likely to be a question of biblical subject matter regarding Genesis. On the other hand, the Latin matrix of the novel can be clearly guessed from the epigraphic and iconographic documentation, as demonstrated by Zelazowski (2001, 495–512), who has traced the sculptural group representing Apollonius on a *biga* back to the typically Roman custom of *honos bigae*. State-of-the-art researches do not seem to find elements proving the hypothesis of a Greek model. Many details of the story, considering the setting, do certainly trace back to Greek habits and customs, but this probably implies only that “*l'autore latino ha lavorato [...] attingendo da un tipo greco di letteratura, a tematiche e motivi nati e cresciuti nella cultura greca*” (La Penna 1998, 407).

Historia Apollonii and the Ancient Novel

Although the *Historia* shows a number of similarities with the main Greek novels, it diverges from them because of the absence of love

passion and the related, although idealized, sexual components. Apollonius and Archistrates' daughter, the central couple with whom the hero and the heroine of the typical Greek novel should identify, are not mutually attracted by beauty. The only reason they fall in love is because of the culture and intellectual good points of the other. The princess' passion does not seem to be reciprocated by the male protagonist, who apparently agrees to the wedding mainly for debt of gratitude to her father (Konstan 1994, 100). In the later developments of the story, Apollonius seems to be concerned more with his dynastic rights than with the requirements of his bride, who is obliged to follow him in his journey in spite of her pregnancy. Paradoxically, the description of Antioch's incestuous passion is the only passage in the *Historia* in which the author deals with the erotic effects of female beauty. This scene, on the other hand, announces the real subject of the novel: father-daughter, accomplished or feared, incest.

The function of narrative focus of this motif determines a role distribution that is rather anomalous in the panorama of the ancient novel: the main characters are all fathers with an only daughter and no wife. The plot develops in three parts, all equally pivoting on the father-daughter-suitor relationship: (1) Antiochus, his daughter, and Apollonius; (2) Archistrates, his daughter, and Apollonius; (3) Apollonius, his daughter Tarsia, and Athenagoras (Archibald 1991, 12-13; Puche López 1997, 43-44). In all the three parts, the wife-mother female figure is absent either because she is dead (as Antiochus' wife), or she is believed so (as Apollonius' wife), or she is simply not mentioned (as Archistrates' wife). The reasons for the tripartition are quite clear: the *leitmotif* of the novel is incest, which is the obstacle to be overcome both by the protagonist Apollonius and by the community, whose cultural development incest would hinder (Chiarini 1983, 267).

The *monstrum* of incest threatens all father-daughter meetings of the story, creating situations of great strain (Schmeling 1998, 3275-3283). When Archistrates' daughter enters her father's room (*vigilans primo mane irrumpit cubiculum patris*, "she woke at the crack of dawn and rushed into her father's bedroom" 18), the reader is implicitly reminded of Antioch's irruption into his daughter's room (*prima luce vigilans irrumpit cubiculum filiae suae*, "when he was awake at dawn he rushed into his daughter's room" 1). In the scene preceding Apollonius' and Tarsia's recognition, the daughter, pushed by her father, falls and begins to bleed from her nose (*de naribus eius sanguis coepit egredi*, 44): this symbolic bleeding recalls the scene of the defloration of Antioch's daughter (*guttae sanguinis in pavimento ceciderunt*, 1). The initial incest functions as negative *exemplum*, which highlights, in marked contrast, the relationships of other father-

daughter couples. While the wicked nature of Antioch is in marked contrast with Archistrates' mild tolerance, Apollonius in his role as a father maintains, in the central part of the novel, an ambiguous approach: after his wife's death, he claims that his daughter is his only consolation, but he abandons her to Dionysias and Stranguillio. In the system of oppositions represented by Antiochus and Archistrates, who, for good or ill, embody two clearly definite types of fathers, Apollonius, in his effort to break away from the former and identify himself with the latter, is the "término no marcado" (Puche Lòpez 1997, 44).

The different role distribution with regard to the typical plot of Greek novels is clearly seen in the second part of the *Historia*, where the married couple disappears from the scene, giving way to the hero's daughter, Tarsia, who assumes the role usually played by the heroine of the traditional novel. It is not by chance that the scene between Apollonius and his daughter is the one crucial to the conclusion of the novel. It is in fact detailed and dramatic, while the recognition of Apollonius and his wife is described concisely. For this reason, the *Historia* can be considered similar to the narrative pattern of the "family novel" (Szepessy 1985–1988, 357–365); a typical example that can be recognized is the framework novel of the Pseudo Clementine *Recognitiones* (220–230 AD), which is based on the scattering of the members of a family because of a shipwreck and other vicissitudes. It has also been assumed that both stories derive from the same pagan novel of the second century AD (La Penna 1998; Perry 1967, 285–286). However, perhaps the two plots simply took their cue from that widespread narrative mechanism based on the separation and reunion of the members of a family (precisely the *family novel*), which was typical of new comedy and Euripides' intrigue tragedies.

However, if the *Historia* diverges from the main tradition of Greek novels, it diverges even more from the typical Latin novel known to us. While Encolpius and Lucius, telling their stories as first-person narrators, perform an ironic rereading of fictional conventions, the narrator of the *Historia*, hiding himself behind the third person, seems to take seriously not only the narrative mechanism, but also all the social values and hierarchies implicit in the world he describes (Schmeling 1996, 545–546). From this point of view, the *Historia* suggests a less critical and cultured attitude than that of the main Latin novels, in line with the change of interest of the late ancient culture that opens to a new audience, one less cultured but wider and socially diverse.

The *Historia* has been rightly defined as "*una specie di summa del romanzo ellenistico*" (Chiarini 1983, 285). In fact, it concentrates

nearly all narrative topoi of this kind: pirates, castaways, storms, fictitious or presumptive deaths, recognitions, virginity of the heroine miraculously preserved, and the final expedient of the writing left to the protagonist for future reference. However, our novel is also an archetypal model of the romance. The main constitutive features can be seen in the portrayal of an idealized and symbolic world, in a narrative technique entrusted more to chance than to causality and to the polarized characterization of the protagonists, who are equally divided into positive heroes and rogues (Frye 1976, 19, 38–42). We can also find features that seem to derive from the narrative structure of the fairy tale: social snobbery, which implies the presence of kings, queens, princes, and princesses in the role of protagonists; the importance given to gold and money as elements that are able to compensate for the lack of inner motivations for the actions of the characters; and the even distribution of rewards for the virtuous and punishment for the wicked at the end of the story.

The tendency to abstract stylization, which is typical of popular tales, gives rise to some other peculiarities of the *Historia*: the absence of descriptions of the characters' mien, the mild interest in the setting where the scene takes place, and the vagueness of time indications (Puche Lòpez 1997, 40–41; Svoboda 1962, 217).

However, this patchwork of narrative motifs had the merit of bringing to the Middle Ages a sum of fictional and short-story motifs which, for different reasons, were running the risk of disappearing from the European cultural horizon. Our novel was used in the Middle Ages as a multi-purpose narrative mechanism, the sequences of which were reworked, according to requirements, in the structure of the romance or in that of the Christian *exemplum*. In particular, in a period in which the Western world lost contact with the ancient Greek and Latin novel, the *Historia* had the function of intermediary between classical culture and the medieval horizon handing down the romance model to the Western world. It is not by chance that the most successful rereading of this tale is represented by Shakespeare's first approach at romance, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*. The ancient tale of *Historia Apollonii*—"a song that old was sung" (I Chor. 1)—caught the poet's attention as the archetypal story of a new dramaturgical idea meant to evoke the eternal cycle of human passions in symbolic interpretation (Archibald 1991, 213–216).

Notes

- 1 The story is told by Valerius Maximus (V 7, ext. 1), Plutarch (*Dem.* 38), and Appian (*Syr.* 59–61). Antiochus has also been identified with Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the well-known persecutor

of Jerusalem (I *Maccab.* 1.10). Reference to the historical landscape of the *Maccabees* is an acquired fact in the *Cronica de Apollonio* by Godfrey of Viterbo: cf. Kortekaas 1990, 111–112; Archibald 1991, 185–186.

2 Reference to this incest can perhaps be explained by the fame of the story of the Theban hero, which has become symbolic not only of any type of incest, but also of any riddle (cf. Diom. *G.L* I 450 Keil). On the other hand, the riddles gathered from *Symposius* are also earlier (Chiarini 1983, 273). According to Wolff 1999, 280, the statement “I eat my mother’s flesh” could mean that the king, doubly incestuous, had generated his daughter by coupling with his mother. Merkelbach 1962, 161–162, and Müller 1991, 269–272, try, not really convincingly, to reconcile this riddle with Antiochus’ family situation.

3 The function of incest as an obstacle to the exogamic tradition is illustrated in a paradigmatic way by the story of *Oenomaus*, king of Pisa, who, in order to be able to live incestuously with his daughter, established for her suitors a cart race. Made invincible by the mares he had been given by his father Ares, Oenomaus killed all the suitors (Apollod. *Bibl. Epit.* 2, 4; cf. Chiarini 1983, 267–269). Father–daughter incest, committed or feared, is present in the tale *Peau d’âne* (cf. Deyermond, 1968–1969, 131). As regards the relationships with the “Constance theme,” see Archibald 1986, 259–272.

4 The *terminus post quem* is sometimes given as 419 AD, the date of the *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, in which St. Augustine complains about the lack of experts in the enigmatographic genre in Latin culture (see Wolff 1999, 285).

5 Kortekaas 1984, 118–120, and 2007, *passim*, holds that he can find clear indications of a literal translation from Greek. However, most of the times, they are usages that had been acquired by Latin a long time before (see Garbugino 2004, 109–114).

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Further Reading

Schmeling's edition (1988) is, in my opinion, a good one, although his effort to date the text to the third century implies too many expunctions. Kortekaas has edited two editions of the *Historia*: the 1984 one is important for the accurate description of the manuscripts, but it is essentially diplomatic, as it often reproduces the orthography of the manuscripts uncritically; the 2004 edition is preferable for the textual choices. Kortekaas has also edited a rich commentary (2007), in which the reader can find plenty of information, but his work is undermined by his conviction that the recensions that have reached us

are the literal translation of Greek models. A good English translation is Sandy's 1989 work (for an Italian translation, see Garbugino 2010). Klebs' monograph (1899) is still helpful for an exhaustive discussion of the problems of textual transmission. Schmeling 1996 and 1998 are two valuable introductions that supply the information and bibliographic references that are necessary for an exhaustive approach to the study of the *Historia*. To this purpose, I think it is also helpful to read Garbugino 2004. As regards the motif of reception of the *Historia*, Archibald (1991, 112–179) is fundamental: she also offers a text and translation of the novel.

c. Related

CHAPTER 9

The Other Greek Novels

Susan Stephens

The five extant Greek novels appear to be a uniform set. In these so-called “ideal” novels, a young Greek couple meet, fall in love, perhaps marry, but then are separated for the duration of the text, and have dangerous adventures in foreign lands before they are reunited, presumably to live happily ever after. The three Roman novels display greater narrative variety; there are no young lovers (unless we count the homosexual pair in the *Satyricon*), but magic, chicanery, and subversive behaviors, to the extent that these texts are sometimes positioned as inversions or parodies of the more serious Greek set (Petronius’ novel, if Neronian in date, would be earlier than any Greek novel we know). Theories of the ancient novel depend, in the first instance, on how the field is bounded; are these eight the sole representatives, or should a wider array of fiction, the *Alexander Romance* or the Ps-Lucianic ass-tale, for example, also be included? However, we have incipient circularity; what you include depends on some *a priori* (if subconscious) notion of what the novel was, but the included texts in turn dictate how you formulate an idea of the ancient novel. If the five ideal Greek novels were the only novels we had, then the question might be irrelevant but, in fact, fragments or epitomes of prose narratives survive from antiquity that do resemble the extant novels in so many particulars that they have come to constitute a subset of the field; the “fragmentary novels” in turn generate their own set of categorizing questions. For collections and discussions of fragmentary novels, see Kussl 1991; López Martínez 1994; Morgan 1998; Stramaglia 2000; and Stephens and Winkler 1995.

Of the fragments we (Stephens and Winkler 1995) printed in *Ancient Greek Novels: the Fragments*, there were sufficient textual remains of *Metiochus and Parthenope*, *Ninus*, Antonius Diogenes’ *Unbelievable Things beyond Thule*, Iamblichus’ *Babyloniaka*, and

Lollianus' *Phoinikika* to ensure we were working with sustained narratives; these sufficiently resemble the extant Greek and Roman novels to allow for them to be assigned to the same presumptive category. Several smaller fragments have scenes that suggest they too belong within this group, though their brevity deprives them of any narrative complexity that they might have had and makes the call riskier: these are *Herpyllis*, *Kalligone*, *Antheia*, *Chione*, *Sesonchosis*, and *Iolaus*. At least 15 other fragments may well belong to novels or novel-like narratives, but they are far too small to attribute with certainty. In what follows, I will concentrate on the five large fragmentary texts and the six smaller ones by sketching out what we know of their plot lines and how they intersect with the surviving novels and other contemporary writings. However, first it is worth looking at the patterns of survival for this material as a group.

We find two venues: Photius, the ninth-century bishop of Constantinople, provides plot summaries for Iamblichus and Antonius Diogenes along with summaries of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, so we can be sure that the good bishop at least imagined that these four were all similar types of narrative. What we can also infer from comparison with Photius' retelling of the *Aithiopika* is that he preferred linear narrative to the tergiversations of the novel's actual plot. Therefore, the summaries give us the general idea, but not necessarily the events of the plot in the order in which they were written. These two are also represented in ancient sources: the Suda has numerous quotations from Iamblichus, while Porphyry and John Lydus both excerpt from Antonius Diogenes, a circumstance which suggests that these fictions had some stature for later Greek scholars. The second source for fragments is from Roman Egypt, where the aridity of the soil has yielded (to date) over 10,000 remnants of Greek literature. The majority of them belong to the Roman period, and range in date from the first through the fourth centuries CE, in fact, to the time when the ancient novel first appeared upon the scene. Today, the number of fragments of potential novels is still fewer than 50, and the conclusion that such texts (at least in Egypt) belonged to elite readers is difficult to escape (Bowie 2003; Stephens 1994). Their formatting and writing style is indistinguishable from papyri of Plato or Thucydides. In contrast, the number of fragments of Homeric texts (in the thousands) or Christian texts (well into the hundreds) provides a better insight into what might have constituted "popular" genres in antiquity. Although the small samples make inferences risky, it does appear that some novels were more popular than others—there are six fragments of Achilles Tatius, four of Chariton, at least four of Antonius Diogenes, four of *Metiochus and Parthenope*, and three each of Lollianus and *Ninus*. In contrast, Longus and Xenophon of Ephesus are

not represented at all, and there is only one fragment of Heliodorus (which was originally identified as “Egyptian history”). This matches the distribution for other later Greek writers like Plutarch (9), Aelius Aristides (7), Libanius (3), or Lucian (2).¹

The usual chronology for the extant Greek novels locates Chariton as the earliest and the *Aithiopika* as the latest, written sometime in the third or early fourth century CE. The fragments, which are dated on the basis of internal references, linguistic features, and handwriting, show a similar range (see Stephens and Winkler 1995 for additional details for each fragment; for fragments published later, see Hägg and Utas 2003 or the relevant volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*). *Metiochus and Parthenope* and *Ninus* are to be located within the first centuries BCE–CE. Iamblichus and Lollianus are probably from the second half of the second century CE, whereas the *Sesonchosis* fragments seem to be quite late (third–fourth centuries CE). A recent discussion by Ewen Bowie (2002, 58–60) makes a very strong case for thinking that Antonius Diogenes should be dated to the second century, if not before. One feature common to most of these fragmentary texts is that the plots of them all seem to diverge from the canonical five, either in the type of their main characters, or their geographic range, or their affinities with non-Greek narrative fiction.

The most interesting in this last respect are *Metiochus and Parthenope*, *Ninus*, *Sesonchosis*, and Iamblichus. *Metiochus and Parthenope* has the most remarkable textual career of any ancient novel. From our four Greek fragments, we can glimpse the basic outline of the plot. Like Chariton, it seems to have been quite early in date: the language and style suggest a date no later than the first century CE (the characters of Metiochos and Parthenope were known to Lucian, writing in the mid-second century). Moreover, its fictional antecedents are to be found in Greek history: the protagonists are respectively the son of the Athenian general, Miltiades (Hdt 6.39–6.41), and the daughter of Polycrates of Samos (Hdt. 3.124). Metiochus comes to Polycrates’ court in refuge from his stepmother, where he meets Parthenope. Their courtship does not quite follow the lines we find in later novels, though. Our protagonists engage in philosophical discussions rather more than lovesick gazes. At some point, Parthenope leaves home (possibly sold into slavery?), and experiences a series of adventures in Sicily and South Italy. Metiochus also wanders, probably in search of her, but whether they are ever reunited cannot be determined from the fragments that survive. However, this Greek fiction is not the end of their story: Thomas Hägg and Bo Utas (2003) have identified a Persian novel, *Vamiq u ‘Adhra* (“The Lover and the Virgin”), based on the Greek, and there also seems to have been a Coptic martyrdom (of St. Bartanuba) descended

from the original. Thus, Metiochos and Parthenope are implicated in a series of exchanges, transcultural and inter-faith, that provides us with a glimpse of the potential and complex interactions in which fiction can operate. One divergence from the norm of the canonical five is that none of these later versions suggest a happy ending for the *Liebespaar*, and Hägg and Utas (2003, 250) even conjecture that Parthenope may have met her death before or instead of marriage with Metiochus. Whatever their fates, the story seems to have been extremely popular. Two floor mosaics have been discovered that name both figures, one in Daphne in Roman Syria from the late second or early third century, and a second from Zeugma-Belkis on the upper Euphrates. Lucian in *On Dancing* indicates that it was a subject for a mime (2.54), so the mosaics need not necessarily represent the novel, but a collateral version of the story. Still, the novel, the mime, the mosaics, the martyrdom, and finally the appearance of the novel in a Persian form, all attest to a wildly popular narrative that (unlike the canonical five) made its way quite successfully into the Persian, Arabic, and Coptic imaginations.

Sesonchosis provides us with insights into a different type of cultural exchange. In addition to two Greek fragments, several demotic fragments indicate again a trans-cultural exchange, though in this case the exchange may have been limited to Egypt, and perhaps reflect a Greco-Egyptian milieu for its composition. The Greek fragments are late (third–fourth centuries CE), and the novel’s origins, if it is in fact a novel and not a prose rendition of an Egyptian tale, seems to derive from demotic Egyptian accounts of a native pharaoh—Sesonchosis, who is called Sesostris in Herodotus (Widmer 2002). This figure and his exploits as a precursor of Alexander are well attested in Greek sources: besides Herodotus, he appears in Apollonius of Rhodes’ *Argonautica*, Diodorus Siculus (in material probably taken from Hecataeus of Abdera), and is prominent in the *Alexander Romance*. The pieces we have come from a scene between father and son (*P.Oxy.* 15. 1826), a description of a battle against the Arabs (*P.Oxy.* 26. 2466), and an encounter between Sesonchosis in disguise and a young woman to whom he has apparently been betrothed, although they have never met (*P.Oxy.* 47. 3319, part of same roll as 26. 2466). The battle scene is one of Egyptians routing Arabs, probably on the eastern edge of the Delta:

The Arabs, seeing themselves growing fewer each day and the Egyptians gathering still greater numbers as men came in from the other nomes, were so (effectively) routed that not the fifth part of their army saved itself, but some being pursued and others fleeing were trampled by one another (συμπα[τ]ε[ῖ]σθαι). (*P.Oxy.* 26. 2466. 7–16)

The demotic fragments tell of the military campaign of pharaoh Amenemhet and his son Sesostriis against the Arabs, and these narratives, in a general way, may have been known to Diodorus' sources, Hecataeus of Abdera and Manetho. Diodorus includes a long account of Sesoosis (another spelling of this pharaoh's name), including the detail that he was sent into Arabia by his father with an army as his first military field experience. He conquered the entire nation of Arabs (1.53.5). Our fictional version does include a conversation between father and son, and what I just quoted clearly comes from a battle with the Arabs. However, in the third fragment—the encounter of Sesonchosis and the girl, Meameris—the non-Greek historical figure is transformed into an erotic hero. He is described as a good-looking youth (τὴν τοῦ νεα[νί]σκ[ου] εὐεῖδειαν), and while he is in disguise in the court of the king of Arabia, the king's daughter apparently falls in love with him. One fragment reads:

She reclined at the feast; she selected from what was placed before her with reluctance; she kept remembering the handsomeness of the young man (τὴν τοῦ νεα[νί]σκ[ου] εὐεῖδειαν). And when she did not succeed in covering her feelings.... (3319 col. III 17–22)

It is the last section with its romantic overtones that places us in the realm of the Greek ideal novel. Whether our fragments belong to a full-fledged and early novel or a late local product, its interest is in the ways it blends the two cultures. Note the detail of the fleeing enemy—*sumpateisthai*—being trampled underfoot. This is surely a verbal statement of the traditional representations of the pharaoh routing the foe with enemy in topsy-turvy disarray crushed under the royal chariot or foot. Greeks were familiar with the trope: it occurs as early as the fifth century in vase representations of Busiris and Heracles (Boardman 1999), but here it appears not as parodic or ironic (as in the vases), but in its proper milieu. Sesonchosis, the pharaoh (or soon-to-be-pharaoh) is routing the foe of Egypt.

Iamblichus' *Babyloniaka* has equally non-Greek affiliations, though if it had trans-cultural relatives they can no longer be identified. According to Photius (No. 94. 73b24–73b32), the *Babyloniaka* was less shameful in its events and language than that of Achilles Tatius, but more so than Heliodorus. The author (according to a scholium on Photius' epitome) was Syrian by birth, not a Greek living in Syria, and he spoke Syrian. He learned Babylonian and about Babylonian culture from his tutor; he also claims to have written under Sohaimus, presumably the Syrian member of the Roman senate who was king of Armenia from 164 BCE (Stephens and Winkler 1995, 180–184). These explicit details of contemporary history, as opposed to the familiar

retrojections into the Greek world of Herodotus and Xenophon, are unique and encourage a political reading of the text (as perhaps encoding resistance to Rome?). Certainly, the epitome indicates no Greek characters, but rather the hero and heroine are Sinonis and Rhodanes, a Babylonian couple either betrothed or actually married, who experience a series of adventures that makes the five canonical novels seem exercises in realism. Sinonis and Rhodanes are exact look-a-likes of Mesopotamia (Sinonis) and her twin brothers, Tigris and Euphrates (Rhodanes). There ensue mistaken identities, and curious marriages, for example, the king of Babylon wishes to marry Sinonis, hence tries to execute Rhodanes; the queen of Egypt, Berenice, “marries” Mesopotamia (see Morales 2006 for the political dynamics of this fragment); as the epitome closes, Sinonis agrees to marry the king of Syria. We also have poisonous bees, the ghost of a lustful billy goat, priests turned executioners, homicidal jealousies, battle scenes, and a finale in which Rhodanes defeats his rival the king of Syria, and apparently goes on to rule Babylon. Photius indicates that there was an excursus on magic practice, including discussion of various *magi* who worked respectively through locusts, lions, mice, serpents, and hail. He includes necromancy and ventriloquism among the magic arts. This kind of detail brings us closer to events in Apuleius and to the magician in Antonius Diogenes than to the five ideal novels. Our loss of this novel is substantial, because, like Antonius Diogenes, it seems to have been a sophisticated and complex narrative that differed from anything else that has survived, and thus would have provided further insight into novel-writing practices.

Iamblichus’ fictional characters operate in the same region as *Ninus*. According to pseudo-historical Greek accounts, Ninus was the eponymous founder of Ninevah, who was enamored of or married to Semiramis. Diodorus, Justin, and Strabo mention him, but our main Greek source seems to have been the fourth-century-BCE Ctesias, who is credited with a *Persika*, what was apparently a romanticized history of Assyria and Persia. Ctesias has not survived intact, but is epitomized by Photius (no. 72), immediately before Heliodorus. Our fragmentary Greek fiction alters this king, who was in earlier Greek texts a heroic warrior, and turns him into a lovesick boy, though a boy still capable of leading an army. The fragments that we have are similar to those of *Sesonchosis*: in fr. A, Ninus has returned victorious from his first military expedition and tries to persuade his cousin to move up the date for their marriage. In fr. B, Ninus is calming someone’s fears (probably his betrothed) and then goes off on an expedition against the Armenians; fr. C describes a shipwrecked Ninus on the Colchian shores. A late-second- or early-third-century-CE mosaic in Antioch depicts Ninus gazing at a picture of a girl, as a

servant woman approaches with a cup. The event portraying both indicates the popularity of the fiction and lends credence to a reconstruction of the story in which Ninus is separated from his beloved (in good novelistic fashion). And it should be noted that no other novels besides *Ninus* and *Metiochos and Parthenope* so captured the imagination that they became subjects for visual depiction.

The Greek fragment presents us with a shy fiancée, who blushes to confess her affections for her betrothed even to her mother. The fact that the mother is named Derkeia makes it virtually certain that our fictional heroine would have been Semiramis, whose mother was the goddess Derketo in virtually all historical accounts. However, Semiramis was a warrior queen, not a retiring miss. The shift from a warrior queen to an untried girl, if it continued throughout the novel, runs counter to what we have come to expect from the canonical five, where the women are at least as enterprising as the men. Unlike Ninus, Semiramis seems to have had genuine Assyrian antecedents in Sannuramat, the wife of Shamshi-Adad V, who ruled Assyria from 823 to 810 BCE; at his death, she served as regent for her son. Sannuramat even managed to have her own deeds recorded in local inscriptions. Semiramis' exploits received far more notice in Greek sources, in fact, than Ninus', and, according to Stephanie Dalley,² the erotic elements of the love of Ninus and Semiramis, which is found in Greek sources such as Diodorus, emerged rather late in the tradition and is to be seen in the figure of Stratonice in Lucian's *On the Syrian Goddess* (Lightfoot 2004, 351–357).

If these four fragmentary novels have given us semi-historical and/or non-Greek protagonists, Antonius Diogenes gives us a narrative of interlocked tales that takes his characters out of the Mediterranean and known worlds entirely to Thule, a land that supposedly lay beyond the Outer Hebrides. Antonius was, according to Photius, “the father of similar fictions” (112a: ὁ τῶν τηλικούτων πλασμάτων πατήρ), and Bowie (2002, 58–60) has given us cogent arguments to locate it in the mid-second century CE, if not earlier.³ Since it is one of the three novels Photius précised in some detail, it is likely to have been as rich and complex as Heliodorus—the only one of the three that has survived intact—and certainly the care Photius takes with explaining the series of interlocked narratives suggests a highly elaborate work.

The story as we have it falls into two discrete parts: the adventures of Deinias on the one hand and, on the other, of Derkyllis and her brother, whose name is probably Mantias, though Photius gives it as Mantinias, and *P.Oxy.* 70. 4760 as Mantias (see the discussion in that edition). Deinias and Derkyllis become lovers of sorts (what sort remains a question) after they meet on Thule, where she recounts her

adventures to him. He then continues on beyond Thule, while she and her brother return to their home, Tyre, where Deinias later joins them. A central character in the Derkyllis portion of the story is an Egyptian priest, Paapis. Paapis has fled Egypt, when the country was in turmoil, perhaps around the time of the Persian occupation in the fourth century BCE, though Photius does not make this explicit. Paapis went to Tyre, where Derkyllis' family befriended him. He apparently rewarded their *philoxenia* by persuading Derkyllis and Mant(in)ias to increase their parents' longevity with a spell of his providing, but in the event it served only to cast them into a deathlike sleep. Our heroine and her brother were thus forced to flee Tyre, and as a result they had a series of increasingly improbable adventures. They again encountered Paapis, and this time they escaped with his satchel of magic spells and herbs (as it happens, one of our papyrus fragments, *P.Oxy.* 70. 4760, mentions Paapis and his satchel of books). Paapis catches up with them on Thule and turns them into zombies—dying each day and living by night—by spitting in their faces. Another character, Throuskanos, who has been in love with Derkyllis, in his outrage at this act, kills Paapis; then in his grief at Derkyllis' seeming death, kills himself as well. The satchel of potions and spells are retrieved, and yet another character, Azoulis, uses them to discover how to reverse the spell first on Derkyllis and Mantinias, and later on their parents as well.

The name "Paapis" occurs in Manetho and Josephus, as that of the father of a famous sage, Amenophis, who was involved in the cleansing of the lepers from Egypt (fr. 54 Waddell). Our Paapis is surely not the same man, but the choice of a name with historical associations may have lent a semblance of plausibility to the fiction. It is difficult to gauge Paapis' precise role in the novel. He obviously fascinated Photius, who reserves his final comments for him, noting that "even if he seemed to escape a thousand times he finally got his comeuppance" (112a 8–10), which suggests that he received even more narrative space than the current summary gives him. And given the tongue-in-cheek quality of Antonius Diogenes' self presentation—he calls himself a poet of old comedy (111a 34–35)—it is quite possible that Paapis' villainy (steeped as it was in exotic Egyptian sorcery and magic) was intended to provide yet another set of unbelievable things to entertain the reader.

One of the most striking features of this novel is the focus on its writing and preservation: when Deinias joins Derkyllis in Tyre, he has his adventures and all the many strange things he has learned recorded on cypress wood tablets. At his death, these tablets were buried near his tomb, later to be discovered, so we are told, by soldiers of Alexander at the time of the sack of Tyre. The rediscovery

is framed by a letter from the author (Diogenes) to Faustinus, in which he apparently dedicates his work to Faustinus' sister Isidora; he then quotes one Balagros' letter to his wife Phila, which includes a transcript of the text that included the long history of events and copying of the narrative until it arrived in Deinias' tomb. This is not a common feature in the surviving Greek novels, but we do find a similar fictional authentication in the tale of Dictys of Crete. In that text, Dictys asserts that he wrote his tale in Greek, but using Phoenician script. Writing on cypress wood bark, he too had it buried in his tomb. Many generations later, Cretan shepherds discovered the tomb and the enclosed tablets; they brought them to their master. The manuscript was then translated into Greek and sent to the emperor Nero in Rome. The prefatory letter in the Latin version is by a Lucius Septimius to Q. Aradius Rufinus. Septimius claims to have translated the Greek version into Latin (and in fact both Greek and Latin versions of this tale survive). The fact that these are unique frames suggests a connection, though whether one copied the other or both had a common model is moot. It is worth noting, though, that both are connected with Phoenicia—whether the city of Tyre as in Antonius Diogenes or in the script (as in Dictys of Crete)—and the closest parallel for copying texts, burying them in tombs, and rediscovering them, is to be found in Egyptian narrative, where it seems to be a staple; see, for example, the tale of Setne Khamwas and *P.Oxy.* 11. 1380, where an Egyptian priest discovers a sacred book long buried in a tomb. The proximity of Phoenicia to Egypt makes that country a potential source for the idea.

However, let us return to Antonius Diogenes. Another unusual aspect of this novel is the inclusion of Pythagorean lore, which seems to have been concentrated in Book 13 (there are 24 in total). Much of what has been preserved from this novel in Porphyry and John Lydus is owed to the fact that Antonius Diogenes apparently included a number of details about the life of Pythagoras and his teachings, packaging them in such a way that these subsequent (and serious) readers regarded the material as truthful. Heliodorus certainly has a neo-Platonic inclination, but Antonius Diogenes seems to have provided much more in the way of specific philosophical detail. Both John and Porphyry quote his discussion of Pythagoras' dietary prohibition against the eating beans, and one character, Astraios, was said to have been a companion of the philosopher. Astraios' eyes wax and wane in phase with the moon, a sign of his wondrous birth and nature (according to Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras* § 10).

Antonius Diogenes' novel differs from the canonical five in that the principal characters, Deinias and Derkyllis, seem not to be young lovers at all. They begin their adventures quite separately, and meet

only on Thule, where they narrate their respective adventures to each other, separate, and finally reunite in Tyre. The years of age inscribed on their respective tombs suggest at best that Deinias was a man in mid-life, and nothing in what remains suggests teen lovers. Since all of the other fragments we have discussed seem to associate eros and youth, *The Unbelievable Things beyond Thule* looks like a radical departure (or, if it was early enough, a novel written before the pattern took hold). Other elements of the narrative—Egyptian magic in the person of Paapis and Pythagoreanism—align the novel in some respects with Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, where an Isiac redemption is tacked on to a tale of magic misadventure, but not enough of the text survives to press the parallels much further.

The final text of any length is Lollianus' *Phoinikika*. Three fragments of this novel, all from the late second and third centuries CE, have been published to date: the longest is from a second-century codex that contains two tantalizing incidents: (1) a man experiences his first sexual intercourse, and (2) what seems to be the ritual murder of a *pais* (either a servant or child) by outlaws who proceed to cook and eat their victim. When the fragment was first published in 1969, the sensational nature of these events quickly caught scholarly imagination, and discussions of their meaning ranged from confirmation of the view that the novels were coded descriptions of ritual events in mystery religions (e.g. Merkelbach 1962) to interpreting it to be a narrative deception parallel to the *Scheintod* found in Achilles Tatius. There are numerous characters, but only one, Glaucetes, links the three fragments. He seems to be a servant. In the codex fragment, he has a mistress who instructs him to bring her 2,000 drachmas from her steward. In the second fragment (*P.Oxy.* 11. 1368), Glaucetes, en route to an unknown destination, encounters a ghost who tells him: "I am lying there beneath that plane tree, and with me a fair maiden, both of us slain" (3–5). In the third fragment (*P.Oxy.* 73. 4945), we find characters burning with love and Glaucetes instructed to arrange an assignation. Unfortunately, it is not possible to reconstruct an overarching narrative from what survives, nor to discern whether the novel is like the canonical five with a *Liebespaar* who experience grave dangers, one of which is the ritual murder (or *Scheintod*), or if we have a novel closer in style to Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. It is worth noting that, if we only had the two fragments from papyrus rolls, we would evaluate the remains quite differently than we must now do in light of the long codex piece.

We know the name of the author and the work from a subscription on one of the fragments, and although it is tempting to identify him with a sophist (Lollianus the Ephesian) who wrote under the name "Hadrian" according to the *Suda*, there is no compelling reason to

believe they are the same, since Lollianus was a relatively common name. The novel's title, *Phoinikika*, links it with works such as Iamblichus' *Babyloniaka* or Heliodorus' *Ephesiaka*, but also with pseudo-historical works such as Ctesias' *Persika*. However, as Tim Whitmarsh (2005, 601–603) has demonstrated, these names, which are “content descriptors,” are sufficiently generalized that they do not guarantee one or another type of plot.

The narrative trajectory of events in the codex fragment and that of Lucius' captivity in the robbers' cave (Apuleius 4.8 and 22) are sufficiently similar in detail that they suggest some textual relationship (see, e.g. Stephens and Winkler 1995, 322–325). Did one borrow from the other? The dating of the papyrus fragments does not aid in establishing which direction the influences may have occurred, since the *Phoinikika* could have been written before Apuleius or after. A more likely scenario is that both were dependent on the original Greek ass-tale that Photius epitomized but which has not survived (Photius no. 129 attributes it to “Loukios of Patrai” who sounds like the narrator of the story, though he may have been the author of an ego-narrative). This is not a particularly bold claim; just as the canonical five seem to have intertextual connections, we should expect to see, as these fictions evolved and proliferated, that they would build on earlier narrative patterns. In addition to the lost ass-tale, an epitome of that story, falsely attributed to Lucian, now exists, and a newly published papyrus scrap (*P.Oxy.* 70. 4762) relates an encounter of a woman and a donkey which suggests that it too is a version of the ass-tale. Thus, we have a circulation wide enough to accommodate several different levels of narrative sophistication.

If Lollianus has affinities with Apuleius, another very small scrap, the *Iolaos* fragment, has affinities with Petronius, and was originally published under the title “A Greek *Satyricon*?” (Parsons 1971). In this fragment, a male character seems to try to gain access to a girl by pretending to be one of the *galli*, the castrated priests of Cybele. It combines prose and verse with a central run of Sotadeans set between two sections written in prose. The final lines of the column are an adaptation of Euripides' *Orestes* 1155–1157. The affinity with Petronius depends on the salacious aspect of *Iolaos*' plot in combination with prosimetrum. Greek Menippean satire was known to have been prosimetric and salacious, and to have been influential on Varro, who imitates it, and especially on Petronius (see Baldwin's essay in this collection). The relative size of the fragment (remnants of only 43 lines) makes generalizing dangerous. Still, the existence of this kind of narrative in Greek in Egypt in the second century CE suggests (as with Lollianos) a rather wide dissemination of this kind of fiction (whatever its length) within Greek-speaking communities of the early

empire.

In addition to these fragments, at least four others exist that have some claim to novel status: *Herpyllis*, *Kalligone*, *Antheia*, and *Chione*. In contrast to the two previous fragments, in each of these the central figure is easily recognizable, and a woman. All of them detail what appear to be serious incidents coincident with the ideal novels, either of adventure or love and marriage. The last three, to the extent we can judge, resemble Chariton in their straightforward narrative style. *Herpyllis* consists of one broken and one nearly intact column, the latter of 60 lines. It recounts the departure from land into the Cretan sea of a couple (whether brother-sister or *Liebespaar* is not known) on two separate ships. The male narrator finds himself separated from *Herpyllis* as his ship is engulfed in a fearsome storm when the fragment breaks off. Affinities with the canonical five are obvious, though the couple on separate ships is an uncharacteristic detail. The description of the storm is a rhetorically elaborated set piece consonant with the best surviving fictions. The woman's name is telling: it is rare and closely resembles the name of Antonius Diogenes' heroine, *Herpyllis*, rather as *Antheia*'s name in Xenophon of Ephesus resembles *Pantheia*'s in the *Cyropaideia*. However, the nature of the intertextual relationship (if any) remains a matter of speculation.

Kalligone gives us a glimpse of a passionate heroine: she stalks into a tent in fury, throws herself on the bed, and rips her clothing in mourning. The location is the Bosphorus, in the territory of the Sauromatians and Amazons. Why she is in such dire distress is not clear, though one may suspect that she has heard that her beloved has been killed. One of the characters named *Eubiotos* was, according to Lucian's *Toxaris*, an illegitimate brother of the king of the Bosphorans. He lived among the Sauromatians and at his brother's death became king (§ 54). There are narrative overlaps with Lucian as well, which led M. Rostovtzeff (1931, 98–99) to argue for the existence of “Scytho-Bosphoran” romances. Certainly, this fiction has a historical character, like Chariton or *Metiochus and Parthenope*, but its relationship to Lucian's text should make us aware that such writing need not be a novel but a lively incident in a work that imagines itself as history. However, if we consider Bosphoran *Kalligone*, Egyptian *Sesonchosis*, Babylonian *Ninus*, and the Greek *Metiochus and Parthenope*, it appears as if there was a strand of Greek novel or novel-like writing that depended on, or was developed out of, historical characters and circumstances. Chariton fell into this category, but the other four Greek novels have very attenuated connections to real events or earlier historical figures.

Chione is a palimpsest fragment that comes from a codex that contained the ends of Chariton's *Callirhoe*, so *prima facie* *Chione* is also

a novel (and may even be by the same author, though there is no way to test this hypothesis). Unfortunately, the codex itself was lost after it was partially transcribed. The surviving plot revolves around Chione, the daughter of a king, who has promised her to a powerful warlord named Megamedes. For some reason, the king no longer wishes to honor his commitment, possibly because Chione has fallen in love with someone else, and Megamedes with his army has issued an ultimatum: honor the commitment or he will invade the city in 30 days.

Antheia is an even smaller scrap but with intriguing parallels to Xenophon's *Ephesiaka*. We have: a young woman (Antheia?) concealing poison about her person, apparently prepared to commit suicide "lest she be captured (?) again"; mention of an abduction; characters with names that also occur in Xenophon (Antheia, Euxeinos); and apparently a temple of Artemis (and it was in a procession of Artemis of Ephesos that Xenophon's lovers first met). Since many have suspected that the current version of the *Ephesiaka* was an epitome of a longer narrative, the discovery of this scrap raised the question of whether it might belong to an earlier or fuller version of Xenophon's novel. Apart from wishful thinking, there is no reason to believe that the fragment and Xenophon's novel are so closely related.

What then can we say about the ancient novel on the basis of these fragments? There are several conclusions to be drawn: (1) the five extant Greek novels are very similar in their plot lines and may well represent (as Bowie and Whitmarsh would argue) a subset of interrelated texts that came to dominate (and subsequently displace) other types of narrative. Young women as protagonists are found in all but Lollianus. (2) Novels with an erotic focus that nevertheless had strong connections to historical figures, such as Ninus, Sesonchosis, or Eubiotos, were also popular, though they seem to have mainly disappeared. The reason for this may have been that they were too closely connected to one or another region to have survived long past the time of their composition. (3) As we have seen from this all-too-rapid survey, all of the fragments that survive seem to display some connection to other extant novels (or to each other). This suggests that novel writing fairly quickly developed a set of recognizable characteristics, and this perhaps (like the genre novels familiar to us today) served to guarantee a certain level of audience interest. Of the four novels that Photius epitomizes, two of the three to which he devotes the greatest space have disappeared. Since they seem not to have conformed to the pattern of the five surviving novels, although from their epitomes and fragments they appear to have been of equal quality, it would appear that selection rather than happenstance

eliminated them from the field. Their loss, more than the others, limits our understanding of fiction writing, since it eliminates texts that appear to have been both ambitious and atypical. (4) The astonishing afterlife of Parthenope (with or without Metiochus) is a sobering reminder that the Greek and Roman novels should not be treated as a closed set—Christian martyr acts have strong antecedents in the novels—and relationships with the narratives of other cultures (Egypt, Persia, Syria, Judea) are equally important in grappling with questions of growth, development, and influence.⁴

Finally, to return to my opening remarks, identifying and discussing fragments, like the bounding of the field of the novel, is inherently circular in its processes. What necessarily falls out of my assessment is any fragment that, for reasons of length, does not display certain characteristics. Hence, fragments now believed to be history, magic, religion, rhetorical exercise, or even mime might, with the addition of two columns, look entirely different, as what currently passes for salient generic markers are subsumed into new and considerably more elaborate narrative strategies.

Notes

1 For up-to-date lists of literary papyri, see the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>) and CEDOPAL (<http://www2.ulg.ac.be/facphl/services/cedopal/pages/mertensanglais.htm>).

2 <http://www.classics.ox.ac.uk/romance/workshop2.htm>. Accessed 30 June 2010.

3 A late first or early second century date means either Photius was mistaken or (more likely) that he considered Antonius Diogenes as the earliest of the four novels that he epitomized.

4 A series of workshops on the “Romance between Greece with the East” held at Oxford in 2009 make this abundantly clear.

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Further Readings

S.A. Stephens and J.J. Winkler, *Ancient Novels: the Fragments* (Princeton 1995), provides the most accessible introduction to fragmentary novels. Since its publication, new fragments of Lollianus, Antonius Diogenes, and Dictys of Crete have appeared in the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vols. 70 (2006), 71 (2007), and 73 (2009). On

Lollianus, J.J. Winkler's "Lollianus and the Desperadoes," *JHS* 100 (1980) 155–181 provides an elegant model for interpreting fragments. T. Hägg and B. Utas' *The Virgin and the Lover: Fragments of an Ancient Greek Novel and a Persian Epic Poem* (Leiden, 2003) is an excellent study of the transmission of *Metiochus and Parthenope* from one culture to another.

CHAPTER 10

Hell-bent, Heaven-sent

From Skyman to Pumpkin

Barry Baldwin

“Human affairs are not really worth much seriousness, but all the same we can’t avoid taking them seriously”

—Plato, *Laws* 803b

“Men have been wise in many different modes, but they have always laughed the same way”

—Samuel Johnson, *Life of Cowley* 116

“Comedy is simply a funny way of being serious”

—Peter Ustinov

No surprise that more than one modern investigator laments that Menippus has, like the Cheshire Cat, faded away to a grin.¹ What little we know of his life derives from the scrappy (contrast his brobdingnagian account of Diogenes) and unfriendly notice by Diogenes Laertius (*Lives of the Philosophers* 6.98). Apart from a few miniscule orts, his writings are quite lost. And, for good measure, no Greek or Roman critic ever talked generically of “Menippean Satire”—although this textbook topos should be qualified a bit, since Aulus Gellius (1.17.4; 3.18.5) does use the term *satura Menippea* of Varro, albeit this strictly is repeating the latter’s own description of his comic oeuvre. The label was apparently first affixed by Justus Lipsius in 1581, subsequently popularized by the 1590s’ “Satyre ménippée,”² nowadays sanctified by such luminaries as Northrop Frye (*Anatomy of Criticism*) and Mikhail Bakhtin (*The Dialogic Imagination and Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*). Thanks to these, an enormous number of unlikely authors have been pressed into Menippean service, James Joyce being the latest victim.³ Along with the examples claimed by

Bahktin and Frye, Eugene Kirk (1980) lists 738 titles in Western European languages before 1660 alone. In the words of Howard Weinbrot (2005, 1–2), to whom goes all praise for cleansing this generic Augean stable, “The thousand works that have been labeled ‘Menippean Satire’ in about the last fifty years” have spawned a genre “less baggy than bulbous.” A better place to look might be the English stage revue, often mixtures of irreverent prose and verse, albeit at different levels. Its best historian,⁴ quotes one celebrated practitioner, Jonathan Miller’s “Good manners have suffocated English satire more effectively than any secret police,” and Michael Flanders’ (of Flanders and Swann, apropos of their 1950s’ *At the Drop of a Hat* and *At the Drop of Another Hat*) “Satire squats hoof in mouth under every bush. The purpose of satire, it has been rightly said, is to strip off the veneer of comforting illusion and cosy half-truth. And our job, as I see it, is to put it back again.” Carpenter also adduces Thackeray’s 1854 lament over Victorian satire’s defanging: “We have washed, combed, clothed, and taught the rogue good manners ... he has put aside his mad pranks and tipsy habits and has become gentle and harmless...” He notes amusedly that Prime Minister Harold MacMillan, a prime target of *Beyond the Fringe*, confused by hearsay “Satire” with “Saturnalia.” All generic labelers should heed Samuel Johnson (*Rambler* 125, 1751):

There is scarcely any species of writing, of which we can tell what is its essence, and what are its constituents; every new genius produces some innovation which, when invented and approved, subverts the rules which the practice of foregoing authors had established.

Menippus (first half of third century BC, no precise dates) hailed from Gadara, one of three prominent Cynics born there (Meleager and Oenomaus, the others), a place sometimes dubbed “a city of philosophers,” with an illustrious cultural history from its Hellenistic foundation to early Byzantine times (Desmond 2008, 36; Hadas 1931). Taking his cue from how the *Arabian Nights* keeps slipping into rhyming prose, Moses Hadas (1954, 58; cf. 1929) opined that Menippean Satire was Semitic in origin, a view not much heard nowadays, although embraced by Gilbert Highet (1962, 251 n. 23).⁵ According to Mark 5.1–5.20 and Luke 8.26–8.39, the miracle of the Gadarene swine was occasioned by Christ encountering a madman who lived dirty and naked among tombs, possessed by a devil called Legion. This has provoked piquant theories (inventoried with substantial bibliography by Desmond 2008, 272) that not only this character but Jesus himself were Cynics. Christ in this role does not square with the early Church Fathers’ claim that he never laughed or smiled (Halliwell 2008), but there are decent grounds for mitigating

this dismal image.⁶

Diogenes Laertius' thumbnail biography has Menippus as a turpilucricupidinous ex-slave who removed to Thebes, made a fortune from moneylending, lost it all, and hanged himself. Not the best credentials for a true Cynic, albeit an amorality tale suitable to our own present economic climate. A tragic by-product of his undoing was that it provoked Laertius to compose some of his own execrable verses upon it, a habit that, at the simple prosimetric level (his life pullulates with such confections and verse quotations), makes him a Menippean. A better effort (*Anth. Pal.* 9.367), attributed to Lucian, reviles the son of a Menippus for misuse of wealth, but the name is too common to establish this among the Cynic's *Nachleben* (Baldwin 1975).

The tenth-century Byzantine dictionary-cum-encyclopedia *Suda* (formerly Suidas) has (Ph. 180: Adler) a rigmarole not in Laertius (nor Dudley) about Menippus as the self-styled reporter of sins, traveling to and from Hades, attired in a gray (*phaios*, the *Suda*'s rubric for this entry) cloak with purple belt, Arcadian cap bedizened with the 12 zodiac signs, tragic boots, bushy beard, and ashplant staff, a notable contrast to Lucian's description (*Dialogues of the Dead* 1.1) of him dressed in rags, more typically Cynic, also possibly tinged by Euripides' notorious "beggar-kings." Elsewhere (*Necyomantia* 1), Lucian has Menippus in felt cap and lion's skin, with lyre. Some of these features are represented in Velásquez' (1639–1641) portrait of him. Calling this "a very important *testimonium*," Relihan (1993, 45) connects this with depictions of the necyomantic Menippus in Varro and Lucian. Desmond (2008, 37) is rightly more circumspect: Laertius (6.102) has the same yarn about Meleager. Has the *Suda* confused the two Ms? It is little interested in Menippus himself, simply cross-referring his name to this lexicographical gray eminence.⁷

"There is no serious point to Menippus; but his books teem with laughter, much like those of his contemporary Meleager" (Diog. Laet.).⁸ Modern discussions sometimes give the impression that *spoudogeloios*—or *spoudaiogeloios*—were standard ancient terms. They are, in fact, rare (cf. Branham 1989, n. 31). For the former, *LSJ* adduces only Laertius 9.17 himself (of the citharoedic poet Heraclitus) and Strabo 16.2.29, thus describing Menippus, as does Stephen of Byzantium (*Ethnika*, p. 193, ed. Meineke), also (p. 357) applying the label to the poet Blaesus of Capreae.⁹ The latter seems restricted to an inscription from Imbros.¹⁰ *LSJ* adds a few cognate terms, all infrequent—the most intriguing may be the seemingly unnoticed *spoudaioparados* (Philodemus, *Ind. Stoic.* 74). For comparative record, the *OED* dates "jocoserious" from the seventeenth century and "serio-comic" from Colman's *Prose for Several Occasions* (1787, "applied to a Satyrick Piece"). The copulation derives from Aristophanes, *Frogs* 389–

390, *polla men geloia eipein, polla de spoudaia*.

Despite rancid competition from the likes of Diogenes, Bion, and a host of other “Dogs,” Menippus became the most notorious with posterity, admirers, and detractors alike. Varro (opening his *Tomb of Menippus*) dubbed him *Menippus ille, nobilis quidem canis*. From the Christian perspective, Tertullian (*Apol.* 14.9; cf. *Ad Nat.* 1.10.43, where he is *Romani stili Diogenes*, NOT Menippus) relishes how *Romanus cynicus Varro trecentos Joves, sive Juppiteros dicendum sine capitibus inducit*. How would Menippus have flayed the Christians? At the very least, he would have disrelished their supposed agelasticism. Marcus Aurelius (*Meditations* 6.47) singles him out in a gallery of acerbic philosophers “along with many another such,” possibly an allusion to his contemporary Lucian, who among many invocations presents him (*Twice Accused* 33) as “a prehistoric dog with loud bark and sharp teeth, a dreadful creature who bites without warning, grinning as he does so.” Eunapius (*Lives of the Sophists* 454) names Menippus as one of the most prominent Cynics, without reference to his writings, going on to describe:

Lucian of Samosata, who took serious pains to raise a laugh, wrote a *Life of the contemporary philosopher Demonax*, in which book and a very few others he was completely serious from start to finish.

We can only guess at Eunapius categories of seriousness: the *Demonax* itself consists largely of a list of his jokes (Cynics being among their targets); this sage himself, otherwise largely unknown (see Jones 1986, 99–100 for the best account), said to resemble Diogenes (not Menippus) in dress and demeanor.

After noting without comment that some unspecified sources claimed Menippus was just the front man for their real authors Dionysius and Zopyrus of Colophon, Laertius asserts that he wrote 13 books in all, listing six by title, the rest irritatingly left as “others” (the *Suda* is likewise constantly frustrating in its bibliographical listings). Whether this distinction, or the biographer’s ordering, is quite arbitrary, or whether the given titles reflect his most popular and enduring pieces, is not easy to say.

First up, the *Necyia*. This (or should we say “these”?) may have encompassed visits to both heaven and Hades. Certainly his most influential, in terms of extant followers: Lucian (above all), Julian, Varro, the *Apocolocyntosis*. Obviously, though, we must look both ways, back to Homer (*Odyssey* 11), Plato’s Myth of Er (*Rep.* 620a, described as “tragi-comic”), and Aristophanes’ *Frogs* and *Peace*. Laertius (9.55) says Protagoras wrote something called *On Those Who Live in Hades*. Lucian (*Twice Accused* 33) blends Cynicism with Old

Comedy, crowned in ferocity by the addition of his “excavated” Menippus. Categorization, though, should not be too rigid: Cicero (*Att.* 9.18.2) says that Atticus’ favorite expression of contempt for the Roman political rabble was *Necyia*.

Menippus’ *Wills* (*Diathekai*) are variously (e.g. Dudley 1937, reprinted 1974, 70) regarded as mock ones of philosophers or “more probably” pieces of comic legislation, a favorite Lucianic device. There is possible correlation here with the last item in Laertius’ list, *The Epicureans’ Reverence for the Twentieth Day*, a ritual enjoined (Diog. Laet. 10.18) in the Garden sage’s own testament. The versatile Cynic Crates (c. 360–280) penned Wills as well as Letters, Parodies of Homer and Solon, Tragedies, and so on, “essentially inventing new literary forms” (Desmond 2008, 25). On the Roman side, we have in literature the likes of Fabricius Veiento, exiled for ridiculing senators and priests in satirical *Codicilli* (Tac., *Ann.* 14.50), and *The Will of a Pig*, that favorite (Jerome avers) of fourth-century schoolboys,¹¹ whereas in life we have Petronius’ mocking testamentary epistle to Nero (Tac., *Ann.* 16.19). The latter is not always placed in Roman context. Before the Arbiter, Fulcinus Tiro from his prison cell had assailed Tiberius in his will (Tac., *Ann.* 6.38.2; Dio. 58.25), a common practice, one protected by Augustus’ veto (Suet., *Aug.* 56.1) of a proposal to ban it.

One of Varro’s satires was entitled *Testamentum, peri diathekon*. Of its four surviving fragments, one mentions *Menippea haeresis*, another simultaneously more and less revealing pronounces *venio nunc ad alterum genus testamenti, quod dicitur physicon, in quo Graeci belliores quam Romani sunt*. Another suggestive text is Lucian, *Nigrinus* 30, wherein that worthy appends to his attacks upon mankind in general and philosophers in particular some scornful remarks about those who agitate themselves *amphi ten nekuian te kai diathekas*. Nor ought we to forget Trimalchio’s will, with its surely Menippean last sentence: “Never Listened to a Philosopher.”

Letters Composed as if from the Gods find a later echo in the divine missives of Lucian, now under the general title *Saturnalia*. As I long ago demonstrated (1961, cf. 1973, 109–110), these are not mere literary confections, the extreme position maintained by Bompaire (1958; for a more cautious approach, Jones 1983, 87–88), but reflections on contemporary economic and social problems.¹² It is a fair bet that the same is true of Menippus’ originals. I confess that my first analysis was conditioned by callow student Trotskyism. Neither Menippus nor Diogenes should be regarded (as they have been) as patron saints of the proletariat: Marxist historians such as Gordon Childe and George Thomson have likewise labeled Prometheus for bringing fire to mankind. Universalizing Cynic scorn meant that neither social reform nor revolution would for them improve

anything; “anarchist” is the only modern tag that fits.

The titles *pros tous phusikous kai mathematikous kai grammatikous* speak largely for themselves, apart from the second class which could denote mathematicians or astrologers. Obvious targets for a Menippus, as for a Lucian and many another epigone.¹³ Likewise, his pamphlets on Epicurus and disciples. As Athenaeus (220a) quipped, “Most philosophers are by nature even more slanderous than comic poets.” Plato, Democritus,¹⁴ and the Epicureans notably fill this deipnosophist bill, hence what we have here is a battle of egg-head comedians, the winner(s) in line from Menander’s (*Dyskolos* 968, and elsewhere) “Laughter-Loving Nike.”

Oddly, since he mentions it elsewhere (6.29), Laertius’ Menippean bibliography does not cite by title *The Sale of Diogenes*, an obvious favorite of Lucian;¹⁵ he also credits the (to us) utterly obscure Cynic Eubulus with the same title. Subsumed under his concluding “and other works” are *Arcesilaus* and *Symposium*, knowledge and fragments of which we owe to Athenaeus, a fact that should (but has not) raise a big question. Lucian (*Twice Accused* 33) claims to “have dug up” Menippus, which presumably means his works were currently in abeyance (nobody swallows Rudolf Helm’s fanciful reconstructions, but there is much valuable material in his *Lucian und Menipp* as in his sketch in *RE*). Do we then take Athenaeus in the next generation (as earlier with Marcus Aurelius) to have been inspired by Lucian to go back to Menippean originals? Or has he taken the snippets second-hand?

Athenaeus (160c) significantly has his Roman host Larensis quote a proverb “perfume in the lentil soup” from “my ancestor Varro, surnamed the Menippean.” An untitled work of the Gadaran is cited (32e) for the description (evidently in verse) of one Mindus as “a salt-water drinker.” The *Arcesilaus* (rightly equated by, e.g. Dudley and Relihan with the first head of the Middle Academy) is mined (664e) for details of a symposiasts’ menu. Laertius (9.115) says Timon ridiculed Arcesilaus in his *Silloi* (*Lampoons*) but praised him in *The Funeral Banquet of Arcesilaus*. A quotation (629f) from the *Symposium* intriguingly mentions a dance called the Ekpyrosis (must have been as wild an affair as, say, 1970s punk slam-dancing), an obvious crack at the equally obvious target of the Stoics:

That most awful of all cosmic phenomena, the *ekpurosis* of the Stoics, is no more than a mummery. This is the way the world ends, not with a bang but a—grimace. (Dudley 1937, reprinted 1974, 74)

Lucian, of course, penned a satirical *Symposium*, in which there is no saltation. It has been inevitably considered one of his Menippean

imitations, but the long-standing tradition in both Greek and Latin literature of spoudaiogeloic dinner parties (Plato, Xenophon, Horace, Petronius, *et hoc genus omne*) should enjoin caution.

The stylistic essence of Menippean Satire was a medley of prose and verse, the relative proportions of which (as with Varro) are unknown: deductions from Julian, Petronius, the *Apocolocyntosis*, and later exercises may or may not be valid.¹⁶ This is explicitly stated by Lucian: “Neither prose nor verse but a strange Centaur-like mixture,” and by Probus (*In Verg. Bucol.* 6.31): “Menippus polished his satires with multifarious verses,” while tributes range from his fellow-Gadaran Meleager’s poetic praises (*Anth. Pal.* 7.417–7.418) of “Menippean Graces” to the Byzantine patriarch Photius who (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 167) remembered him as one of the poets listed by John Stobaeus. “Graces” is self-praise from Meleager who (Athenaeus 157b) quotes him as claiming Homer as a fellow-Syrian from a work of this title (*Charites*)—a shared ethnic identity might be one reason Lucian chose Menippus as his model.¹⁷ The previously mentioned epigrams might possibly signal a book with the same title by Menippus. Athenaeus (502c) cites Meleager’s *Symposium* for deep toast-drinking (Relihan’s claim, 1993, 230 n. 11, that Meleager’s contest between the porridge and the lentil soup sounds like a Roman verse fable is weakened by Crates’ fr. 6 “Prefer not the Oyster to the Lentil”). More to the bigger point, Meleager himself (*Anth. Pal.* 7.421.9–7.421.10) claims to link *spoude* and *gelos* in his works.

Yet, Diogenes Laertius says not one word about the style. Why not? Relihan’s view of ancient reaction, “That Menippus wrote in a mixture of prose and verse is not important,” at best begs the question. It was obviously of interest to Lucian and Probus. If Menippus really did invent this genre (if a genre it was), why is this not acknowledged here? Perhaps because Laertius is generally cool in attitude, dismissing him as an intellectual lightweight, his humor no way superior to Meleager’s? Or perhaps Menippus was not actually the first prose-verse mixer? As a literary form, it was but a logical development from Aristophanes’ blend of iambic conversations and lyric odes, and the verse quotation-laden dialogues of Plato and Xenophon. The latter’s *Symposium* has indeed been neglected in this connection (save Halliwell 2008, 139–154; not in, e.g. Relihan 1993, 40), beginning as it does, “I think one should relate not only the serious acts (*spoudaia*) of the great and good, but also their lighter ones (*en tais paidiais*).”

There are other strands. Laertius (7.180) mentions that the Stoic Chrysippus in one of his 700-odd treatises copied out almost the whole of Euripides’ *Medea*, becoming a laughing-stock for this. Then there is the mysterious Rhinthon of Tarentum (c. 323–285), said by John Lydus (*On the Magistracies.* 1.41) to have been the first to write

comedy in hexameter verse, and by the *Suda* (R 171 Adler) to have devised or developed a genre of burlesque tragedy known as *hilarotragodia* or *phluakographia*, terms apparently restricted to his output, though Athenaeus (86a) applies the cognate *phluakographos* to Sopater for his farce *Eubulus the God-Man*, a distinctly Menippean-sounding title. Stephen of Byzantium (s.v. Taras) describes him as *metarruthmizon eis to geloion* (this passage escaped the notice of *LSJ*). We know seven of his 38 dramatic titles, of which *Herakles* stands out in the present context. Apart from various moments in Athenaeus, Rhinthon is vaguely quoted (*ut opinor*) by Cicero (*Ad Att.* 1.20) and, more significantly here, by Varro (*RR* 3.3.9).

Lydus, who was tracing the history of Roman satire (analyzed by Baldwin 2003), does not mention Menippus. Neither does Quintilian when (10.1.95) assessing Varro's output. Comparing it with that of Lucilius, Horace, and Persius, the polymath's efforts are vaguely classified as *alterum illud etiam prius saturae genus, sed non sola carminum varietate mixtum*. This ignoring of Menippus (and Rhinthon) may be to emphasize Latin satirical superiority, albeit (of course) many Hellenes are named in Quintilian's survey of Greco-Roman literary history.

"The literary importance of Menippus is that he developed for comic purposes two genres previously monopolized by Philosophy—the dialogue and the letter" (Dudley 1937, reprinted 1974, 73). This verdict fits some of Laertius' titles, though quite where is questionable. Lucian makes his personified Dialogue complain that her previous philosophical dignity and seriousness have been compromised by the satirist's introduction of Jest (*skomma*), Satire (*iambon*), Cynicism, Eupolis, Aristophanes, and (to crown it all) the newly excavated old dog Menippus with his smiling barks and bites. This inventory confirms the metrical medley (a feature of Rhinthon) certified for Varro by Quintilian and earlier Cicero, *Acad.* 1.9:

You have brought much light to our poets and Latin literature and language also, with a variegated and elegant *poesis* in almost every meter, and have in many areas attempted philosophic themes, adequate for inspiring your readers, but not sufficient to educate them.

This is in answer to Varro's foregoing (*Acad.* 1.8) boast that he had added philosophy and humor to Menippus, a considerable deflation indeed: take away these two ingredients from Menippus and what is he left with? Lucian's exhumation is perhaps the answer to these Roman put-downs.

Fastening upon the *Necyia* as Menippus' quintessential production, the one with greatest influence on later imitators, Relihan (1993, 47),

regards Death (his own and others') as the supreme preoccupation. He admits that this concentration "may seem arbitrary." It does not indeed cover all of Varro, whose *Tomb of Menippus* may be a one-off necrological tribute. Also, overall, Petronius is not covered, despite such moments as the skeleton at Trimalchio's feast (34.8), which was in any case an Egyptian custom (Herod. 2.78; Plut., *Mor.* 357f), nor need we believe that the artist who depicted bony reminders of death on the Pompeian Bosco Reale cups took his cue from Menippus. It is harder to find an area of Greco-Roman literature not concerned with the brevity of life and finality of death than otherwise. Even (so the *Suda* says) Sotades the cinaedologist penned a *Descent to Hades*. For present purposes, though, Relihan (1993, 48) does provide a bridge to the *Apocolocyntosis*:

Menippus wrote about his own death and return from the dead. This has some later repercussions. Claudius is a dead fool and travelling naif in the underworld who observes a wholly ridiculous other world.

Lucian's segregation of Menippus from other Cynics provokes two questions: where does his literary oeuvre stand in relation to theirs, and why did Menippean Satire become THE paradigm instead of (say) Bionean diatribe?

Not all the Cynics put much on paper, but Menippus held no monopoly. Antisthenes (if we consider him as the school's founder: some do not) composed Socratic dialogues; Athenaeus (534c) quotes from his attack on the "uncultured" Alcibiades (compare e.g. Xenophon's attack on the politician Pisander, *Symp.* 2.14). Laertius (6.18) says two chapters in Book ten of his writings were devoted to Heracles. Diogenes, memorably described by Plato as "Socrates Gone Mad" (Laertius 6.54; Aelian, *VH* 14.33), is credited with 13 dialogues (Curse the fates that robbed us of such titles as Fart and Fish-head!), seven tragedies (*tragodaria*), perhaps burlesques comparable to Rhinthon's, a collection of letters, a *Republic*, plus some signs of poetic activities. Doubts about his authorship of the tragedies in Laertius' sources persisted down to Julian, who (*Orat.* 6.186b; *Orat.* 7.210d) repeats the view that these "shameless tragedies" were really the work of one Philiscus; Laertius (6.73) adds that some thought these the work of one Pasiphon, son of a Lucian. More tellingly, Julian remarks that no serious Cynic works save these existed in his day—the imperial author of the *Caesars* never mentions Menippus. Monimus of Syracuse produced an *Exhortation to Philosophy* and "some comic writings laced with covert seriousness" (Dudley 1937, reprinted 1974, 41).

Then there was Bion of Borysthenes, inventor of the Diatribe,

author of many *hypomnemata* and “useful apophthegmata, mingling together every kind of style” (Dio. Laet. 4.57): did these include prosimetra? Laertius quotes an example of his skill in parodying Homer. Bion may or may not have been an influence on Lucilius.¹⁸ Horace certainly read him, contrasting (*Epist.* 2.2.60) those who enjoyed his *sermonibus et sale nigro* with the *carmina* and *iambi* preferred by other Roman readers. There was also a personal bond, if one believes the ancient biographers: both men had fishmonger fathers who wiped their noses on their sleeves.¹⁹ Cicero (*Tusc.* 3.26.62) gives an example of his coarse wit. Some (e.g. A.S. Wilkins in his London 1885 edition; revised 1955, 300) credit his “Love of Money is the Metropolis of all Evil” as the source of St. Paul’s (1 Timothy 6.10) famous equivalent.

One can imagine Lucilius and Horace chuckling over some of Menippus. The former’s mock council of the gods (Book one) might owe a direct debt, though it could equally be seen as a parody of Homeric divine committee meetings. The scholiasts claim that Persius’ opening line *O curas hominum, O quantum est in rebus inane* is filched from Lucilius, albeit there is obvious Menippean flavor in both its universalizing tone with *inane* a possible/probable tilt at Epicurean science. Still, in the long run, Horace (at least the Horace of the “Roman Odes”) could not have gone along with the Cynic’s global anarchism, though *Epist.* 1.1.14, *nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri* might hark back to a youthful flirtation, whereas the early *Satire* 1.2 is seen by (e.g.) Wilkins as his one Bionean outburst (whereas Fraenkel 1957, revised ed. 1966, 76–85, emphasizes its debts to Archilochus and Lucilius).

With Bion’s and Horace’s paternal professions in mind, we have to say that Varro was a different kettle of fish. What induced the great Roman scholar to churn out 150 Menippean Satires (“We gasp to reckon that these occasional pieces could have filled well over 1500 Teubner pages”—Relihan)? An early Cynic enthusiasm, as suggested by Cicero’s (*Acad.* 1.8) putting into his mouth the phrase *nostris veteribus* (Hirzel 1895, 441, n. 2)? Laertius (8.58) records that Empedocles knocked off 43 tragedies “in his youth” (*veon onta*). Or simply literary amusements, with no correlation with his own philosophical attitudes? Varro himself is made (*Acad.* 1) to allow that all sects may be followed either via the Cynic route or conventional Roman practice: *habitus et consuetudo*. With the possible exception of Petronius, it may be hard to think of any literary Roman who could possibly have sympathized with hard-core Menippeanism—except perhaps Melissus, a grammarian patronized by Maecenas and Augustus, who also penned 150 volumes, in his case joke books, invented a new species of comic play (blending together *fabulae*

togatae with *palliatæ*), and made fun of Virgil's halting speech (Suet., *Gram.* 21; *Vit. Verg.* 16).

About 600 fragments survive.²⁰ Shanzer (1986, 30–44²¹) estimates that about 75% are in verse. Concerning the poetic element in Menippean satires, a remark by Lina Taub on the *Aetna* may apply: "Our poet uses poetry to criticise other poets' use of poetry."²² Apart from grammarians, there are around 20 other sources, for example Apicius (3.2.4 offers a recipe for Varronian beetroot, possibly from his *Peri Edesmaton*, a work that might owe as much to Ennius and/or Lucilius as any Greek original), Appian, Arnobius, Athenaeus, Augustine, Tertullian: a tribute to both Christian and pagan interest.

On Cicero's evidence, Varro attached the Menippean label to himself: *et tamen in illis veteribus nostris, quae Menippum imitati, non interpretati...* (*Acad.* 1.8), and so did Probus and Athenaeus, as seen earlier (the latter overlooked by Astbury). Jerome (in the Preface to Origen on Genesis), too, providing the 150 tally and, notably, seeming to distinguish between the Menippeans and four books of other satires (Hendrickson 1911 argued that Varro's Menippeans were only designated as "saturae" in later times). Elsewhere (*Epistles* 33), he drew up catalogues of the scholarly works of Varro and Origen (see Wiesen 1964 for possible traces—not many—of Varronian satire in Jerome's own invectives).

Aulus Gellius provides the fullest testimonial. At 2.18.7, he says that while Varro himself called his satire "Menippean," unspecified others dubbed them "Cynic." This distinction may reflect a view (manifest on occasion in Lucian) that Menippus was so extreme as not to even qualify for the sect, a debate perhaps conditioned by the fact that Varro himself wrote a satire entitled *The Cynic* (fr. 82 is the sole remnant). Gellius himself never uses the latter label. Twice, he refers to and quotes from individual pieces as "Menippean": 1.18.4, *De Officio Mariti*, commending a word play between *tollere* and *ferre* concerning how to put up with uxorial *vitium*; 3.18.5, a snippet from *Hippokyon* concerning back-bench senators (*pedarii*) and knights, disclosing a specifically Roman theme, thus evidently transmuting "Menippean" into his own terms, most notably in *Trikaranos* (Three-Headed), which excoriated the First Triumvirate of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, of which (alas) we have no fragments, merely the title from Appian (*BC* 2.9). Two further fragments cited by Gellius (1.22.4–6; 6.16) touch on symposiac menus, a third (3.16.13–3.16.14) on wills: Menippean topics *par excellence*. A final notice (7.5.10) cites a linguistic detail from the proverbially titled *Old Men Are Twice Children*. In one of the symposium items, Gellius judges the menu to be written up *lepide admodum et scite factis versibus*. In this especially instructive discussion, Gellius says that Varro satirized gourmets and

gourmandise in minutely detailed senarian verses, and furthermore that this particular satire is readily available to anyone wishing to read the whole thing. It is one that would have appealed to Athenaeus, reading as it does like extracts from a Latin *Deipnosophists*.

Varro's most obvious homage comes in the title *Tomb of Menippus*, with its opening compliment *Ille nobilis quondam canis / Hic liquit homines omnes in terrae pila*. Note, though, that, in the following fragment 517, Diogenes is evoked in equally glowing terms, whereas fragment 519 mentions the Stoics and several local matters by name and details, for instance Rome the city, Romans numberless like grains of sand, and King Numa Pompilius. The other onomastic inclusion of Menippus occurs significantly in *The Will*: *quos Menippea haeresis nutricata est*, followed by an hexameter verse. That Menippus should be credited with a distinctive *haeresis* is striking, given the apparent controversy over whether he could/should be fitted into any sect. The many Roman allusions (Astbury's 1985 Index of Proper Names provides a telling bird's-eye view of Rome, Roman *Realien*, and great names from Roman history) demonstrate how Varro extended and transmuted his Greek originals, justifying his own claim (Cicero, *Acad.* 1.8; Gellius 2.18.7) that he "imitated" rather than translated them. Beyond this, in the words of Jennifer Hall (1981, 51):

Attempting to reconstruct any of Varro's satires is like playing with a kaleidoscope: shake up the pieces and observe the chance order in which they fall, and each time the pattern is different.

(For Varro's Roman element, see McCarthy 1936, 95–107.)

After Varro, a long Menippean shadow continued to fall across both Greek and Latin literature, in tandem with the vigorous activities of living Cynics at Rome and elsewhere (fully catalogued by Desmond, Dudley, and Relihan). On the Greek side, Lucian was of course the outstanding case; the significance of his "digging-up" should once more be mentioned, as should Relihan's comparison of him with P.G. Wodehouse: "He views his considerable art as nonart, and his considerable meaning as nonmeaning."²³ Apropos of Julian's *Caesars* (Baldwin 1978a, reprinted 1984), the emperor has nothing to say on Menippus, but much about both early and contemporary Cynics. On the Roman side, apart from Petronius and Apuleius (if they are to be Menippeanly classified), the efflorescence of late Christian exemplars: Boethius (O'Daly 1991, 16–22; Shanzer 1986), Ennodius, Fulgentius (Baldwin 1988), Martianus Capella, and a host of other candidates (see especially Shanzer for round-up and detailed assessments, ranging from some supposed lost *Menippeae* of the poet Tiberianus to the prosimetric autobiography of Acilius Severus reported by Jerome, *De vir. ill.* 3). Plus, given its frequent verse insertions (Baldwin 1978b),

the *Historia Augusta* comports a Menippean tinge, something that may endorse Syme's oft-repeated characterization of this mysterious work as a "hoax." As to these Christian prosimetrists, were they really satirizing anything? Did they think they were? Is it more a question of form than content? Dudley's final sentence, summing up this late Indian summer, "Cynicism had nothing further to offer mankind," did not prevent him from allowing the possibility of Byzantine Cynics or from seeing Cynic-Christian asceticism as bridging antiquity to medieval times. Regarding Byzantium, Lucian's scholiasts²⁴ are alert to Menippus' own qualities of "great adventures, boundless curiosity, and fantasy" and his "universally glorious reputation," whereas Diogenes in the Hades of the anonymous twelfth-century Lucianic satire *Timarion* (see Baldwin 1984a, *Timarion* 43) is excluded by the top Greek philosophers from their rarified circle because of his rebarbative growlings.

The *Apocolocyntosis* ²⁵ is generally described as the only complete surviving example of classic Menippean Satire. Well, up to a point, Lord Copper. Apart from the undoubted gap in the divine debate (7.5), some find the ending too rushed and postulate a lacuna, needlessly. There is nothing abrupt about it, not in the same league as that famously incomplete last sentence of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*. Claudius is dispatched with a rapid one-two-three set of handovers, and ending up as a clerk achieves a kind of ring composition with the opening cod minutes of heavenly proceedings. In broader terms, this is no more curt a conclusion than (say) those Euripidean stock formula ones or Horace, *Satires* 1.9.

Nor need we suppose that the author (see later for why I am avoiding the name Seneca) sat down and said, "Now I am going to write a satire in the manner of that Greek chap Menippus." His inspirations could have been purely native Latin ones: Varro for form plus some content and vocabulary, Lucilius for specifics, for example the Council of the Gods in his first book, though (as earlier said) this could be as much if not more parody of Virgil and epic than anything Menippean. Change Virgil to Homer, and the same might be said for Lucian's Olympian meetings. This line is taken by MacMullen (1966, 38), placing the piece "in the long line of broad, harsh Roman Satire," with comparison to the mock imperial cabinet of Juvenal's Fourth Satire.

As everybody knows, Dio Cassius (61.35.3) says "Seneca wrote a pamphlet (*suggramma*) entitled *Apocolocyntosis*, a word formed on the analogy of *athanatisis*"—a textual variant has *apathanatisis*; other contenders are *apothanatos* (not in *LSJ*) and plain *apotheosis*. I also wonder about *apotheiosis*, a rarity (*LSJ* cite only the tactician Onosander 10.28) meaning "fumigation," Heaven thus being seen as

purified by getting shut of the farting, self-shitting Claudius. Relihan, often too complex for my taste,²⁶ strays into this territory with his characterization of the piece as representing “a world purged of one great unpleasantness.” (Grosser metamorphoses, *apokolokenosis*, and *aporraphanidosis* have tempted some; cf. W.H. Rouse, 432, in the revised version of Heseltine’s Loeb Petronius.)

Less discussed is the “very funny remark” attributed by Dio to Seneca’s brother Lucius Junius Gallio to the effect that “Claudius had been raised to heaven with a hook,” in the manner of an executed person being dragged to the Tiber. Just what is so funny about this? It would be far more amusing and to the point if (as in passages cited by *LSJ*) we translate *aykistroi* as “with a clyster,” thus pointing to the same implement mentioned by Suetonius (*Claud.* 44.3).

There are two \$64,000 questions: is Dio’s *Pumpkinification* our Latin *Ludus*? Whether it is or not, did Seneca write the latter? There has been a lot of to-ing and fro-ing over the manuscript title’s (details of the tradition in all editions, especially Roncali’s) *Ludus* in the sense of “Joke” or “Skit.” Considering such passages (others in *OLD*, s.v. 5b) as Pliny, *Epist.* 5.13.10 *per ludum ac iocum*, and Suetonius, *Claud.* 8 (where the emperor is the butt), these worries seem groundless, especially if we assume the secondary sense of a gladiatorial show, Claudius being seen as fought over in heaven and hell.

As everybody also knows, Claudius in our Latin pasquinade is neither godified nor gourdified, and thus there is no scope for adducing Linus’ Great Pumpkin from “Peanuts.” So, does this rule out the equation of Dio’s pamphlet with this one?²⁷ Michael Coffey cut the gourdian knot by pronouncing the Greek title “a nonsense word”: if accepted, that stultifies further investigation, which would spoil the fun, hence further canvassing. A Greek title is not very surprising, given the paucity and unsuitability of Latin equivalents for and plays on *apotheosis*. Also in the light of Suetonius’ mention (*Claud.* 39.3) of an anonymous pamphlet entitled *moron epanastasis* that was circulated to discredit the claim that Claudius was not actually stupid but had pretended to be so under Caligula in order to survive. This unexampled Greek title also offers a multitude of punning possibilities: *epanastasis* (see *LSJ* for examples and references) can denote such variously different things as getting up to defecate, a swelling on the head, political or military insurrection, or a rising in rhetorical tone.

When Suetonius goes on in his next sentence to describe how people laughed at Claudius’ defects, he takes care to gloss the Latin terms with their Greek ones, *oblivionem et inconiderantiam, vel ut Graece dicam*, thus supporting a notion of the throwing around of Greek nicknames and epithets.

The supposition that “gourd” in Greek could be a slang term for “idiot” is enhanced not only by the cognate Latin uses of *cucurbita*, but also by modern idiom. Athanassakis (1973, 2) adduces German, modern Greek, and Italian. I can add that, in Albanian (a language that often throws light on Greek), two words for cucumber, “tranguill” and “kastraveç” (the latter also in Romanian) are used to mean “blockhead”²⁸ (Baldwin 1987, 65). Nicely enough, “gourd” was faddishly employed for a while in the so-called Valley-Girl slang of 1980s California in the same way.

According to Pliny (*NH* 20.14–17), colocynthine recipes for purging and tummy troubles were effective. Suetonius (*Claud.* 31.44.3) says that the emperor was plagued by excruciating stomach aches, and that the attempted expedients for his fatal dose of mushrooms included an enema. Elsewhere (*NH* 19.69), Pliny notes that the gourd is fond of manure: this suits both *Apocolocyntosis* 4 where Claudius befouls himself, and the Suetonian claim (*Claud.* 32) that he had contemplated an edict on the issue of breaking wind at the table (cf. Petronius 47 for jokes on this matter). It is also worth remarking that when Pliny (20.17) recommends colocynth juice for certain suppurations, he used the Greek term *apostemata*.

Other gourdian applications may or may not help the present enquiry. In Aristophanes’ *Clouds* 327, someone’s eyes “run with pumpkins.” Juvenal’s *cum colocyntha bibit* (6.06) comports a sexual allusion, possibly cunnilingus. Possibly, most to the point is Dio Cassius’ anecdote (69.4.2) of Hadrian’s execution of the architect Apollodorus because he had once interrupted the emperor in a discussion of building plans with Trajan by interjecting “Clear off and draw your gourds (*tas kolokuntas graphe*); you don’t understand any of this.”

Claudius is not turned into a pumpkin. Nor an idiot either—he already was one. The late emperor has two destinies in the satire’s finale. At first, Aeacus decrees that he rattle dice in a perforated dice cup for all time, something that he at once starts to attempt. However, on the intervention of Caligula, he is rescued from this fate and ends up in the position of a *cognitionibus* to the freedman Menander (Bücheler, followed by Ball, implausibly equates this Menander with the comic playwright). There would be more humor and precision in the title if it had to do with either or both of these Claudian destinies. Rattling dice for eternity suits one who was in life so addicted to that pastime so as to write a book on the subject and have a special traveling dice board in his carriage (Suet., *Claud.* 33.2). Gourds were widely used as containers, for example as wine jars and bathroom jugs (Pl., *NH* 19.71). Describing his pirates sailing in pumpkin boats (*True History* 2.37), Lucian permits himself the comic coinage

Kolokunthopeiratai. A gourd as a dice cup is an easy assumption. (For incidental interest, the *OED* registers an archaic—sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—meaning of “gourd” as being a kind of false dice.)

The status of *a cognitionibus* in Claudius’ time was lowly.²⁹ A joke could, then, turn on this. Hoyos (1991, 141) speculated that Claudius was nicknamed “Gourd” by palace functionaries. However, it may be that the humble civil servant he ends up as was the actual recipient of such soubriquets. Nowadays, bureaucrats are routinely stigmatized as “pointy-headed.” We can be sure the Romans had a choice repertoire of insults for their officials. One of Petronius’ freedman monologists (44.3.13) excoriates aediles as not worth *trium cauniarium*. Furthermore, the Greek preposition *apo* is occasionally used to translate Latin *a* or *ab* in the titles of officials.³⁰ Hence, the titular point may turn out to repose in either or both of the fates allotted to (as Robert Graves styled him) Claudius the Clod.

Now to grasp the nettle of authorship. Is the *Ludus* Dio’s Senecan skit? *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*. There were various doubters (enumerated in the editions) before I questioned Seneca’s claims on its historical rather than linguistic/literary content (1964, reprinted 1985). For a season, I seemed to have convinced only myself. MacMullen, for instance (1966, 304 n. 34), dismissed my arguments as “flimsy,” albeit without engaging them. Nowadays, the situation is fluid. For Coffey, “It cannot seriously be doubted that Seneca is the author” (1976, 172), while Relihan takes its genuineness “as a given.” Yet, the latter has to commend Michael Reeve (1984; cf. Bringmann 1971) for “effectively countering a growing trend to deny Senecan authorship,” and Frank Goodyear (1982, reprinted 1983) conceded that “[i]t is not absurd to retain some doubts,” repeating (without acknowledgement) the now unjustly neglected Gilbert Bagnani’s point that there were plenty of Romans able and willing to throw off this kind of comic *libellus* (Bagnani 1954 produces a list of striking linguistic concordances between our satire and Petronius’, though confessing that these are not conclusive). Indeed, the first men accused of treason under Nero in AD 62 were Antistius Sosianus and Fabricius Veiento for their satirizing of the emperor, senators, and priests (Tac., *Ann.* 14. 48–50). Also banished rather than liquidated for their insults were the actor Datus and (more significantly here) the Cynic Isidorus (Suet., *Nero* 39.3). It was Nero who set the pace for lampoons against Claudius with his celebrated “mushroom as food for the gods” crack, his oft-repeated pun on the two *morari* verbs that Claudius had ceased to play the fool among mortals, and dismissing his words and deeds *ut insipientis atque deliri* (Suet., *Nero* 38.1).

Bagnani himself concluded a well-balanced chapter of authorial

pros and cons with the arresting “I advance Petronian authorship as a possible, indeed probable, hypothesis.” No one seems to have taken up this notion, congenial and certainly more rational than Léon Herrmann’s characteristic fantasy (1950, 84–98) that the author was the fabulist Phaedrus.

My article examined what is known of the victims of Claudius named in the satire. What strikingly emerged overall was how sympathetic the author was to Messalina, making it hard to believe he was writing to ingratiate himself with Agrippina, and harder still when one considers the great play made over her notable victim Lucius Silanus. Seneca himself had no cause to love Messalina, having been one of her victims charged for adultery with Julia. Who would want the tricky task of whitewashing the former empress? There are one or two hints in Tacitus (*Ann.* 11.33, 12.42) that Agrippina’s activities were such as to make people regret Messalina’s fall. She may have been no fit candidate for rehabilitation, but the toning down of her misdeeds might, in a negative way, have been a ploy by the partisans of Britannicus, a lad very popular with segments of army and populace, that his chances might not be affected by maternal notoriety. Also pertinent is the case of Publius Suillius in AD 58, during which Nero intervened to protect Claudius’ reputation and Suillius’ own attempts to use Messalina as scapegoat rebounded upon himself. Four years after Claudius’ death, it was unwise to prosecute his memory by impeaching prominent men of his reign. Enmity between Suillius and Seneca dated back to the Messalina–Julia affair. If Seneca was the author, why did he miss the chance to stigmatize his foe as one of the villains of the reign? Against the popular view that it was composed for recitation in the Saturnalia of AD 54, I fancy it could not have safely been made public before 58, possibly circulated as a *samizdat* pamphlet to aid the promotion of Britannicus, not composed to make Nero laugh.

Association of Seneca with the satire could have been inspired by the speech he wrote for Nero as the official *elogium* for the late Claudius. Tacitus (*Ann.* 13.3) describes it as *oratio a Seneca composita multum cultus praeferret, ut fuit illi viro ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus accommodatum*. The historian notes with malice that laughter greeted the references to Claudian *providentiam sapientiamque*. That could imply that some members of the audience chuckled because they knew of a very different attitude in a Seneca skit, although allusions to Claudius’ birth, ancestral fame, literary works, and absence of disasters during his reign were quietly received, though the satire mocks most of these. Yet, in that case, Tacitus has missed a good chance to exercise his own grim humor and capacity for mordant epigram. Nowhere does he attribute any satire to Seneca. It

is, of course, hard to interpret such silences. He hardly mentions the philosopher's most celebrated works, and notoriously ignores Petronius' novel. Syme's formula "Tacitus could not mention Seneca's pasquinade on Divus Claudius. That was alien to the dignity of history" 31 simply evades the question.

So, let X = the author. Estimates of the satire's literary quality are equally varied. "Cruel, but very funny," opined Highet, comparing Byron's take-off of Southey's apotheosis of George III in *Vision of Judgement*. Coffey applauded every aspect of the piece's comic style. Weinbrot (2005, 46) commends the "skilful mixture of prose and verse," albeit dubbing it "Seneca's softened pumpkin" (his attitude to Julian's *Caesars* is similar). "Gross, wholly amusing," declares Hooley (1975, 145). Bagnani, though, despite his Petronian theory, felt that:

Pace most editors, its literary value is not great; the humour strikes me as forced and often feeble, lacking the punch and vigour of really great invectives, such as the *Letters of Junius*. It would appear to be the work of a youngish man of considerable ability, though not quite as clever as he thinks he is.

For my own money, it's no comic masterpiece, but amusing enough at different levels: political lampoon, literary parodies of Homer, just as its own Latin verses may themselves be parodic (Baldwin 1984; cf. Byrne 2006); schoolboy jokes about farting and shitting; and the ridicule of Claudius' physical and mental defects, nowadays inevitably "politically incorrect," but ubiquitous ancient commonplaces (Garland 1994–1997).

X's purpose continues to be the subject of largely needless debate. Relihan (1993, 25–27) may stand as quintessence. For him, the satire is "not an attack on Claudius pure and simple," nor is it (here I agree) "a philosopher's criticism of apotheosis," rather "a three-tiered" work, "schematically the most complicated of the Menippean satires; it is therefore not a generic paradigm, but represents many Menippean possibilities rolled into one." There is something in this long-winded proclamation. We simply do not know to what extent Menippus attacked real contemporaries, living or dead, in this full-blooded manner. X's in-your-face manner (re-quoting MacMullen 1966) "rather belongs in the long line of broad, harsh Roman satire, here directed at Claudius." Lucilius, Horace (in the *Epodes* and early *Satires*), and Varro are obvious influences. The *Apocolocyntosis* could have been written, had Menippus not existed, in the sense that X used Roman, not Greek, models. Be that as it may, to me the piece is simultaneously aimed against Claudius and the deification of such a fool, recalling that other mysterious pamphlet mentioned by Suetonius, the Greek-titled *Elevation of Fools*.

The aforementioned editors have traced linguistic parallels between our satire and relevant Greek and Latin authors, and gone into most matters of content. So, here are just a few salient points and novelties. The mock preamble promises to record the minutes of the divine meeting of October 13, AD 54, linking secular with holy via the copulation *anno novo initio saeculi felicissimi*, the latter doubtless designed to remind readers of the farce of Claudius' own Secular Games dating (Suet., *Claud.* 21.2; cf. Pl., *NH* 7.159). These celestial *acta* may echo Menippean parody, and such things were a favorite of Lucian, but (as said) there could also be influence from Lucilius' Council of the Gods, or simple parody of Olympian committee meetings in epic poetry (compare Petronius' recitations of Trimalchio's domestic *Acta* and will). Julian's *Caesars*, by comparison, describes Romulus' Saturnalian dinner party, another feature of not only Menippean but regular satire. His opening mini-dialogue both nods toward and pokes fun at the *spoudaiogeloion* principle: "My dear friend, as I have no talent to amuse or entertain, I must try to avoid mere nonsense. ... But, Caesar, would anyone be stupid enough to work hard over his jesting...?" X tags on some parody of historians' professions of impartiality; Julian offers a mix of fact and fiction, leaving (in Herodotean style) the reader to decide.

Claudius (not yet named) vindicated the proverb "Born king or fool." Editors note an equivalent Greek saw in Porphyry on Horace, *Satires* 2.3.188, but Caligula's parody (Suet., *Calig.* 37), *ad frugi hominem esse oportet ad Caesarem*, is more to the point, along with (yet again) the *Elevation of Fools*. Given Caligula's final intervention, this emperor has evident relevance.

Livius Geminius, who (Dio 69.11) vouchsafed Drusilla's ascent to heaven, now confirms Claudius' baby steps (parodying Virgil, *Aen.* 2.724) to Olympus. His difficult gait is recalled more forcibly later (Chapter 5), though Suetonius on his weak knees (*Claud.* 21.6, *foeda vacillatio*) is nastier. Suetonius also quotes a letter of Augustus on his shambling gait, a point pertinent to the latter's role in the satire.

Julian gives Claudius short and predictable thrift, Silenus' mock praises via parody of Aristophanes, *Knights* 111, being postluded by outright ridicule of his dependence upon Messalina, Narcissus, and Pallas.

Claudius has not yet spoken, and apart from his appeal to Hercules (Chapter 7), is not given all that much to say throughout the piece, though his occasional interjections and (a genuine characteristic) Homeric allusions are reported in the narrative. Though not a precise parallel, I tend to think of the idiot-savant Lucky in Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*, perhaps because I once played him on stage—typecasting?

October 13 is re-introduced through the first poetic sequence, half a dozen hexameters bearing some resemblance to Propertius 4.20.4, also Petronius' description of autumn (fragment 38). Then, since "philosophers agree more easily than clocks"—a double dig, the narrator not knowing the exact moment of Claudius' passing, but in the same breath can pinpoint it between the sixth and seventh hour, the officially announced one (Suet., *Nero* 8, using the same words)—three more hexameters, describing the sun's progress, lead into Claudius' lingering death, with much play, double-entendre, and patent on his famous flatulence, including *annus* as a pun on *anus*, with Claudius' age at death convenient for ancient superstitions (Aulus Gellius 15.7.1) about the dangers of the 63rd year. Other things coming to mind include Diogenes' burlesque *Pordalos* and Trimalchio's disquisitions on defecation and flatulence.

The jokes against astrologers were conditioned by Claudius' expulsion of the tribe from Italy (Tac., *Ann.* 12.52; Dio 61.33.3b). By contrast, Trimalchio had complete faith in the stunningly precise predictions of his long life to come. A flurry of diverse jests encompass the Furies and Clotho's spindles, one unblocking the anus (following Athanassaakis' notion of a pun on *fusus*), Claudius' weakness for block awards of Roman citizenship, and the dooming of Augurinus, Baba, Claudius, perhaps a double-joke on ABC (one-two-three) and the emperor's short-lived alphabetic innovations. Augurinus (Athanassakis again) may mean "Pissalot," based on the etymology *augeo-urina*; Baba is a proverbial fool in Seneca himself (*Epist.* 15.9). A Virgilian quote on the need to kill one "king" bee if there are two in the hive justifies bumping off Claudius to make room for Nero. The latter is now glorified by Apollo in the last 11 of an 81-hexameter effusion; Lucan on Nero (1.33–1.66) comes irresistibly to mind. Phoebus lauding the artistic Nero in verse is obviously apposite. In Julian, Apollo quickly strips the artistic emperor of his lyre for his bad playing and worse morals. Claudius himself is then sent on his way with a quotation from Euripides' *Cresphontes*, one Latinized by Cicero (*Tusc.* 1.48.115).

Claudius expiring while listening to comic actors is another bow to the official version, perhaps a knowing one by an author showing off his inside knowledge. Suetonius (*Claud.* 45) says Nero and Agrippina sent in comedians post-mortem to maintain the fiction of a still-breathing emperor. His first words in the satire are his last on earth, a lament (accompanied by a stentorian fart) that he has messed himself. Both events suit someone in the throes of poisoning (Grimm-Samuel 1991). Breaking wind blows through ancient literature: apart from Claudius' proposed edict on it and Trimalchio's disquisition, it features in Theophrastus, *Characters* 20.6, and in a startling anecdote in Suetonius' *Life of Lucan*. There might also be an allusion to the

curious religious ritual of apotropaic farting.³²

The leading role played by Hercules befits his status in Cynic circles, also his frequency in Varronian satire; Julian on the other hand chose Silenus to play the same part. Athanassakis demonstrates how his tragic verse effusion is full of Senecan turns of phrase, especially his *Hercules Furens*: does this point to Senecan authorship? Or parody thereof?

Athanassakis posits “a considerable lacuna” at the end of Chapter 7, interrupting the debate over Claudius’ application for godship. Not all editors agree. Matters resume with a divinity in full oratorical throttle, lacing his speech with Grecisms describing the petitioner as “having nothing and incapable of giving to others.” Athanassakis’ idea that this suggests impotence does not suit the lustful, much-married Claudius of Suetonius. This Hellenic outburst is postluded by an iambic senarius from Varro, hesitantly attributed by Astbury to his *The Stoic*. Is our author sending a source signal here? There is later mention of Agatho the lawyer, one of his titular names (also a perfume vendor in Petronius): how many more Varronianisms may lurk in this satire?

Claudius *deus vult fieri*. Editors do not mention that he already was one on earth in some quarters, being thus addressed in the dedicatory epistle prefixed to the *Compositiones* of his doctor Scribonius Largus.³³ So, an extra sting here at his pre-death pretensions, or his toadies? Editors also fail to find a parallel for the Greek prayer formula *morou eilatou theou*: there is one in *Pap. Petr.* 2, p 45, third-century BC, and also cognate expressions in epigraphic and patristic texts. It is notable that, at least until the roll call of his executions, the emphasis is on Claudius’ idiocy rather than his crimes.

In the satire’s speechlets at this point, there is a flurry of expressions also found in Petronius’s freedman monologues: *manus manum lavat; mera mapalia; nummularius*. After these, Augustus takes over, denouncing Claudius at length, with a copious criminal dossier, and formally proposing his expulsion from heaven. He kicks off with some self-praise couched in terms that are an obvious parody of his *Res Gestae*. Julian’s Augustus (*Caesars* 325d–326a) does the same. Just what do these parodies indicate? For Augustus to denounce Claudius as a disgrace to the royal line is logical enough, and he may be presumed upset at the emphasis Claudius placed on his link to Julius Caesar, but it still involves a twist on the kinder things said about him in the Augustan letters cited by Suetonius. In Julian, Augustus cuts a much less impressive figure, no doubt because the emperor’s concern was to boost Marcus Aurelius above all others.

The rest has been largely dealt with earlier. For the finale, it may

just be observed that Caligula in Julian is simply an unnamed “fierce monster” from whom the gods avert their eyes until he is swiftly hurled into Tartarus, while Claudius’ initial dice-box punishment may contain a recognizable reversal of Bion’s dictum (Diog. Laert. 4.50) that those in Hades condemned eternally to draw water would suffer more if their vessels were whole instead of pierced with holes.

“Clowns and idiots laugh on all occasions”

—William Hazlitt

“How energetic they always are, these self-avowed cynics and désabusés, bristling with passionate estimates and beating their breasts in a jemenfoutiste and jusquauboutiste frenzy”

—Samuel Beckett

Notes

- 1 Dudley 1937; reprinted 1974, 69, not disclosing that Duff 1936, 251 had just made the same comparison.
- 2 Its history is exhaustively traced by Relihan 1984, 226–229, revamped in his *Ancient Menippean Satire* (1993, 3–11), re-addressed via “Menippus in Antiquity and the Renaissance” (1996, 265–3).
- 3 Thanks to Dieter Fuchs, *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Dog* (Wurzburg, 2006); cf. Geert Lernout’s review, *James Joyce Quarterly* 45.2 (2008) 369–372.
- 4 Humphrey Carpenter, *A Great, Silly Grin: The British Satire Boom of the 1960s* (London-New York, 2000, originally titled *That Was the Satire That Week*).
- 5 Cf. Highet’s various remarks elsewhere here and in *The Classical Tradition* (Oxford, 1949). Neither Hadas nor Highet appear in (e.g.) Relihan.
- 6 Spotlighted in Baldwin, “Is Wittiness Unchristian?” and “The Fun of God,” *Presbyterian Review*, June 2005, 25, and July 2005, 32.
- 7 Baldwin, “Aspects of the *Suda*,” *Byzantion* 76 (2006) 11–31. Menippus is absent from Adler’s author and proper name indices.
- 8 Meleager’s life and works are amply covered by Desmond, Dudley, and Relihan; he and Menippus were not in fact contemporaries.
- 9 Stephen does not mention Diogenes in his Sinope notice. Meineke’s edition (Berlin, 1849) has been twice reprinted: Graz, 1958; Chicago, 1992. A new one by Margarethe Billerbeck (Berlin and New York, 2006–) is under way.
- 10 IG 1:2(8).87: “Date récente,” L. Robert, *Opera Minora* 1

(Amsterdam, 1969), 689–90.

11 Baldwin, “The *Testamentum Porcelli*,” in *Studi in onore di Cesare Sanfilippo* (Catania, 1982), 41–52.

12 The Byzantine Alexios Makrembolites, who read and wrote on Lucian, composed (1342–1344) a *Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor*, ed. I. Sevcenko (Belgrade, 1960); cf. Baldwin, “Recent Work (1930–1990) on some Byzantine Imitations of Lucian,” *ANRW*, II.34.2: 1400–1404.

13 Albeit *pros* cannot automatically be taken as adversative, as maintained by Alan Cameron, “Wandering Poets: a Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt,” *Historia* 14 (1965) 505–506, refuted by Baldwin, “Book Titles in the *Suda*,” *JHS*, 103 (1983) 136–137.

14 This “laughing philosopher” hails from Abdera, whose inhabitants were bywords for their stupidity in (e.g.) the ancient joke book *Philogelos* (tr. Baldwin, Amsterdam, 1983); cf. Halliwell, 2008, 332–371. Neither Menippus nor Diogenes is here named by Athenaeus.

15 Of Menippus’ *Sale of Diogenes*, A.M. Harmon remarked in his Loeb edition, vol. 2, 449: “Lucian may have read it and took a hint from it; he could not have taken more.” Harmon also felt (2, 267) that the *Icaromenippus* was “freely borrowed,” and (5, 67, on *The Runaways* 11) that Zeus’ presumed familiarity with the Cynic implies a current mania for his writings occasioned by Lucian’s exhumation of him. It may be added that Lucian’s Greek here, *Menippos houtos*, recalls the Varronian title *Allos houtos Herakles*.

16 *Prosimetrum* has no classical pedigree. It apparently entered English in 1656, via Thomas Blount’s *Glossographia*: “Prosimetrical, consisting partly of prose, partly of meter or verse.”

17 When I first suggested this (1973, 105 n. 24), I was unaware of having been anticipated in the Bipontine edition (Amsterdam, 1743) of T. Hemsterhuys and J.F. Reitz, vol. 2, p. 394 n. on *Dialogues of the Dead* 1.

18 Fiske 1920; reprinted 1970, for full but exaggerated (in the manner of Helm on Lucian and Menippus) exposition.

19 Fraenkel (1957, reprinted 1966, 6–7) believed the Horatian pedigree was simply a reproduction of Bion’s. The latter’s mother was allegedly a prostitute; Horace never mentions his. As to Bion’s influence on Horace, see Fraenkel, 92–94, both developing and condemning Heinze’s (1889) *De Horatio Bionis Imitatore*; cf. Weinbrot, 2005, 111 n. 9.

20 The two best editions of Varro are now the 13-volume affair of J-P. Cèbe (Rome, 1972–1999), and R. Astbury’s Teubner (2nd rev. ed. Munich & Leipzig, 2002); cf. the bibliography suffixed to Regine

May's review of Astbury (*BMCR* 2003.5), also Y. Lehmann, *Varron Théologien et Philosophe romain* (Brussels, 1997), and Charles Marston Lee's "Varro's Menippean Satires" (Diss. Univ. Pittsburg, 1937).

21 Shanzer provides an excellent sketch of Roman Menippean satire from Varro to late antiquity; cf. my review in *MLatJb*, 23 (1988) 309–12.

22 *Aetna and the Moon: Explaining Nature in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Corvallis, Or., 2008).

23 "Plum" would have appreciated this compliment. He frequently asserted that his classical studies at Dulwich was "the best form of education I could have had as a writer" (fellow-Dulwichian Raymond Chandler expressed the same sentiment), also recalling "I did reams of Greek and Latin verse, and enjoyed it more than any other work." For the full story, R. McCrum, *Wodehouse* (London, 2004; reprinted New York, 2006) 25–40.

24 Ed. H. Rabe (Stuttgart, 1906; reprinted 1971) 135.25; cf. Baldwin 1980/1981, 219–34, reprinted 1985, 394–411. The quality of their information is debatable. Relihan (1993, 254 n. 7) mocks one who dated Menippus to the reign of Augustus, whereas Rabe takes the Greek *kata Sebaston* to allude to Marcus Aurelius' (a popular author with Byzantines) previously noted mention of him.

25 Apart from R. Roncali's Teubner (1990), I have consulted the editions of A.P. Ball (London & New York, 1902; reprinted 1978), A. Athanassakis (Lawrence, Kansas, 1973), and P.T. Eden (Cambridge, 1984). Others include O. Weinrich (Berlin, 1923) and C.F. Russo (4th ed., Florence, 1964). The piece is also added to Bücheler's Petronius and the Loeb's Heseltine and Warmington; Robert Graves appended an English version to *Claudius the God*.

26 Though Relihan is simplicity itself compared to the theoretical bafflegab of O'Gorman 2005, 95–108, comports her weird, self-aggrandizing claim that "there are few pieces exclusively devoted to the *Apocolocyntosis*." Look no further than the massive bibliographies assembled by Michael Coffey, *Lustrum*, 6 (1961) 239–271 and 309–11, and K. Bringmann, *ANRW*, II.32.2: 885–914.

27 This is an epitome of my fuller 1993 exposition, there amiably supplementing Hoyos' detailed and thought-provoking 1991 round-up.

28 Baldwin, "Greek and Arabic Cucumbers: An Ancillary Suggestion," *Byzantion*, 57 (1987) 414, reprinted *Roman and Byzantine Papers* (Amsterdam, 1989) 361.

29 J.A. Crook, *Consilium Principis* (Cambridge, 1955; reprinted New York, 1975) 100.

- 30 H.J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (Toronto, 1974) 141.
- 31 R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford, 1958), 539 n. 1; cf. Baldwin, "Syme's Petronius," *PSN*, 34 (2004) 3.
- 32 R.W. Daniel, "Laughing stones," *ZPE*, 161 (1985) 127–130.
- 33 Baldwin, "The career and work of Scribonius Largus," *RhM*, 135 (1992) 74–81; F. Römer, "Zum Vorwort des Scribonius Largus," *WS*, 100 (1987) 126–132.

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In the preceding bibliography, only articles and books bearing on the principal topics appear. Incidental and peripheral items are omitted, likewise (with a few exceptions) editions of ancient texts and modern reference manuals; those mentioned are fully referenced in the notes. Nothing published after April 2009, when this chapter was completed, is taken into account. By the time it is out, there will doubtless be much more, especially from *Acta* of conferences on the ancient novel. Annual *Petronian Society Newsletter* listings are the best way to keep up. Meanwhile, readers who wish to cut to the chase should hasten to the books by Desmond, Dudley, Halliwell, Relihan, and Weinbrot, plus the Branham & Goulet-Cazé volume. Directions to the mass of secondary literature on the *Apocolocyntosis* are provided by the bibliographies of Bringmann and Coffey. Electronic sources should not be despised. Menippus (suitably) enjoys a rich existence (nearly 60,000 sites) in cyber-space—I fancy he would have enjoyed

blogging.

CHAPTER 11

The Novel and Christian Narrative

David Konstan and Ilaria Ramelli

It is only recently that scholars of ancient Greek and Roman literature have begun to lift the quarantine against Christian texts and to treat them as part and parcel of the material that we study. In addition to the idea that pagans and Christians (or Jews) belonged to separate worlds, a further impediment to the comparative study of the ancient novel and Christian narratives has been the relative disregard of, not to say disdain for, post-classical texts in general and the novels in particular. Over the past three decades, the novels have been rehabilitated to a great degree as significant literary compositions, and are even included in the syllabi and reading lists of classics departments, but such recognition has yet to be accorded to Christian works (the same can be said of Jewish narratives). The result has been that, even now, and despite some noteworthy contributions, relatively little investigation has been devoted to possible intersections between the novels and Christian literature. We hope here to indicate some important connections, and point the way to fruitful areas of new research.

In 1994, Glen Bowersock proposed that the story related in the Christian Gospels exerted an influence on the pagan novels, and more particularly on the *Satyricon* of Petronius, composed during the reign of Nero and hence in the 60s of the first century. He identified two motifs in particular that he believed to reflect this influence: first, the notion of consuming the flesh of the deceased, which he saw as a parody of the Eucharist; and second, the practice of crucifixion, along with an apparent death (or *Scheintod*) and revival, such as occurs, for example, in Chariton's novel, *Callirhoe*. Bowersock's hypothesis depended on the idea that the Gospels, or rather the narrative of Christ's life, execution, and resurrection, were in circulation in Rome by the middle of the first century. More recently, Ramelli (2001; 2004; 2005b; 2007a) has argued forcefully that an awareness of the events

surrounding Christ began to be current in Rome already in the time of Tiberius, shortly after the crucifixion and thus as early as the late 30s. If it is true that the earliest of the surviving Greek novels, that is, those by Xenophon of Ephesus and Chariton, were also composed, like the Latin *Satyrica*, in the mid-first century after Christ's death, it becomes all the more plausible that similarities between the Gospel story and the novels may have roots in common, and even have mutually influenced one another.

When it comes to later novels, such as those by Achilles Tatius, Longus, and Heliodorus, there is still greater likelihood that their authors knew of the Christian narratives. Indeed, we have ancient testimony to the fact that the novelist Heliodorus was a bishop in Tricca and that Achilles Tatius too may have been a Christian (see Ramelli 2009b; and the following). While scholars have contested these identifications, to some extent the resistance to them has been due to incredulity that a Christian could have written tales set in a purely pagan context, which is another manifestation of the supposition noted earlier, that Christians and pagans somehow dwelled in hermetically sealed environments, and only recognized one another's existence for purposes of polemic. In turn, later Christian compositions, such as the so-called apocryphal Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, along with martyr narratives, saints' lives, and other such works, may well have been influenced by the now familiar, if never very ample, genre of the Greek romantic novel, or indeed by the diverse examples of Latin novels, including the *Satyrica*, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, and the anonymous *Story of Apollonius, King of Tyre*, which in later redactions (dating to the fifth century) shows signs of Christian adaptation.

Literary influence may take various forms. Most narrowly, one may detect isolated quotations of one work in another. These may be mere appropriations of a useful term or turn of phrase, with no greater significance for the work under consideration. However, such citations or imitations may also function as allusions (or what today goes under the name of intertextuality), in which the reference to the earlier text draws it into the field of the later one, and produces a kind of resonance or double image, or rather a stereoscopic effect that adds a new dimension of depth. This is true even in the case of parody, which is another form of imitation. All these types of cross-reference are important for demonstrating the indebtedness, whether one-way or mutual, of one tradition to another. The interaction between texts may also operate on a broader level, in which entire scenes, and the structure of the narrative as a whole, are modeled on an earlier work or genre, while retaining a distinctive character of their own. However, the connection between two texts, or two traditions, need

not be so direct: it may be that Christian and pagan storytelling techniques and styles of characterization are, in given instances, manifestations of a common literary (or subliterary) culture, which was shared by writers in both camps. At this distance, it is not always possible to separate out these several modes of literary communication with entire confidence, but some striking resemblances between the novels and certain Christian works, both verbal and structural, strongly invite a comparative approach.

We begin with Petronius, perhaps the earliest of the pagan novelists whose work has survived, if not entire, at least in substantial fragments. Although some scholars have sought to put his date as late as the third century (for discussion, see Harrison 1999, xvi; Schmeling 2011, xiii–xviii), the general consensus is that he is properly identified with the Petronius characterized by Tacitus as Nero’s *arbiter elegantiae*, and thus belonged to Nero’s inner circle. In this case, he composed his novel just at the time when Nero had undertaken to persecute the Christians, who were by then a *multitudo ingens* in Rome, according to both Tacitus and Clement of Rome. At this moment, late in Nero’s reign, Mark’s gospel was already circulating in an oral and perhaps written form; indeed, Paul (Phil 4:22) attests that there were Christians even “in the household of the Emperor.” Petronius himself, who took a critical view of Jewish customs, had been proconsul of Bithynia, where Christianity was probably already present, and seems to reveal some knowledge of Christian narratives, especially those reflected in Mark, and to allude to them by way of caricature, as is his wont (Ramelli 2001, Chapter 8; 2005b; 2007a). For example, in one episode in the *Cena Trimalchionis* (Sat. 77.7–78.4), Petronius appears to parody the anointing of Jesus in Bethany (Mark 14:3–9): in both scenes, and only in these two in all of ancient literature, *nardum*, a precious ointment, is employed in a convivial context to prefigure funereal unction. In both cases, the setting is a banquet; an *ampulla nardi* is brought in (the expression is identical in Petronius and the ancient Latin version of Mark in the *Bezae Codex*); and the ointment is smeared upon the protagonist by another (in the case of Jesus) or by himself (Trimalchio) in anticipation of the anointing for burial, as the protagonist himself declares. The whole *Cena* is replete with references to death, even though Trimalchio knows, thanks to a seer, that he will still live for 30 years or more. Many years ago, William Arrowsmith (1966), who had translated the *Satyricon*, remarked upon this obsession on the part of Trimalchio, and suggested that it was motivated by Petronius’ interest in Epicureanism, which held that inordinate desires, such as those represented by Trimalchio, are a consequence of anxiety over death and punishment in the afterlife. However, it may also be that there is a hint here of the *Cena* as a “last

supper,” and an engagement with Epicurean doctrine does not exclude the possibility that Petronius might have drawn inspiration from the Christian narrative as well.

This theme emerges also in another passage of the *Cena* (74.1–3), where a cock’s crow, which in classical literature was universally considered to foretell only happy events, is taken by Trimalchio to be a sign of disaster and death. Moreover, the cock is called *index*. In the Markan episode of the cock’s crow, associated with Peter’s betrayal, the cock is indeed a denouncer (*index*) and its crowing announces a day of suffering and death.

In the tale of the Widow of Ephesus (*Sat.* 111.5–112.3), three men, condemned by a provincial governor, are crucified and then guarded by a soldier during the night, so that no one may steal their corpses. On the third day, however, one is stolen and is replaced with another. Petronius sarcastically depicts the credulity of those who wondered at the reanimation of the crucified man. This may be a parody of the main Christian *kērygma*, Jesus’ crucifixion, death, and resurrection, all the more so in that there is a coincidence even in certain small details, such as the passage of three days and the role of the governor. Furthermore, the apparent resurrection of the crucified man in Petronius is achieved by means of grave-robbing or *tumbōrukhia*, which was precisely the accusation brought against the first Christians according to Matt 28:12: to have stolen the corpse of Jesus in order to spread the news of his resurrection. Now, it is precisely from the time of Nero that the “Nazareth Edict” stems, which ordered the death of anyone who stole a corpse from its grave—an offense formerly punished only by a fine—and it was used in particular against Christians, in that it also condemned those who paid worship to a human being (see Ramelli 2001, ch. 8; 2005b; 2007a).

In the final episode at Croton (*Sat.* 141.2), Eumolpus solemnly promises to bequeath his wealth to those who are willing to divide his body into parts and eat it before the assembled population. One of the principal accusations against the Christians, originating from a misunderstanding of the Eucharist, was precisely that of anthropophagy. Moreover, the communal nature of the act, and the uproar that it generates, augment the similarities with the Christian Eucharist, the institution of which was one of the first to enter Christian narratives, and is mentioned already by Paul even before the composition of Gospels themselves.

Given the fragmentary condition of the *Satyrica* (it is possible that we possess less than an eighth of the original novel), it is difficult to be confident about the trajectory of the narrative as a whole, and to draw parallels with Christian tales on this larger, structural level, as one can with the surviving Greek romantic novels, for example, and

more particularly with Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, which is explicitly presented as a story of moral development, conversion, and initiation. We therefore jump a century ahead, leapfrogging, perhaps, over the two earliest Greek novels, to which we shall return, and turn our attention to Apuleius.

In the late first and on through the second century, three novels seem to have seen the light in which the protagonist is a man in the form of an ass; what is more, it was precisely in this same period that the charge of worshipping a man-ass was leveled against the Christians, as attested by Tertullian and by a graffito. Indeed, this very indictment was already turned against the Jews. In Egypt, where the anti-Jewish accusation of onolatry probably arose, the ass was linked to Typhon-Seth, the enemy of Osiris, who caused his death and dismemberment. Isis, in turn, destroys the ass and reassembles Osiris, bringing him back to life. Thus, the very core of Apuleius' novel may well include a subtle thrust against Christianity, as it was imagined in his time, with Christ being identified with the enemy of Isis and Osiris.

Apuleius very probably reflects other anti-Christian prejudices as well in his novel. One such case is the portrait of the miller's wife in *Metamorphoses* 9.14: her attributes constitute an almost exhaustive inventory of the anti-Christian accusations that were current in Apuleius' day, such as *saevitia* or cruelty, *ebrietas* or drunkenness (indeed, first thing in the morning), prodigality, *pertinacia* or insolence, *impietas*, contempt for traditional deities, unusual religious practices, monotheism (*deus unicus*), *lascivia* and *impudicitia* (lust and shamelessness), *magia*, and *flagitia* or criminality in general. So too, the portrait of Aemilianus in Apuleius' *Apologia* (56) is likely to depict a Christian: he is accused of atheism, to the point of being surnamed "Mezentius," because he did not worship the traditional deities, did not frequent the temples and offer sacrifices, did not display sacred symbols in his estate and house, and considered the *adoratio* of the traditional gods as a *nefas* or religious offense. He was nicknamed "Charon" because of the *diritas* or dourness of his face and his soul, which corresponds to the anti-Christian charge of *tristitia*, a somberness that kills the joys of life. Aemilianus is also described as *lucifugus*, another anti-Christian charge. At *Apologia* 90, moreover, the possibility is not entirely excluded of finding the name of Jesus among those of famous magicians.

Over and above these and other particular allusions to Christianity in Apuleius' novel (on which see Ramelli 2001, Chapter 9 and forthcoming a), the pattern or trajectory of the work as a whole may well betray, if not the influence of Christian texts, at all events a common way of thinking about religious experience. Many years ago, Arthur Darby Nock (1933) observed that the conversion of Lucius,

after his return to human form, to the religion of Isis and Osiris represented a conception of devotion that was foreign to the syncretic nature of classical paganism, but was of a piece with Jewish and subsequently Christian ideas of religious exclusivism, which required a total commitment to the faith and abandoning the worship of any other god or gods. In turning the story of a man transformed into an ass, which Apuleius had found in the Lucianic *Onos*, into a larger allegory of spiritual renewal and initiation, Apuleius discovered or adopted a paradigm that has evident parallels in a number of Christian narratives, beginning with the personal story of Paul, as recounted in the canonical Acts. This pattern, by which an individual is redeemed from a moral state of bestiality, symbolized here by the physical form of the ass, and finds salvation through faith, is repeated in the so-called Apocryphal Acts, whether those of Peter, Paul, Andrew, Thomas, and John, which date to the second or third centuries, or such later examples as the Acts of Philip or of Polyxena and Xanthippe, datable approximately to the end of the fifth century (see the following text). What is more, in these tales, there frequently occur examples of animals that are, by virtue of their moral progress, transformed into human beings, capable of receiving communion and expressing verbally their worship of the Lord.

Fulgentius, in his allegorical analysis of myths, treated the story of Cupid and Psyche, embedded in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, as symbolic of spiritual regeneration, and there is no compelling reason to reject the identification, already put forth in the Middle Ages, of this writer with the Christian bishop Fulgentius of Ruspe (467–532; for a summary of the arguments on both sides, but opposing the identification, see Hays 2003). Although the motif of a journey as a metaphor for achieving enlightenment may go back as far as the pre-Socratic thinkers (e.g. the poem of Parmenides), Apuleius presents us with something different: a voyage from a subhuman immersion in the passions to salvation via religious conversion. If Apuleius parodies Christian rituals and archetypes, and more specifically Mary's passage to Bethlehem on the back of an ass (cf. *Met.* 8.27, where the Syrian goddess, worshipped by a band of *cinaedi*, is mounted on Lucius' back), it may be because he saw in Christianity a rival and likeness of his own creed, as the spiritual world in which he wrote was becoming increasingly permeated by a new conception of religious faith.

Certainly, Christians felt entirely comfortable with another novelistic narrative of exile and return, the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, to the extent of interpolating clearly Christian vocabulary, without, nevertheless, making a systematic effort to obliterate the pagan ambience of the work; as Gareth Schmeling remarks in the preface to his edition of the text (1988, xxi), "Pagan gods are mixed together

with the God of the Christians” (*Di pagani cum deo Christianorum permixti sunt*; cf. Konstan and Roberts 1992, 471–472). Thus, addresses to “God” (*Deus*, e.g. at 31–32, 35, 40) have a distinctly monotheistic flavor (cf. the hymn in 41, with the verse *aderit ille deus creator omnium et auctor*: “God will be at hand, creator and author of all things”), but sit alongside references to a temple of Diana (48). What is more, the episode in which a fisherman divides his cloak in order to clothe the shipwrecked Apollonius (12) would seem to resonate with the tale of Saint Martin giving half his cloak to a beggar (for Christian influences in general, see Kortekaas 2007).

All five of the Greek romantic novels share structural features that mark them as a relatively homogeneous group, despite significant disparities, and set them apart from the Roman examples of Petronius and Apuleius (the *History of Apollonius King of Tyre* is only a partial exception). The paradigmatic tale of the separation and final reunion of lovers is not, on the surface, easy to relate to Christian narratives; and yet, there are elements in them, both in local features but also, and more subtly, in the large-scale nature of the story and the representation of the protagonists, which suggest that these novels do indeed bear a deeper relation to the emerging world of Christianity. We may begin by considering what may be the earliest of the surviving Greek novels (though the honor is more often granted to Chariton’s *Callirhoe*), the *Ephesian Tale* or *Ephesiaca* by Xenophon of Ephesus. The story is set in motion by the arrogant posture of the novel’s male protagonist, Habrocomes, who announces that he is invulnerable to *erôs* or passionate love. As is to be expected, the god Eros (the Latin Cupid) takes umbrage, and Habrocomes falls madly in love with Anthia, the heroine of the tale. They are married, but, in the way of the novels, are captured by pirates and subsequently separated from one another. Each undergoes a series of misadventures, in which they are enslaved, threatened with death, pursued by violent lovers, and the like, but in the end are reunited and, we are given to understand, live happily ever after. The novel may be read as an affirmation of the power of *erôs*: having been put to the most severe tests, the couple prove faithful to one another, and their love—contrary to the traditional view of erotic attraction as transient and fickle—is thus affirmed as a solid basis for the enduring union between husband and wife (see Konstan 1994). However, what has such fidelity to do with religious faith? There is a hint of an answer in a strange dream that Habrocomes has while he is in prison, early in the novel, just after pirates have captured him and Anthia on their honeymoon voyage (Apsyrtus, the leader of the pirates, falsely supposed that Habrocomes had attempted to rape his daughter Manto); Anthia is about to be carried off to distant parts by Manto,

who in fact is in love with Habrocomes. Xenophon writes (2.8.2):

He thought that he saw his father Lycomedes, in black garb, wander over every land and sea, then stand beside him in the prison and release him and liberate him from the cell. He himself became a horse and raced over a great extent of land, pursuing another horse, this one female, and finally he found the mare and became a human being again. Having thought that he saw these things, he leaped up and was a little more optimistic. (on the dream, see Konstan 2009; on possible parallels, see Konstan 2011)

Despite the brevity of this report, the symbolic sense of the dream is reasonably evident. Just as in Apuleius, the hero's metamorphosis into an animal and back again into human form may be read as an allegory of his transformation from a fallen state to one of moral integrity. Of course, the episode in the *Ephesiaca* differs from the plot of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, in that Habrocomes, in the form of an animal, dreams that he is seeking his female counterpart, a detail that conforms to the paradigmatic structure of the Greek romantic novels, that is, separation and reunion. And yet, this pattern too lends itself to the story of a spiritual change in the protagonists, analogous to that of Lucius in Apuleius' fable.

In a recent study of the Greek novels, Sophie Lalanne (2006) has argued that they may be read as illustrating a rite of passage, as defined by the anthropologist Arnold van Gennep (1909, reprinted 1981). Van Gennep maintained that such rites of initiation involved three phases—in Lalanne's words:

These rites of passage assume the form of a physical passage that consists most often in passing through a gate, a river, or place or a frontier. They can be divided into three stages (which are themselves divisible): separation, marginalization or latency, and finally reaggregation. (2006, 101: *Ces rites de passages prennent la forme d'un passage matériel qui consiste le plus souvent à traverser une porte, une rivière, un lieu ou une frontière; ils peuvent se décomposer en trois phases, elles-mêmes divisibles, de séparation, de marge ou de latence, enfin d'agrégation*)

Although Lalanne takes this pattern to reflect the social maturation of the novels' protagonists from adolescent lovers, whose sexual roles and characteristics are still undifferentiated and hence symmetrical, to full adulthood, when the hero has manifested his courage and masculinity and the heroine has assumed her proper status as subordinate partner in the relationship, it is also possible to see it as informing a development in the protagonists from naïvely confident children to adults who, thanks precisely to the tests they have

undergone of their fidelity, have acquired a psychological independence and moral autonomy that is analogous to a religious conversion, whether to the cult of Isis and Osiris, as in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, or indeed to the Christian faith.

At the end of the *Ephesiaca*, when Anthia is at last reunited with her husband Habrocomes, she embraces him and speaks through her tears:

Husband and master, I have recovered you after wandering much land and sea, having escaped the threats of bandits, the designs of pirates, the outrages of brothel-keepers, bonds, graves, manacles, poisons and ditches, and I come to you, despite all, O Habrocomes lord of my soul, as I was when I first went from Tyre to Syria, and no one induced me to sin, not Moeris in Syria, nor Perilaus in Cilicia, nor Psammis and Polyidus in Egypt, nor Anchialus in Ethiopia, nor my master in Tarentum, but I have remained holy [*hagnê*] for you, having practiced every device of chastity [*sôphrosunê*]. (5.14.1-2)

In affirming her unalterable devotion, Anthia is also claiming a control over her spiritual identity, as manifested by her unshakable commitment to her purity.

Brent Shaw has made a similar point in connection with Leucippe's challenge, in Achilles Tatius' novel, to the violent master who threatens to rape her:

Take up all your instruments of torture, and at once; bring out against me the whips, the wheel, the fire, the sword. ... I am naked, and alone, and a woman. But one shield and defense I have, which is my freedom, which cannot be struck down by whips, or cut by the sword, or burned by fire. My freedom is something I will not surrender—burn as you might, you will find that there is no fire hot enough to consume it. (6.21; trans. Shaw 1996, 271)

Shaw remarks on this passage: "The body itself is seen to embody identity/self/freedom and can itself be used to resist the final acts of violence imposed on it. ... The presentation of Leukippê ... is that of a woman who recognizes that, although her body is owned, she is not. Though a slave, it is her will or consent that is to be the final arbiter of the self." It is possible to see in this, as in Anthia's pronouncement, evidence of a conception of personal autonomy that is indebted to Stoic and Epicurean ideas, according to which our psychological and moral integrity depends on being in command of those things that are within our power, or, in the expression common to both Hellenistic schools, "up to us" (*eph'hêmin*). And yet, this kind of self-affirmation is closely akin to those found in Christian martyr narratives, where

spiritual endurance is the sign of a new Christian identity. Thus, in the *Martyrdom of Anastasia* (*Passio Anastasiae* 17.10–20), Irene declares when she is on the point of being tortured and killed:

Just as my flesh would endure beasts, fire, beatings, or any other punishment, so too it will endure a fornicator, a dog, a bear, or a serpent. For the soul cannot be faulted for impurities to which it does not consent. Willingness brings with it punishment, but necessity brings the crown. (text in Moretti 2006, 140)

Despite the vast difference in plot line between a novel of separation and reunion, and a martyr tale of suffering and the affirmation of faith, the two patterns may nevertheless reflect a similar concern with personal integrity and fidelity that mark them as products of a common spiritual world.

Indeed, Christian narratives too could be constructed around voyages, partings, and returns. A case in point may be found in the fifth-century *Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena*, and more particularly the latter part centering on Polyxena. Polyxena, a beautiful young woman who resides in Spain, dreams that a handsome young man rescues her from the clutches of a serpent. Awake, she is kidnapped by a brutal man (the rival of her suitor, 23), who is clearly to be equated with the serpent. Polyxena endures various trials and adventures, including encounters with a succession of apostles (Peter, Philip, Andrew, and finally Paul). Among other ordeals, she enters the cave of a lioness, who takes mercy on her because she has not yet been baptized; the lioness will later testify to God's pity even for irrational beasts (30). Polyxena is then carried off by an evil prefect, but when he demands that she come to his bed, she convinces his servants to pretend that she is ill (the same trick is found in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* 5.4, and in other novels). The prefect's son, who has been converted to Christianity, tries to escape with Polyxena to Spain, but their scheme is discovered, and the prefect orders both to be thrown to the lions. However, the lioness that is released against them merely licks their feet, and at this the prefect and the entire population adopt the new faith, with the result that the prefect sends both Polyxena and his son back to Spain, where she is reunited with the apostle Paul and with her sister Xanthippe. In the end, even the abductor is converted, along with Polyxena's original suitor. Here, then, we see the theme of Polyxena's moral progress, as she overcomes all efforts to subvert her chastity and ends up being baptized and fully converted to Christianity. Indeed, the gentleness of the lion, which is explicitly intended to serve as an example for human beings, is a symbol of Polyxena's moral development. However, the testing of her faith and fortitude occurs in the course of the kinds of tests and tribulations in

foreign parts that typically plague the protagonists of the pagan Greek novels, who are also, as we have seen, committed to preserving virginity, or at least their commitment to one another. Although Polyxena will probably, in accord with the sterner Christian attitude toward chastity, remain a virgin for life, rather than marry and have a family, the focus of the story is nevertheless on her efforts to keep at bay the men who attempt to violate her, a motif that is fundamental as well to the Greek romances.

To take another little known text, in the Latin *Passio Anastasiae* (or better in the whole Anastasia cycle, which involves four separate hagiographic novels: the *Passio sancti Chrysogoni*; the *Passio sanctarum Agapae, Chioniae et Irenae*; the *Passio sanctae Theodotae*, and the *Passio sanctae Anastasiae* proper), there are again elements that have affinities with the classical novels (and also with the tradition of “lives,” discussed in the following text), both in general structure and in details. For example, during Anastasia’s imprisonment, an old woman acts as intermediary between Anastasia and her fellow-martyr Chrysogonus. So too, in Chariton’s novel, the aged Plangon acts as intermediary between Callirhoe and her future husband, Dionysius, and in Apuleius’s novel, the miller’s wife (9.15) communicates with her lover by means of an old woman who serves as go-between. We may detect here, then, a novelistic motif which this late Christian narrative has adapted from the novelistic tradition.

The *Passio* is set in the time of Diocletian, and the cities that form the background against which the events of the story take place are principally Rome, Sirmium, Aquileia, and Thessalonica. Anastasia is a noblewoman, the daughter of a *vir illustris praetextatus* and a Christian matron. She is a Christian herself, and continually visits her fellow-believers, especially Chrysogonus. However, she is imprisoned by her pagan husband, Publius, on a charge of magic. After the death of her husband, she sells all her possessions and devotes her life to the service of Christianity. After a trial before Diocletian in Aquileia, Chrysogonus suffers martyrdom. His corpse is buried by the presbyter Zoilus, who lives near the Christian sisters Agape, Chionia, and Irene: they are put on trial before Diocletian and are imprisoned, but Anastasia assists them. The *praeses* Dulcitius falls in love with the women, but when he tries to approach them in the cell where they are kept, he goes mad and embraces kitchen-tools instead. Agape and Chionia are finally put to death by Count Sisinnius; subsequently, Irene too is killed. When Diocletian returns from Macedonia to Sirmium, a Christian woman, who fled from Bithynia together with her children in order to escape the anti-Christian persecution raging there, is handed over to him, and Anastasia, who helps her to assist the Christians, is captured and handed over to the *praefectus Illyrici*,

Probus. When he learns that she is the daughter of a senator, he consults Diocletian on her fate. She is in turn given into the custody of Ulpianus, *Capitolii summus pontifex*, who wishes to marry her, but when he approaches her, he is instantly blinded, and soon dies. Later, Anastasia, probably again in Rome, is imprisoned by the prefect Lucillius, who, after trying to kill her by starvation, puts her on a damaged ship so that she may perish at sea together with a group of criminals, but she converts them all and lands safely. Finally, she is summoned once more before the prefect and suffers martyrdom on 25 December, very likely in Rome. The matron Apollonia, thanks to the intervention of the prefect's wife, buries Anastasia's corpse and founds a basilica upon her sepulcher.

Francesca Moretti (2006) has analyzed the *Passion of Anastasia* in the light of Bakhtin's chronotope of the "novel of adventures and trials," and has argued that, in this respect, it is similar in structure to the ancient romantic novels. A meeting of the two protagonists, Anastasia and Chrysogonus, initiates the action; then a series of adventures separates them; and finally they are reunited in heaven. The vicissitudes that fill in the "adventure time" do not constitute an ordered progression, but are interchangeable, nor do they reflect a moral or psychological development in the protagonists, but simply demonstrate their steadfastness, in this case their Christian virtue, in contrast to the erotic fidelity that characterizes the hero and heroine in the pagan novels. We would argue, against Bakhtin's view that space predominates over time in the ancient novels and that there is no evolution of character, that the proof of faithfulness and devotion necessarily requires a temporal dimension, for these are virtues that, by their nature, are lasting (see Konstan 1994, 46–47). Indeed, it is, as we have indicated, the resemblance between Christian fidelity both to God and fellow Christians and the amatory loyalty to a single partner that makes both kinds of narrative, Christian and pagan, amenable to plots based on the armature of separation, spiritual commitment, and reunion.

The theme of grave-robbing or *tumbōrukhia*, which we saw in Petronius, is present also in Chariton's novel, which is roughly contemporary with Petronius, Matthew's Gospel, and the Nazareth Edict (see Ramelli 2001, ch. 1; 2005a). Subsequently, this motif loses its vigor, precisely when the relevant anti-Christian charge begins to fade away. In Chariton, impressive parallels with Gospel narratives can be found in the scene of the crucifixion of Chaereas and, even more, in that concerning the apparent death and resurrection of Callirhoe (3.2.3). On the third day after Callirhoe's burial, at dawn, without knowing that the previous night Callirhoe was stolen from her tomb by grave-robbers, Chaereas comes to her tomb, bringing funeral

offerings. However, he finds the stones rolled away from the entrance, and falls prey to confusion or *aporia*. Immediately afterwards, Rumor, represented as an *angelos* or messenger, spreads the incredible news, and everyone runs to the tomb, but no one dares to enter it before Hermocrates, Callirhoe's father and the leading citizen of Syracuse, gives his permission. They discover that the tomb is empty, and all are full of incredulity (*apistia*, *apiston*). Some suppose that the corpse has been stolen by *tumbōrukhoi*: the phrase ἐκλεψαν αὐτήν ("they have stolen her") is identical to ἐκλεψαν αὐτόν ("they have stolen him") in Matt 28:13, in reference to the supposed stealing of Christ's body, and in accord with the accusation spread against the Christians. The similarities between the entire scene in Chariton and the Gospel narratives in which Jesus' tomb is found to be empty are indeed striking. Unlike the other themes such as crucifixion, apparent death, and resurrection, that of *tumbōrukhia* or tomb-robbing is the only one that did not become commonplace in the subsequent Greek novels, at least after Xenophon of Ephesus. The noun *tumbōrukhoi*, which occurs 16 times in Chariton and occasionally in grave inscriptions of Aphrodisias, is absent in all other Greek novels. This fits well with the hypothesis that, in the time of Chariton, the anti-Christian charge of *tumbōrukhia* was current, as attested by Matt 28:13; it is also reflected in Petronius and the Nazareth Edict, all contemporary documents.

It is in Xenophon of Ephesus and Heliodorus that ideas of amatory reciprocity, symmetry, a mutual capacity for virtue and a certain equality in spousal relations are most clearly reflected, and here we may again detect parallels with Christian ideals. The idealization of love (*erôs* or *philia*) between the protagonists of the Greek novels goes hand in hand with the celebration of virtues that, especially in the novels of Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus, are very close to those extolled by contemporary Christians, especially in several of the apocryphal Acts, in Justin, and in Clement, which emphasize reciprocal fidelity, marital chastity, virginity, and religious piety. The similarities may, indeed, be more than casual.

As we noted earlier, Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus are precisely the two Greek novelists who, according to the *Suda* and the ecclesiastical historian Socrates, were also bishops. Scholars have noticed several elements of convergence between Achilles' novel and Christianity, beyond the speech of the heroine, Leucippe, which we quoted earlier. Indeed, Achilles Tatius even makes use of the Christian philosopher Bardaisan as a source (see Ramelli 2009e). Most remarkably, a Christian writer composed a narrative around the figure of Leucippe, in which he has her bear a son, Galaction, whom she baptizes as a Christian. Galaction later meets a woman named Episteme (Greek for "knowledge"), whom he converts; in the end,

both are martyred (the tale is embedded in the lives of saints recorded by Simeon Metaphrastes). In Heliodorus' novel, the *Aethiopica*, religiosity, piety, and chastity are essential virtues; indeed, Heliodorus, like Achilles, even broaches the theme of male chastity, which was much appreciated in Christianity, although not in the classical world, and in such a way that Massimo Fusillo (1998) has argued that Heliodorus' treatment of it has a decidedly Christian color (Françoise Létoublon [1993] also notes that Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus are the novelists who most emphasize the theme of chastity). On this basis, moreover, Glen Bowersock concluded that Achilles and Heliodorus were influenced by Christian hagiographical accounts, where chastity is particularly emphasized (so too, they are the novelists who, along with Longus, locate the protagonists' marriage at the end of the story, whereas in Chariton, Xenophon, and Iamblichus it takes place at the beginning). We may add that Heliodorus also suggests that suicide is sinful (at 8.8–11, Chariclea is happy to have been unjustly sentenced to death, because she is convinced that Theagenes has been killed and she wishes to die in turn, even if she knows that suicide is impious [*enages*] and hence wishes to avoid it), once again a view shared by Christians, whereas suicide under certain conditions was approved of both by Stoics and Epicureans.

Socrates (*HE* 5.22) reports that Heliodorus introduced ecclesiastical celibacy in Thessaly, where he was bishop of Tricca. Socrates had a good knowledge of the church in Thessaly, on whose customs he expands immediately after this, and also of local bishop lists. He had excellent sources at his disposal, and if he occasionally misinforms, it is usually either because of some misunderstanding on his part or partisanship, both most unlikely in this case. It is worth remarking that Theagenes, the protagonist of Heliodorus' novel, is from Thessaly. Even if one accepts a date nearer to the third century for the novel, this would be close all the same to the Council of Elvira, which, some time before AD 300, imposed ecclesiastical celibacy, and this is *a fortiori* the case if one dates the *Aethiopica* to the fourth century. Indeed, encratism was already a powerful current in Christianity in the second century (see Ramelli 2009b).

Once again, apart from specific thematic and verbal resonances, there are larger narrative patterns that link Heliodorus' novel with forms of Christian literature. In general, the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles have in common the pattern of a voyage outward, in which the apostle seeks to convert to Christianity those who are still worshipping pagan gods and idols. Thomas, indeed, is sent as far as India, whereas others carry on their proselytizing mission in Greece or Rome. In the romantic Greek novels, on the contrary, the protagonists

are not only reunited at the end, but succeed in returning to their place of origin, where the story began: to Ephesus in Xenophon's tale, to Syracuse in that of Chariton, to the countryside in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, and to Byzantium in Achilles Tatius' novel. The partial exception is Heliodorus' romance, in which the journey is linear rather than circular: in the *Aethiopica*, the protagonists begin their voyage in Delphi and end up in Meroe, in Ethiopia (see Brethes 2007, 172; Konstan 2002; 2004–2005). Theagenes and Chariclea, the hero and heroine of the *Aethiopica*, are for the most part together rather than separated from each other, as the protagonists of the other novels are: the plot is driven not so much by their efforts to be reunited as by their attempts to return to Chariclea's homeland. Accordingly, Heliodorus needs to provide some motive for their refraining from sexual intercourse, which he does by insisting on an avoidance of premarital sex. In this respect, the unusual emphasis on chastity in this novel, which, as we have seen, may be related to Christian ideals, is also coordinate with its narrative formula: only when they reach their final destination in Ethiopia will Theagenes and Chariclea marry.

It is true that, in the *Aethiopica* too, there is a return to origins, since Chariclea was born a princess of Ethiopia and so she is in fact travelling home. Theagenes, however, is a Thessalian, who abandons his country for a new one, on what is almost a kind of pilgrimage. What is more, the arrival of the couple in Ethiopia results in the abolition of human sacrifice there. The romantic trials of the lovers, who are finally joined in marriage, is thus simultaneously a voyage that leads to a moral transformation in a distant place. It is conceivable (Konstan 2004–2005, 2009) that a model for this pattern may be found in the exodus of the Jews from Egypt under the guidance of Moses. Like Moses, Calasiris in the *Aethiopica* leads the couple in the direction of Ethiopia but he dies before he can reach the Promised Land. In addition, the trick by which Theagenes and Chariclea pretend to be brother and sister is identical to that of Abraham and Sara when they descend into Egypt (Genesis 12:11–19). Finally, the biblical story too involves the abolition of human sacrifice, when a lamb is substituted for Isaac. However, there is also good reason to suspect an influence, or cross-influence, between the various apostolic acts and Heliodorus' romance, a topic that would bear further research (other possible parallels are Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which an elder guide, Anchises, fails to make it to the promised land, and the journey ends with a marriage, and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*; see Slater 2002 and Konstan 2009).

Indeed, the Apocryphal Acts themselves, while following the pattern of an outward journey and mission of redemption, include episodes in which couples that are separated are reunited, thanks to

the intervention of the holy man. It is true that, very often, the apostle converts a married man or woman to the worship of Christ, and this in turn results in the renunciation of a sexual relationship with the spouse. The offended spouse may seek vengeance by having the apostle put to death, as happens in three Acts among those that survive in substantial portions. Indeed, the apostle may be seen as a rival for the devotion of the spouse; in this regard, the pattern of the Acts inverts the paradigm of the ancient Greek novels, in which the mutual passion of husband and wife, or of fiancés, is tested and wins out against potential rivals. As Judith Perkins observes (1995, 26), “The anti-social bias of the Acts emerges from a comparison of their endings with the typical conclusions of the Greek romances with which they are contemporary and thematically linked.” Nevertheless, the apostles are not insensitive to the bonds that unite ordinary people, provided that they do not come into conflict with their commitment to the new religion. Thus, in the Acts of Andrew, we read:

Demetrius, the leader of the community of Amasians, had an Egyptian boy [*puer*] whom he cherished with an unparalleled love [*quem amore unico diligebat*]. A fever overtook the boy, and he expired. Later, when Demetrius heard of the signs the blessed apostle was performing, he came to him, fell at his feet with tears, and said, “I am sure that nothing is difficult for you, O servant of God. Behold my boy, whom I loved to an extraordinary degree [*quem unice diligebam*], is dead. I ask that you come to my house and restore him to me. When the blessed apostle heard this, he was moved by his tears [*condolens lacrimis eius*] and went to the house where the boy lay. (3, trans. MacDonald)

The apostle sympathizes with Demetrius for his loss, and restores the lad to health and returns him to his master, whereupon all the bystanders accept baptism.

So too, the surviving portion of the Acts of John (Chapter 18 in Bonnet’s numeration) opens as John is approaching Ephesus:

When we came near the city Lycomedes, the commander-in-chief of the Ephesians, a wealthy man, met us, fell down before John and asked him for help, with these words: “Your name is John; the God whom you preach has sent you to help my wife, who has been paralysed for seven days and lies past recovery.”

Lycomedes entreats John:

See, Lord, the lost beauty, see the youth, see the much talked of bloom of my unhappy wife... What good was it to me, that I was called godly to this day...? The sun in his circuit shall not see me,

if you are no more with me. Cleopatra, I will die before you. (20) John urges Lycomedes to give over his laments, and declares: "Know that your partner for life [*sumbion*] will be restored to you" (21). However, when John urges him to join him in praying to God, Lycomedes faints dead away. John then prays for the recovery of both the husband and the wife, first rousing Cleopatra, who, when she sees Lycomedes dead on her account, weeps disconsolately (24). John advises that she call to her husband, who thereby returns to life. The apostle is here again the means by which a loving and loyal couple recovers each other, and in this the episode bears a certain relation to the central theme of the Greek novels.

Another kind of fiction that was popular in classical antiquity is that of the invented biography or "life." Examples are the *Life of Homer*, the *Life of Aesop*, and, in a somewhat different vein, the *Alexander Romance* and the *Story of Apollonius, King of Tyre*, which was mentioned earlier as one of the three surviving Latin novels. These narratives share several features. First, they treat the entire life, or a large part of it, of a central figure or protagonist, from birth to death. Second, they are episodic in character: the story of an individual life serves as the armature on which to suspend an indefinite string of subordinate adventures and encounters. This loose principle of organization is in contrast to the well-constructed pattern of the romantic Greek novels. Third, these tales are also remarkably hospitable to the inclusion of different forms or styles of narration, such as fables (particularly in the *Life of Aesop*), riddles, and letters (especially in the *Alexander Romance*). Just because of this openness to insertion or exclusion of episodes and sub-narratives, narratives of this type were readily modified, according to the tastes or beliefs of different authors and communities; they survive, accordingly, in multiple versions or recensions, which may be longer or shorter, and vary in contents and style, all the while preserving the focus on the central character (it is just this flexibility that distinguishes these popular lives from the more literary biographies of the sort composed by Cornelius Nepos, Plutarch, and Suetonius). Finally, it seems a regular feature of these quasi-biographies that the protagonist is especially clever and able to find a suitable repartee when necessary: this characteristic is particularly marked in the *Lives* of Aesop and Homer, but it is also manifest in the *Story of Apollonius* and even, oddly enough, in the *Alexander Romance*, where one might have expected to see greater or indeed exclusive emphasis on the hero's military prowess. Such verbal cunning is the resource of underdogs, who must, by virtue of their wits, turn an unfavorable situation to their advantage.

Now, all the preceding characteristics are also evident in the

Gospel narratives, including the Apocryphal Gospels. Very evidently, they narrate a life; what is more, they have an episodic structure, include various kinds of narrative (fables, proverbs, etc.), and are particularly open to interpolation. Correspondingly, they survive in multiple recensions. And, finally, the hero of these quasi-biographies is again notable for his quick wit, and his ability to respond when the occasion requires with a trenchant observation or anecdote that turns the tables on his more powerful adversaries (at least in this temporal world). This same combination of features may be found also in many of the saints' lives and other Christian narratives, and again is an area that would repay further investigation.

There are certainly other points of intersection between pagan and Christian narratives, including, for example, epistolary novels, such as that attributed to Chion of Heraclea, which has notable connections with narrative strategies evident in Christian epistles (and also with the inserted letters in the *Alexander Romance*). We conclude this chapter, however, with a brief look at what we may recognize as a historical novel *in ovo*, which has strong affinities with the tradition of the "life" and such stories as the *Alexander Romance*. The *Doctrina Addai* is a Syriac narrative dating to the late fourth or early fifth century AD, but which contains traces of events going back as far as the first century, the temporal setting of the story (there are numerous anachronisms and references to matters pertaining to the second and third centuries or later; see Ramelli 2006 and 2008a). The *Doctrina* recounts the healing and conversion of the Edessan king Abgar "the Black" by the apostle Addai, who was sent to Northern Mesopotamia by Thomas, one of the 12 apostles; in his address to the people of Edessa, Addai declares that he is from Paneas, on the river Jordan. Shortly before Jesus' passion, Abgar sent two of his noblemen, along with his archivist Hannan, to the Roman governor in Eleutheropolis in Palestine, on a political mission. The governor received them handsomely and sent a letter to Abgar. They returned home by way of Jerusalem, where they saw Jesus and heard of his miracles. Back in Edessa, they informed Abgar, who sent envoys to Palestine with a letter for Jesus: because the king was ill, he asked Jesus to come to Edessa, in order to heal him. Instead, Jesus sent a message to Abgar, in which he promised to send a disciple of his to Edessa after his ascension. Thus, Addai was sent by Judas Thomas to Edessa, where he healed Abgar and converted him and the whole people. Within the narration of the Abgar legend, much space is given to the long accounts of Addai's sermons, in which he delivers the Christian message in Edessa; they were important for the redactor of the *Doctrina* because they reflected his own theological message, addressed to his contemporaries (see Ramelli 2009c). What we would

emphasize here is the multiple redactions of the Addai story. An early version may be found in Eusebius, who in turn depends on two different sources (Ramelli 2009d): one of these is an archival document preserved in Edessa on which the *Doctrina Addai* also is based; the other may be a historical work of Bardaisan of Edessa, who in this case would be the first witness to this legend. However, the Addai story is also preserved in Armenian in the historical work of Moses of Chorene, who knew both Bardaisan's historical work and the *Doctrina*. References to this story are also scattered through a wide range of documents in several languages.

The *Acts of Mari* begins with a brief résumé of the story of Addai as recounted in the *Doctrina*, but with some discrepancies that arouse the suspicion that the two traditions, of Addai and of Mari, were initially separate (Ramelli 2009c). In Chapter 6, indeed, the redactor of the *Acts of Mari* declares that he has “put together the ancient tradition, which is transmitted in written works.” This narrative tells the story of the conversion of Osrhoene, Mesopotamia, and Persia, which began thanks to Mari, the disciple and successor of Addai. From Edessa, Addai sent Mari to Mesopotamia to preach, and marked him as his successor. With the help of his disciples, Mari preached, worked miracles, converted many people, and founded churches and schools through the whole Southern Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susiana, and up to Persia. Differently from the *Doctrina Addai*, this narrative devotes relatively brief space to speeches and professions of faith; on the other hand, accounts of voyages and miracles are abundant. The novelistic element thus prevails, although, once again, traces of historical elements may be detected in the *Acts of Mari* as well (Ramelli 2008a). It is in this sense that both texts can be regarded as proto-historical novels, having much in common, as we have suggested, with the *Alexander Romance*.

We have attempted to suggest the rich field of investigation that lies open to scholars who would compare ancient pagan and Christian narratives for their formal and indeed their intellectual or spiritual similarities. It is not yet time to produce a summary of the results achieved in this area, for it still awaits much research and exegesis. If we have emphasized some relatively little known texts, it is in part to whet the appetite of the reader to pursue these and other avenues of inquiry. For the ancient world, despite the deep changes brought about by the arrival of Christianity (and other religious traditions as well), was still one society, and comparable habits of storytelling lie behind a wide variety of classical and post-classical texts. They are still waiting to be brought fully to light.

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As indicated in the chapter, secondary literature that specifically compares the Greek and Roman novels with Christian literature is still relatively sparse. Some helpful books and articles are indicated in the following text (bibliographical details may be found in the preceding text). The best overall introduction is Ilaria Ramelli's *I Romanzi Antichi e il Cristianesimo: Contesto e Contatti*, now available in a reprinted edition. For those who do not read Italian, an intriguing study is Glen Bowersock's *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian*. A brief survey of

relevant texts may be found in Richard Pervo's essay, "The Ancient Novel Becomes Christian." Konstan's "Acts of Love: A Narrative Pattern in the Apocryphal Acts" and "Reunion and Regeneration: Narrative Patterns in Ancient Greek Novels and Christian Acts" take up particular themes across pagan and Christian texts. Ramelli's paper on "The Ancient Novels and the New Testament" provides additional detail, as well as her several studies (listed in the bibliography) on the Syriac *Doctrina Addai*. Papers by Konstan and Ramelli, along with several others, on virtues and vices in the Greek novels and Christian literature may be found in the volume entitled *Roman IV: Vertus, passions et vices dans le Roman grec*, edited by B. Pouderon.

PART II

Genre and Approaches

CHAPTER 12

The Genre of the Novel

A Theoretical Approach

Marília P. Futre Pinheiro

The term “novel” was only recently accepted as an *official* designation at the first International Conference on the Ancient Novel (ICAN I), sponsored by B.P. Reardon in 1976 to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of Rohde’s *Der Griechische Roman* (three subsequent ICAN conferences [Dartmouth 1989; Groningen 2000; and Lisbon 2008] adopted the same terminology). However, what is there about the texts commonly labeled “ancient novel” that allowed them to be categorized together as a literary genre? What universal law applies to a set of literary works that causes an individual act of creation, supposedly unique in and of itself, to develop recurrent and iterative features which, when blended together, form a pattern that makes up a particular genre and is simultaneously located at the beginning (because a successful work is immediately used as a model and thus contributes to a particular literary type) and end (because no theoretical scheme precedes non-existing literary works) of that creative process (see Grimal 1992, 13).

A second and closely associated question concerns the supposed legitimacy of pairing and labeling literary works that appear at the dawn of two modernities: the Greek–Roman modernity, which is the result of a long and complex cultural phenomenon, and the European modernity, which claims to be the historical and literary heir to the former and within which the novel is counted among the richest and most productive manifestations. The relatively recent interest that scholars have given this controversial genre, which emerged and flourished in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and the lack of awareness of it on the part of most theorists and literary critics no longer justify its absence in works that claim as their main purpose a

systematic study of literary language in all its components and modes (for a few honorable exceptions, see Bakhtin 1978; Scholes, Phelan, and Kellog 2006; and Frye 1976).

The issues raised here are linked to the *uexata quaestio* of the theory of genres and generic modes (for a *mise au point* of the genesis, nature, and historical development of genre theories, see e.g. Strelka 1978; Hernadi 1972; Todorov 1978; Genette 1979; Fowler 1982; Scholes 1986; Garrido Gallardo 1988; Schaeffer 1989; García Berrio and Huerta Calvo 1995; Spang 1993; and Bessière and Philippe 1999). The nature of what we call “genre” has changed throughout the ages, depending on scholars’ aesthetic and philosophical stances. Hence, the various viewpoints adopted from the common practice that, until recently, defined genre in stratified and hierarchical terms, taking it for granted that genres are definable and mutually exclusive, to Croce’s view that peremptorily denies the existence or validity of genres. The modern genre theory is undoubtedly descriptive, endowing genre with a non-normative, instrumental, and operative nature. In this hermeneutic context, a discussion of literary genres usually implies a compromise between the theory of absolute categories and post-modern stances that defend the abolition of genres. Fowler (1982, 25) acknowledges the existence of genres as an undeniable truth, but admits that “the changing and interpenetrating nature of the genres is such as to make their definition impossible.” It is commonly acknowledged that fictional narrative in antiquity was not categorized according to any specific taxonomy¹ due to aesthetic, literary, and social motives (see, e.g. Perry 1967; Reardon 1969 and 1976; Cataudella 1973; García Gual 1995; Heiserman 1977; Hägg 1983; Anderson 1984; Bowie 1985; Roueché 1988; Kuch 1989; Holzberg 1995; Morgan 1994 and 1995; MacAlister 1991; Selden 1994, 39–40; Swain 1999; and Ruiz Montero 2003, 80–85). Bowersock (1994) regards the birth of Greek prose fiction under the emperor Nero as an important historical event, closely linked to the reaffirmation of cultural differences within a homogeneous and peaceful administration, as well as to the emergence of an ecumenical Hellenism capable of assimilating the remains of what was previously regarded as barbarian. Beltrán Almería (1998, 296) stresses that, unlike traditional patriarchal societies, which were based on lineage, the new cultural needs can be accounted for in terms of construction of a new identity, based on alterity. This new era, marked off by new transforming forces (monetarism, commerce, internationalization, and imperialism), is the result of complex social changes and establishes a new set of values that culminates in a culture of personal merit. Yet, it is rather curious that, in a modern hermeneutic context, the philosophical principles of the early eighteenth-century novel are

discussed in terms of the birth of the “individual conscience” that appears when the “idea of the individual” becomes central and gains importance. Martha Nussbaum (1995) considers that the specific nature of the modern novel and its appearance is intimately connected with the advent of democracy. In her view, that fact explains the mainly social character of the genre and its concern with daily life.

Ever since Huet’s pioneering synthesis on the origins of the novel, first published in 1670 (Gégou 1971), not to mention Rohde’s (1914) outstanding work, authors have deliberately used terms such as “*romance*” (Portuguese), “*novela*” (Castilian/Spanish), “*novel*”/“*romance*” (English), “*roman*” (German), “*romanzo*” (Italian) to describe this kind of prose fiction. Nevertheless, the use of these terms applied to ancient prose fiction apparently involves both a contradiction and a misconception, as noted by Tatum (1994a, 3): the contradiction lies in the fact that a modern term is being used retroactively to refer to works from antiquity, and the misconception lies in the fact that we are aware of the ambiguity of this term, of its fluidity and indefinition. In Portugal, for example, in the sixteenth century, the terms “*romance*,” “*novela*,” and “*conto*,” far from having specific referential status, are subjected to a completely subjective and variable linguistic *praxis*, according to the contexts and periods under study. The term “*romance*” also has a derogatory connotation, being used in the Middle Ages to describe verse narratives, and later also prose narratives, written in vernacular languages, as opposed to those works written in Latin. This indefinition is apparent not only in the generic formulation of the concept, but also in its many different sub-species or categories: the “*picaresque novel*,” the “*love and adventure novel*,” the “*novel of chivalry*,” the *Bildungsroman*, the “*impressionist*, realist, naturalist novels,” the “*sentimental novel*,” the “*novel of character*,” and the *nouveau roman* (for a typological analysis of the novel, see García Berrio and Huerta Calvo 1995, 182–198).

Do these three arguments—the absence of a specific name for the new genre, the anachronistic term, and the conceptual amplitude and theoretical indefinition of the term “*novel*” that comprises multiple sub-genres—account for the fact that some contemporary critics seem unaware of the importance of these texts? Or are there deeper reasons because there is no valid justification for such anachronism, given the essential contradiction between the object (ancient prose fiction) and its term (novel)? As is common knowledge, Aristotle and Plato do not mention this specific kind of narrative, which was not part of the traditional canon and hence regarded as an *outsider*. Nevertheless, this status of *outsider* has been a constant throughout its long-standing and controversial existence, as postulated by Frye (1976, 23). However, it appears that this terminological indefinition is no reason to exclude

these texts from the history of the novel, especially if we bear in mind that form proliferates so rapidly in postmodern literature that some authors are led to defend the suppression of modal or generic boundaries, as mentioned earlier. However, as Fowler (1982, 32) highlighted, “it would be wrong to suppose that generic transformation is peculiarly modern. Or rather, that modernism itself is new. In the dialectical progressions of literary history, there have been many times when the urge to go beyond existing genres has recurred.” Now more than ever, generic categories are merely operational: the writer explores and transgresses the boundaries of genre, simultaneously innovating (combining or discarding genres), or activating anew, existing categories. Fowler calls the phenomenon of generic mixture “modulation,” and he observes that “[m]odulation is so frequent that we might expect it progressively to loosen the genres altogether, mingling them into a single literary amalgam.”²

It is self-evident that if we use the term “novel” as a starting point to define this particular genre, we have to accept that the genre started around the middle of the twelfth century with the so-called courtly novels. Some historians of literature are more extreme and determine that the emergence of the new genre took place in the seventeenth century with Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*. Watt (2001) goes even further when he establishes that this genre originated in the eighteenth century.

By methodological reasons, we will assume that genre is an empirical model that is defined institutionally by the relationship between the set of works included in a certain class or type by historical tradition.³ In this way, the different genres are mere abbreviations that list a set of works that share common features, their referent being the collection of objects selected and described by means of analysis. In practice, it is possible for a certain work to exist without there being a generic designation for it.

Consequently, as Holzberg (2003, 11) stresses, the real problem that presents itself in any attempt to develop a theory on the generic nature of ancient narrative prose is not so much one of terminology—the inexistence of a comprehensive term in antiquity as well as the similarities between Greek and Latin texts and the modern ones justify and legitimize the use of an anachronism. What is difficult is deciding which ancient texts can be labeled “novel,” and determining if there is a corpus with a series of common features that can be classified as belonging to one and the same “genre.” The very concept of “genre” will only become legitimate in this context if a number of set criteria are established that enable us to assign a collection of ancient prose (fiction texts) narratives to a homogeneous group. It is therefore necessary to define the canon⁴ of the novel, which will forcefully lead

to a classification of the nature of the texts that go by the generic designation of “ancient novels.” Our aim is not so much to prove whether the novel in its modern sense existed in antiquity, especially if, as Kundera claims, there are only “stories” of the novel, but rather to discover to what extent the criteria put forth for defining that genre may contribute to a better understanding of our own generic awareness. These criteria should not only comply with modern principles but also and above all, contemplate former aesthetic and literary patterns.

The spectrum of what is commonly labeled “Greek novel,” which represents a tiny section of a vast literary production lost in time, is vast, blurred, and not at all homogeneous. The five idealized narratives, the so-called *Liebesromane*, are Chariton’s *Chaereas and Callirhoe* (mid-first century BC/AD?), Xenophon of Ephesus’ *The Ephesian Tale of Anthia and Habrocomes* (mid-second century AD?), Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon* (late second century AD), Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe* (late second /early third century AD), and Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica—Theagenes and Charicleia* (early/mid-third century AD or late fourth century AD). Apart from these, it is generally accepted that the genre of ancient novel also includes those fragments or summaries that display features similar to ones found in the five. This is the case for Iamblichus’ *Babyloniaca* and Antonius Diogenes’ *The Wonders beyond Thule*, both being known through Photius’ summaries in the latter half of the ninth century (cod. 94 and cod. 166, respectively). It is curious that Photius, at the beginning of his synopsis of the *Babyloniaca*, only lists, besides Iamblichus, Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus as making up those authors “who have adopted the same subject and have chosen love intrigues as the material for their stories” (οἱ γὰρ τρεῖς οὗτοι σχεδόν τι τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπὸν προθέμενοι ἐρωτικῶν δραμάτων ὑποθέσεις ὑπεκρίθησαν..., *Bibl. cod. 94*), leaving out Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, and Longus. There is no way of proving that Photius knew about the work of these authors, but we are inclined to believe that he had strong enough motives not to include them in the group he was defining. This leaves us to wonder why he omitted them: even if this decision is acceptable as far as Longus’ work is concerned, the same cannot be said about Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus, whose texts reflect the same paraphernalia of motifs. In addition to Iamblichus and Antonius Diogenes, there is the epitome of a comic novel, the erotic novella *Lucius or the Ass* (also known variously as *Lucius siue Asinus*, *Asinus*, or *Onos*) by the Pseudo-Lucian (translations of the Greek corpus are available in Reardon 2008); reference should also be made to another work that apparently was the model for the *Onos*: the *Metamorphoses* of a certain Lucius of Patras (Photius, *Bibl. cod. 129*). Most scholars

acknowledge Perry's (1967) thesis that Lucian himself was the author of the now lost and longer text of the *Metamorphoses* recorded by Photius, which seems to have been the model for both the epitome ascribed to Lucian and for Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. Yet, there is no overwhelming consensus on this matter due to the confusing, contradictory *testimonia* and to the fact that the original Greek text was lost. Nevertheless, the scholarly opinion nowadays is that both works (the *Onos* and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*) are independently derived from the Greek *Metamorphoses* by Lucius from Patras. However, as Sandy (1994a, 1518) stresses, "The 'stemma' of the *Elsroman* is not yet a closed book."⁵

Recently, the inventory of ancient narrative prose fiction has increased by the inclusion of fragments whose main features have challenged the view that divided ancient narrative production into two sub-categories: the serious and idealized Greek novel and the burlesque and realistic Latin novel.⁶ Henrichs' publication of the fragments of Lollianus' *Phoenicica* (1969 and 1972; edition and English translation in Stephens and Winkler 1994), and Parsons' publication of a fragment of a narrative known as *Iolaus*, which is most likely part of a posited Greek *Schelmenroman* (edition and English translation in Parsons 1974 and Stephens and Winkler 1995; for the possibility that the *Iolaus* was "a Greek Satyricon," see Parsons 1971; Sandy 1994b, 139–140; Merkelbach 1973) has undermined that widely accepted dichotomy, showing that rudeness and obscenity as well as humorous and comical treatment were not limited to the Latin novel. There was a Greek narrative tradition of a parodic and licentious nature that might even have influenced Petronius. The thesis defended by some scholars (first Heinze 1899; later Reitzenstein 1974; Paratore 1942; Courtney 1962; Scobie 1969; and Walsh 1970, 8, 78–79) that the *Satyricon* is a parody of the Greek love-novels has been called into question due to some recent papyrological *testimonia* (e.g. Mendell 1917; Todd 1940, 75–76; Wehrli 1965; Sandy 1969 and 1994a; Gagliardi 1993, 26–29; and Schmeling 2003, 481–482). Based on Perry (1967, 320–321), Sandy (1994a, 1517) remarks that, more often than not, the similarities between Petronius and Apuleius, on the one hand, and between the *Satyricon* and the *Metamorphoses* and the Greek love-romances, on the other hand, are drawn from "the common stock of classical Greek and Latin literature rather than *distinctive* features of the prose fiction of classical antiquity" (Keulen 2006, 159, presents a similar view; in general, see Barchiesi 2006; and Laird 2007).

The evidence concerning Greek prose fiction spans a period of at least five centuries, from the *Ninus Romance* or *Ninopedia*, most likely dated from the first century BC (for the fragments of lost novels, see Kussl 1991; Sandy 1994b; Stephens and Winkler 1995; Morgan 1998;

López Martínez 1998; and Stephens 2003), to Heliodorus, who, according to the latest research, goes back to the fourth century AD (on the chronology of Greek prose fiction texts, see Weinreich 1962; Perry 1967; Reardon 1971; Lesky 1999; Sandy 1994a, 1514 n. 4; Bowie 1999, 39–41; and Ruiz Montero 2003, 30–31). Other texts, which may somewhat resemble the above-mentioned, such as *The Romance of Alexander* by the Pseudo-Callisthenes, the *Vita Apollonii* by Philostratus, and *Cyropaedia* by Xenophon of Athens (for the last, see Stadter 1991; Tatum 1994b; and Holzberg 2003, 20–21) are as a rule relegated to the “fringe” of the genre.

As we turn now to the more restricted Latin tradition, this “canon” of love and adventure stories widens its scope with the inclusion of Petronius’ *Satyrica* (before 66 AD), Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* (after 158–159 AD), and the later anonymous text *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*.

Petronius’ affiliation with modernity and post-modernity, stressed by Fusillo (2008, 330–337), and his reading of the *Satyrica* as a model for the twentieth-century experimental novel and for open and encyclopedic forms (Fusillo 2011), are particularly interesting insights. According to Fusillo, a certain number of Petronius’ innovative features look toward the modern novel and contemporary experimentation, such as: the absence of teleology (i.e. the labyrinthine and anarchic course of the narration as well as its paratactic and hectically episodic organization), its open form, theatricality, and realism. Other features of the *Satyrica*, such as its expressive polyphony which is linked with a polyhedric and promiscuous view of sexuality, also recall crucial contemporary issues, such as the post-modern aesthetics of the “camp,” an outstanding category in Anglo-Saxon culture first defined by Susan Sontag in 1967, which “indicates a mixture of irony, theatricality, aestheticism, and juxtaposition of incongruous elements; a playful re-use of consumer culture; a refined contamination of kitsch with cultivated, high-brow elements” (Fusillo 2011, 142).

Helm (1956), Wehrli (1965), and Perry (1967) have made invaluable contributions to the setting up of a typology of ancient fiction prose. Helm provides a detailed inventory of this diversified literary production and lists and organizes its various types. Wehrli based his genre theory on the similarities between Petronius and Apuleius and between the *Satyrica* and the Greek love novels. He undertakes a thorough survey of the motifs common to the comical and idealized traditions of prose fiction, and eventually rejected the thesis that the *Satyrica* was a parody of the idealized Greek novel based on the fact that, for example, the theme of pederasty, usually seen as the main component of that parody, was already present in the

idealized Greek novel. Perry (1967, 18–27) considers that the nature of the literary form (εἶδος) has been misinterpreted, once its genesis and development are not defined and controlled by unchanging laws of nature, such as things in the physical and biological world. He claims that what causes the appearance of a new type of writing is the “ever-changing world of thought and feeling which underlies literature, causes and controls its movement, or evolution, and acts upon it constantly from without” (Perry 1967, 25). Therefore, Perry rejects the prescriptive nature of the Platonic and Aristotelian concept of literary form or genre (εἶδος), fixed by nature as something eternal and immutable, a universal pattern, shaped and controlled by natural law, in relation to which any particular work of art must be gauged and thereby approved or rejected. This false doctrine, as he calls it, predetermines the content of a given work, and distorts the original, complex, and variable character of the creative impulse, which is purely psychological and subjective by nature. Perry postulates the existence of an individual force, unique and unpredictable in itself, which shapes and determines the individual act of creation, ensuring that no two works of literature are exactly alike, or represent exactly the same idea or aesthetic value. Accordingly, the word “form” can only be adequately used if it refers to a single composition. When the term is used abstractly with reference to a group or class of writings, its precise meaning is always arbitrary and vague.

This line of reasoning is shared by those authors who claim that literature has its own dynamics and that the act of producing a literary text is not dependent upon a merely mechanical and predetermined process. As Morgan (1994, 3; cf. 1995) claims, “Specific fictional forms are generated in response to changing tastes and needs, which are themselves reflections of changing social, economic and historical circumstances.” However, ancient fiction is a response, not only to specific social and political factors, which shape a particular type of narrative prose in antiquity (the love and adventure tales), but other factors should also be taken into account, such as the audience’s response to this kind of literature, the interaction, and, at times, the confrontation with other texts. These factors may contribute to help explain the creative impulse or need for fiction, or the existence of other types of narrative prose fiction in classical antiquity (Morgan 1994, 1–5; Reardon 1991, 3–11; Müller 1981). This perspective widens and enriches the system of canonical genres, as it enables the inclusion of other texts related to the existing ones (Morgan 1994, 6–9; Holzberg 1995 and 2003; Bowie 1999; García Gual 1995).

Kayser (1956, 360–361) considers that there are three types of novels: the adventure novel, the character novel, and the space novel,

with the Greek adventure novel, which was highly influential worldwide, being first to appear. Nevertheless, we owe the most brilliant reflection on genre and generic categories to Bakhtin. Bakhtin added the dimensions of space and time to the idea of genre, which, for him, represents the creative memory within the processes of literary creation. His chronotope category, according to Branham (2002, 166), is “a fundamental working assumption that shapes the genre’s way of seeing reality,” and “an attempt to delineate time as an organizing principle of a genre, the ground or field against which the human image is projected.” Bakhtin (1978, 237) uses the chronotope, i.e. “the inseparable correlation of spatial-temporal relationships,” to characterize the adventure-time of the Greek “adventure and ordeal novel” (*Prüfungsroman*), which he considers to be the first form of the ancient novel. Bakhtin claimed that the elaborate technique in handling time is so perfect that the development of the later adventure novel did not add anything substantial to it. In light of Bakhtin’s conception of the chronotope, and despite the fact that, as he argues, none of the basic components of the plot are actually new, the characteristic elements of the former genres acquired a new character, meaning, and specific functions in this new form of Greek narrative prose. The Latin novel, according to Bakhtin, belongs to the category of the “adventure and custom novel,” which is characterized by a completely new chronotope, which, contrary to that of the Greek novel, leaves “a deep and ineradicable mark” on the hero and on his entire life. This new type of adventure-time, instead of resulting in a “simple confirmation” of the hero’s identity as in Greek novel, leads rather to constructing “a new image: the image of an hero purified and regenerated” (1978, 267). In this chronotope, two spatial components are intertwined: the real itinerary and the metaphor of the “path of life.”

Despite the differences between the earliest Greek fictional narratives (Chariton’s *Chaereas and Callirhoe* and Xenophon of Ephesus’ *Ephesiaca*) and the more sophisticated ones (Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe*, Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon*, and Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*), it is undoubtedly possible at a formal level to recognize a set of invariables or a system of permanent structural features: an intricate plot unfolding through unimaginable adventures (travels, tempests, shipwrecks, abductions), suicide attempts, apparent deaths, and hostile divinities (among which the omnipotent *τύχη* stands out), which all eventually contribute to a happy ending and the reunion of the two lovers. Thus, the narratological analysis⁷ is naturally adequate and even indispensable, as has been amply shown (see Hefti 1950; Hägg 1971; Futre Pinheiro 1987 and 1997; Ruiz Montero 1988; Fusillo 1991; and Chew 1993–1994). And also, despite the labyrinthic

and questionable connections between the Greek “ideal novels” and their Latin comic–realistic doubles, the notorious differences, and the fact that the limited occurrence of supposed parallels does not constitute a compelling reason for supposing a direct link between the Greek and Latin texts, there are also undoubtedly convincing arguments for grouping them together.

It was thus proven that there exists a class of works displaying a series of recurrent and iterative thematic and formal features, which set this new form of fiction apart from all other forms of narrative in antiquity. Nevertheless, the genre cannot be fully accounted for in purely formal literary terms. Bakhtin (1978, 99ff.) defines the novel as pluri-stylistic, pluri-linguistic, and pluri-vocal. He claims that the novel is a literary system whose basic and distinguishing feature lies in its dialogic nature, emphasizing the deep interaction (both peaceful and hostile) with other rhetoric and literary genres, as well as its active and necessary participation in the social and ideological dialogue.

Goldhill (2008, 186) emphasizes that “there is a socio-politics of genre,” which means that, underlying the concept of genre as an organizing category, “there is always a frame of expectation that stems from a cultural knowledge of a society’s practices of writing.” Consequently, envisaging this particular kind of prose fiction we are dealing with as novel, as well as the novel as a genre, requires a re-evaluation of some basic principles of rhetoric and ancient literary theory.

In antiquity, the “narrative” (διήγησις) was a rhetorical component of the discourse as well as a literary and compositional technique. The treatises of exercises in composition and argument for students of rhetoric in late antiquity and in the Byzantine period (*progymnasmata*) comprised a repertoire of composition devices that the literary *praxis* makes use of, especially in the ancient and modern narratives. Some of these devices betray evidence of the overpowering shadow of Aristotle and the Peripatetics (Butts 1987, 6) and of Plato and Quintilian, and were later revisited in the light of modern trends in literary theory. The rhetoricians of the Second Sophistic made up a theory of narrative, and the notion of verisimilitude is closely connected with it. Theon affirms that the desirable qualities of διήγησις are: clarity (σαφήνεια), conciseness (συντομία), and credibility (πιθανότητα).⁸ Quintilian (*Inst.* 4.2.31–32) agrees entirely that *narratio* should be *lucida*, *brevis*, and *uerisimilis*. Concerning the last of these qualities, Theon claims that:

ὕπὲρ γε μὴν τοῦ πιθανὴν εἶναι διήγησιν παραληπτέον λέξεις
μὲν προοσθυσίς τοῖς τε προσώροις καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς

τόποις καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς· πράγματα δὲ ὅσα εἰκότα ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀκόλουθα. Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας βραχέως προστιθέναι τῇ διηγήσει, καὶ τὸ ἀπιστοῦμενον πιστῶς λέγειν. Καὶ ἀπλῶς στοχαζέσται προσήκει τοῦ πρέποντος τῷ τε προσώπῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στοιχείοις τῆς διηγήσεως κατὰ τε τὰ πράγματα καὶ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν. (“In order for the narrative to be credible, one should employ styles that are natural for the speakers and suitable for the subjects and the places and the occasions, and in the case of the subjects, those that are probable and follow from each other. One should briefly add the causes of things to the narration and say what is incredible in a believable way, and, simply put, it is suitable to aim at what is appropriate to the speaker and to the other elements of the narration in content and in style.” (Theon 5.84)⁹

The sophists’ theories about the power of the *logos* reinforced the idea that, to persuade an audience, a speech should preferably, not to say solely, base itself upon what seems to be true, that is, upon what is plausible (or verisimilar), which is more convincing than reality itself.

According to Gorgias, the delight and persuasive effect of a speech do not depend on the truthfulness of its arguments, but on the skill with which it is devised and written (cf. Gorgias, *Hel.* 13: ...δεύτερον δὲ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους διὰ λόγων ἀγῶνας, ἐν οἷς εἷς λόγος πολλὸν ὄχλον ἔτερψε καὶ ἔπεισι τέχνῃ γραφεῖς, οὐκ ἀληθεῖαι λεχθεῖς: “...second, logically necessary debates in which a single speech, written with art but not spoken with truth, bends a great crowd and persuades”). This skill or mastery that Gorgias refers to is obviously linked to the ability to produce, by using the adequate rhetorical devices, “belief” (πιθανόν), upon which relies the persuasive effect of the speech. Plato was one of the first authors in antiquity to establish some of the principles of the “rhetoric of verisimilitude.” In *Timaeus* 48d he claims that the διήγησις (in philosophical matters) should not be ἄτοπος (absurd) or ἀήθης (incoherent), but rather that it should lead to probable opinions, and in *Phaedrus* 260a, the criteria of verisimilitude are said to fall within the sphere of appearance and probability. Persuasion, says Phaedrus, “comes from what seems to be true, not from the truth,” and he also says that “an orator does not need to know what is good or just, but what would seem good or just to the multitude who are to pass judgment [...]”; see also Arist. *Pol.* 1460a 26: Προαιρεῖσθαι τε δεῖ ἀδύνατα εἰκότα μᾶλλον ἢ δυνατόν ἀπίθανον (“what is convincing though impossible should always be preferred to what is possible and unconvincing”) and 1461b 9: πρὸς τε γὰρ τὴν ποίησιν αἰρετώτερον πιθανὸν ἀδύνατον ἢ ἀπίθανον καὶ δυνατόν (“for poetic effect, a convincing impossibility is preferable to that which is unconvincing though possible”); see also *Rh. Al.* 30 1438

If we apply the preceding principles, concepts, notions, and features to the various types of fictional prose writing that proliferated in the burgeoning and complex Greco-Roman world in the first centuries AD, there is no problem in designating the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, Euhemerus' and Iambulus' utopias and fantastic travel, and Lucian's *Verae Historiae* as "novel" or "romance." And why not include in the genre of ancient novel Ps.-Clement's *Recognitiones*, which Szepessy (1985–1988) includes in what he calls "the ancient family novel," along with Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* and other hagiographic narratives, the Pseudepigraphic Letters, *The Romance of Alexander* by the Ps.-Callisthenes, the so-called "Trojan Novels" (Dictys Cretensis' *Ephemeris belli Troiani* and Dares Phrygius' *Acta diurna belli Troiani*) or still *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*? Is there not, one wonders, another criterion to limit the bounds of genre? The answer to this question is to be found in a letter written by the Roman emperor Julian in the year 363 AD (89 B Bidez-Cumont, 301b), in which he advises his priests against the reading of all made-up stories (πλάσματα) in historical guise (ἐν ἱστορίας εἶδει), the ἐρωτικὰς ὑποθέσεις, love stories that arouse passions. And here lies the key that enables us to come full circle concerning the matter under study: an erotic element is also a distinctive feature of the "ancient novel"; authors themselves stress this: Chariton declares, in the beginning of the novel, that he intends to tell a love story (πάθος ἐρωτικόν, 1.1.1) and, in the proem of *Daphnis and Chloe*, Longus describes the story he is about to tell as a love story (ἱστορίαν ἐρωτος, 1.1.1).

In short, the genre of the novel can be defined according to three fundamental factors: a narrative structure, the verisimilitude of the story, and the erotic motif. To what extent do these texts fit into this pattern? Assuming that any study of genre should be confined to complete works, and that some types of prose-writing we are dealing with appear in a fragmentary or summarized form, it seems evident that not all can be labeled "novels." Some lack one or another of those three components, such as *The Life of Alexander* by the Ps.-Callisthenes, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* by Philostratus, and *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, which should be included in the category of "fictionalized biographies." In turn, *The True Story* by Lucian belongs to the sub-genre of the fantastic novel. Thus, the criteria mentioned in the preceding text substantially reduce the scope of texts that can be included in the genre of the novel. There is indeed a set of works sharing such clear similarities that set them apart from the remaining literary production in antiquity and legitimize their inclusion in a polyphonic, dialogic, and pluri-generic kind of prose narrative. Even without there being a proper name for it for centuries,

the way of “telling” a story has lasted to this day, giving rise to one of the most fecund, trans-national,¹⁰ and everlasting literary genres (for the reception of the ancient novel and its literary and cultural heritage, see Futre Pinheiro and Harrison 2011). And this genre is undoubtedly the genre of the novel.

Notes

1 Ancient authors classified these works according to the categories of the preexisting genres: *mythos*, *diegema*, *historia*, *drama*, *komodia*, *syntagma*, *plasma*, *pathos* in Greek, and *fabulae*, *argumentum*, *narratio* in Latin. This means that they did not acknowledge the existence of a specific new genre, but rather widened the scope of existing genres to accommodate this new narrative production.

2 Fowler 1982, Chapter 11, p. 191, for the quote; genre mixture (ποικιλία) was a phenomenon widely known in antiquity. Plato (*Rep.* 397 d4) defends the unmixed type of diction, imitator of the good, and is adamant when it comes to the mixture of genres, which, in his view, is highly responsible for political degeneration (*Laws* 700a–701c).

3 For a discussion of the concept of “generic classes,” see Schaeffer 1989, 64–78. In turn, Fowler 1982, 37ff., prefers the term “types” rather than “classes” because, in his view, the former excludes the taxonomic rigidity that is associated with the notion of “class.” The notion of “type” is therefore introduced to make it clearer that the genre theory deals with principles of reconstruction, interpretation, and, in a way, evaluation of meaning rather than with classification. In the wake of Plato’s and Aristotle’s distinctions, Genette 1979 states that genres are literary categories while modes, deriving from a particular kind of enunciation, are linguistic categories. The former are subject to historical circumstances while the latter, on the contrary, are universal and ahistorical.

4 On the concept of literary canon, Fowler 1979, 97, states that: “The literature we criticize and theorize about is never the whole. At most we talk about sizable subsets of the writers and works of the past. This limited field is the current literary canon.” Fowler 1979, 98, further stresses that the literary canon varies from age to age and reader to reader according to literary fashion and tastes, and “the idea of canon certainly implies a collection of works enjoying an exclusive completeness (at least for a time).”

5 For a full range of scholarly discussion on the various existing theories and views, see, *inter alios*, Lesky 1941, van Thiel 1971, Schlamm 1971, Anderson 1976, Holzberg 1984, Kussl 1990, Mason

1978, 1994 and 1999, Sandy 1994a, Schlam–Finkelpearl 2000, 36–41, Nimis 2000, Harrison 2003, 500–502, Frangoulidis 2008, 13–14, and Ramelli 2013, 145–148. On the other hand, the recurrent use of certain *motifs* and the literary structure of the *Onos*, which in many aspects reminds one of the conventional structure of the Greek love-and-adventure narratives, has led some authors to conclude that the *Onos* was a parody of that type of works. See, for example, van Thiel 1971 and Holzberg 1995. Sandy 1994a and Fusillo 1994 put forward an opposite view.

6 See Rohde 1914, 583–591, Perry 1967, and Helm 1948, 1956, who agree with the division between the serious, idealized novel and the comic, burlesque novel, and Wehrli 1965 and Anderson 1982 who disagree with such a division. We can also find a dichotomy between the ideal Greek novel and the Roman comic novel in Hägg 1983. Bakhtin 1978 also points out that the two main trends of the European novel (the love-and-adventure novel, which is static and monologic, and the Menippean and “carnavalesque” trend, which is dialogic and farcical), are the natural successors to the two types of the ancient novel: the erotic Greek novel, and the Roman novel, whose archetypes are Petronius and Apuleius. For a full assessment of the relation of Petronius’ *Satyrica* to the Greek love romances, see Setaioli 2011.

7 According to Prince 1982, 4–5: “Narratology is the study of the form and functioning of narrative. ... Narratology examines what all narratives have in common—narratively speaking—and what allows them to be narratively different. ... As for its primary task, it is the elaboration of instruments leading to the explicit description of narratives and the comprehension of their functioning.”

8 Theon 5.79; Kennedy 2003, 29 [Patillon and Bolognesi 2002, 40]. For Theon, I have followed Patillon and Bolognesi 2002; Theon’s translations are from Kennedy 2003. *Phaedrus*’ translation is taken from Fowler 1971. The text of Gorgias’ *Encomium of Helen* is from Diels and Kranz 1952. The English version is from Kennedy 2001. For the text of *The Poetics*, I have followed Fyfe’s 1973 edition and translation.

9 See Kennedy 2003, 33 [Patillon and Bolognesi 2002, 46–47]. See also Theon 3.105 and 4.76–77, and Butts, 1987, 249, n. 34. “Verisimilitude” (πιθανότης: “plausibility,” “credibility,” or “believability”) is a major concern in rhetoric, as stated by Cicero (*Inv. Rhet.* 1.21.29) and Quintilian (*Inst.* 4.2.52). For an overview of the concept of diegesis (*narratio*) in ancient rhetoric and literary theory, see Futre Pinheiro (forthcoming).

10 I owe Prof. Sandra Guardini T. Vasconcelos the designation of

the novel as a trans-national genre. I'm also grateful to her for providing me the text of her paper ("Deslocamento: o romance como gênero inter-nacional").

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CHAPTER 13

The Management of Dialogue in Ancient Fiction

Graham Anderson

It used to be taken for granted that the Greek novelists used or overused melodramatic outbursts to comment on their plot, but that artistry did not advance much beyond that point. The following is intended to show how far the handling of interactions between characters in various forms of dialogue reflects the broader techniques and artistic aims of each individual novelist. It should be clear that we are talking of “dialogue” in the normal sense used by Rudolf Hirzel over a century ago, and not of the extended “dialogic imagination” envisaged by Bakhtin, which threatens to Hoover up all literature and theory at one go. One overall consideration is that two ancient generic forms use dialogue as an end in itself, as when, for example, a writer stands in the tradition of Plato and airs a literary or philosophical discussion in the form of a conversation. This was fashionable enough in the early Empire, as the often platonically colored dialogues of Lucian or Plutarch testify, artfully reproducing the rambling drift of intellectual conversation throughout the treatment of a single topic. In view of the nature of novel plots, this is on the whole rare, just as philosophers themselves rarely figure in the novels; but the dramatic genres have also to use dialogue as a matter of course, and novelists may of course choose to use direct speech where dramatic effect is to be heightened, just as readily as they use comparisons to drama itself.

I have set out to initiate a number of questions, not all capable of easy or definitive solution: how does a writer of ancient fiction enable his characters to communicate? Do they interact effectively? Does the writer aim at or attain artistic effect in his characters’ interactions? And how far can dialogue interactions point to the overall sophistication or otherwise of the author’s text? What is noticeable is that in the sophisticated, and particularly the “sophistic” novels, the

uses of dialogue appear to have been deliberately and carefully managed by one means or another to assured, if occasionally eccentric, effect. However, the closer works of fiction come to the *Volksbuch* end of the scale, the more arbitrary or casual the organization of direct and indirect speech tends to become. The illustrations I have chosen are largely based on soundings and sampling and are necessarily constrained within a confined compass: students of the novel can extend the investigation for themselves. I have drawn translations from Reardon (1989) unless otherwise stated.

Chariton

In *Callirhoe*, the author blends the ethos of historiography and New Comedy in what has been increasingly acknowledged as a skillful way. Sometimes the action is advanced by a single line of direct speech, without response: in fact, it is Callirhoe herself who has the first and last word, in both cases to Aphrodite herself. Her first words are no more than (1.1.8):

“σύ μοι, δέσποινα” εἶπε, “δὸς ἄνδρα τοῦτον ὃν ἔδειξας.” (“Mistress,” she cried, “give me the man you showed me for my husband!”)

The heroine is still the shyest of young girls; in 8.8.15f., she literally has the last word, which is considerably more expansive, but cyclic:

“χάρις σοι” φησίν, “Ἀφροδίτη: πάλιν γάρ μοι Χαιρέαν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἔδειξας, ὅπου καὶ παρθένος εἶδον αὐτὸν σοῦ θελούσης. οὐ μέφομαί σοι, δέσποινα, περὶ ὧν πέπονθα: τὰτα εἵμαρτό μοι. δέομαί σου, μηκέτι με Χαιρέου διαζεύξης, ἀλλὰ καὶ βίον μακάριον καὶ θάνατον κοινὸν κατάνευσον ἡμῖν.” (“Thank you, Aphrodite,” she said. “You have shown Chaereas to me once more in Syracuse, where I saw him as a maiden at your desire. I do not blame you, my lady, for what I have suffered; it was my fate. Do not separate me from Chaereas again, I beg of you; grant us a happy life together, and let us die together.”)

As Whitmarsh (2008, 238) puts it: “The woman may be in effect silenced by social convention, but we know how much she knows.” However, she has already given every indication in between her private addresses to Aphrodite that she can speak for herself.

The first actual dialogue is formed by the antithetical exchanges of the tyrant of Rhegium’s son and the tyrant of Acragas, and is not particularly rhetorical: the assembly of tyrants are concerned with business rather than rhetoric. The first quarrel of Chaereas and

Callirhoe is likewise a brief exchange (1.3.5f.):

“κλαίω” φησὶ “τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ τύχην, ὅτι μου ταχέως ἐπελάθου,” καὶ τὸν κῶμον ὠνείδισεν. ἡ δὲ οἷα θυγάτηρ στρατηγοῦ καὶ φρονήματος πλήρης πρὸς τὴν ἄδικον διαβολὴν παρωξύνθη καὶ “οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν πατρώαν οἰκίαν ἔκῳμασεν” εἶπε, “τὰ δὲ σὰ πρόθυρα συνήθη τυχόν ἔστι τοῖς κῶμοις, καὶ τὸ γεγαμηκέναι σε λυπεῖ τοὺς ἐραστάς.” (“It is what has happened to me that I am crying about; you have forgotten me straightaway!” and he reproached her with the riotous party. However, she was a general’s daughter and a very proud girl; she flared up at this unjust accusation and cried: “There was been no riotous party at my father’s house! Perhaps your house is used to parties, and your lovers are upset at your marriage!”)

The proportions of the exchange are telling: in both cases, the real sting is in the direct speech, and we are not allowed (as ever) to forget Callirhoe’s parentage; she is accordingly able to establish herself as able to give more than as good as she gets.

By contrast, the actual action of his entering and kicking Callirhoe has no dialogue, until Chaereas’ rhetorical outburst at the trial itself (1.5.4f.):

δημοσίᾳ με καταλεύσατε: ἀπεστεφάνωσα τὸν δῆμον. φιλάνθρωπόν ἔστιν ἂν παραδῶτέ με δημίῳ. τοῦτο ὥφειλον παθεῖν, εἴ καὶ θεραπαινίδα Ἑρμοκράτους ἀπέκτεινα. τρόπον ζητήσατε κολασέως ἀπόρρητον. χεῖρονα δέδρακα ἱεροσύλων καὶ πατρόκτωνων. μὴ θάψητέ με, μὴ μιάνητε τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀσεβὲς καταποντώσατε σῶμα. (Stone me to death in public ... try to find some unspeakable way to punish me. I have done something worse than any temple robber or parricide. Do not give me burial, do not pollute the earth—plunge my criminal body to the bottom of the sea!)

Such outbursts in *Callirhoe* frequently call for sober reaction from the less overwrought: in this case, Hermocrates himself is pragmatic and more to the point (“Let us bury Callirhoe while she is still beautiful”).

By contrast, the villainous Theron conducts a comic monolog with himself as he formulates his plan to steal the funeral loot—so that his interlocutor is the only person he can trust (1.7.2):

Σκέψαι, Θήρων, τίς ἐπιτήδειος ὦν οἶδας. Ζηνοφάνης ὁ Θούριος; συνετὸς μὲν ἀλλὰ δειλὸς κ.τ.λ. (“Think, Theron; who would be suitable, of the men you know? Zenophanes of Thurii, Intelligent, but a coward....”)

When even he becomes eloquent and sententious, the robbers themselves are pragmatic (1.7.5) and:

“παῦσαι” ἔφασαν “<πείθων> τοὺς πεπεισμένους ἤδη καὶ μόνον μῆνυε

τὴν πρᾶξιν, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν μὴ παραπολλύωμεν.” (“Never mind preaching to the converted”, they cried: “just tell us what the job is, and let’s not miss our chance.”)

Perhaps the most consequential dialogue concerns Callirhoe and Plangon, again banal and matter-of-fact: she has to make up her mind about the pregnancy; only in the privacy of her own room does the heroine have a more eloquent discussion with the unborn child and Chaereas represented by his portrait on the other. Here, to some extent, stream of consciousness takes over, and she is partly lured by the social *éclat* of a child passed off as that of Dionysius: (2.8.6–2.10).

Other kinds of exchange are inserted at strategic points: most notable is that between Chaereas and Dionysius when at last they meet in court in Babylon; the exchange consists of short antithetic bursts (5.8.5):

Χαιρέας μὲν ἔλεγε “πρῶτος εἰμι ἀνὴρ,” Διονύσιος δὲ “ἐγὼ βεβαιότερος.”
“μὴ γὰρ ἀφῆκά μου τὴν γυναικα;” “ἀλλὰ ἔθαψας αὐτήν.”

“δεῖξον γάμου διάλυσιν.” “τὸν τάφον ὁρᾷς.”
“πατὴρ ἐξέδωκεν.” “ἐμοὶ δὲ ἑαυτήν.”

“ἀνάξιος εἰ μὴ τῆς Ἑρμοκράτους θυγατρὸς.” “συ μᾶλλον ὁ παρὰ Μιθριδάτη
δεδέμενος.”

“ἀπαιτῶ Καλλιρόην.” “ἐγὼ δὲ κατέχω.”

“σὺ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν κρατεῖς.” “σὺ τὴν σὴν ἀπέκτεινας.”

“μοιχέ.” “φονεὺ.”

(“I am her first husband” “I am a more reliable one.”

“Did I put away my wife?” “No, you buried her.”

“Show me the divorce papers.” “You can see her tomb.”

“Her father married her to me.” “She married me herself.”

“You aren’t fit for Hermocrates’ daughter.” “You’re even less fit:
Mithridates had you in chains.”

“I demand Callirhoe back.” “And I am keeping her.”

“Your’e laying hands on another man’s wife.” “And you killed
your own.”

“Adulterer.” “Murderer.”)

Konstan (1994, 74) notes the closeness of the exchange to Menander’s *Perikeiromene* 486–491, which underlines the comic as well as New comic effect of the passage. One other specialist item deserves notice, where the eunuch Artaxates actually changes his tack to suit the Great King’s whim (6.3.2, 7f.): this has been anticipated in Akkadian literature itself, where a slave advises his lovelorn master in *The Dialogue of Pessimism* (Anderson 1984, 17), thereby suggesting an established topic for satirical amusement.

Occasionally, Chariton draws the contrast between long-winded and quick firing (7.1.10f.), as when Polycharmus is perhaps

uncharacteristically prolix (7.1.10f.), and the newly revitalized Chaereas cuts him off with “σπεύδωμεν, ἀπίωμεν...” (“Quick, let us be off...”); but he does have the opportunity of an address before battle, traditionally the ultimate in rhetorical tours de force, trumping the King of Egypt who has just depressed the morale of his troops (7.3). Overall, he offers us a range of effects that a still relatively unpretentious author can execute successfully. He has used the control of direct speech and dialogue technique in a measured and effective way, as Tomas Hägg had been able to suggest as long ago as Hägg, 1971, in his study of the proportion of speech to action in the novel. This selection of instances can only serve to illustrate a few cases of an artistry that has still to be examined minutely as a whole.

By contrast, Xenophon of Ephesus appears to have similar aspirations, but consistently to fail to attain them. He does indeed have stretches of rhetorical–sentimental treatment, hence the theory what we have of him is at least in part an epitome: but even the crowd’s wish for the *Liebespaar* to become a couple is only one single line of direct speech (1.2.9 “οἶος ἂν γάμος γένοιτο Ἀβροκόμου καὶ Ἀνθίας.”), in contrast to the (ludicrously) impassioned plea to Hermocrates offered by the Syracusans in Chariton (1.1.11f.), and with a distinctly more banal effect. In much of the rest, the overall folktale idiom is in evidence (Hägg 1983, 25; cf. O’Sullivan 1995). Hägg also noted the much reduced proportion of direct speech relative to Chariton, making the novel more obviously and ineptly “action-packed”; the still frequent enough emotional interjections by the couple are consistently *not* undermined as they so often are in Chariton.

Achilles Tatius

In the three “sophistic” novels, the possibilities are considerably expanded: rhetoric is a much more significant and self-conscious ingredient here than in *Callirhoe*, and once more we can view relatively small samples of how each author juggles the balance of character, emotion, and often highly artificial verbiage, in his own way.

As in Chariton, the very first speech in Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon* is significant: the narrator exclaims the power of Eros in response to a picture of Europa, and a stranger is on hand to tell his love story (1.2), which then extends uninterrupted till the very end of the narrative. The author seems to have forgotten his final inverted commas to take us back to the opening conversation (or something is

missing from the manuscript tradition); Winkler (Reardon 1989, 284) may well be right that this reproduces a mannerism of Plato's *Symposium*, a central text in this novelist's repertoire. Achilles expands the scale of rhetorical ornament significantly; opportunities are in effect given for dialogue to take the form of simply introducing or capping stories or descriptions: time and again, a listener will be pressed into service as the audience of a sophistic *epideixis*, and not for nothing does Eros himself figure as a *sophistes* (5.27.4). Where the level of culture is assumed to be the highest, there can be such an antithetical game as takes place between Clitophon's servant Satyrus and the surly servitor Konops, so that even the retelling of fable is the opportunity for flamboyant syncrisis, and indeed sophistic speechifying by the improbable creatures in their respective fables (2.20ff.). Here is a text in which even the gnat can be a sophist, like his namesake master.

Where there are not directly balanced antitheses in this way, dialogue may take the form of one character acting simply as a prompt for the ostentatious *paideia* of another: a good instance is 1.15–19, where Clitophon gives an extended ekphrasis of an erotic garden complete with the plane tree that points the reader to an *erotikos logos* in the manner of Plato's *Phaedrus*. Clitophon has the peacock making his amorous display for the peahen, and Satyrus dutifully interrupts (1.17.1ff.):

Καὶ ὁ Σάτυρος, συνεὶς τοῦ λόγου μου τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἵνα μοι μᾶλλον εἴη περὶ τούτου λέγειν, “Ἦ γὰρ ὁ Ἔρως, ἔφη, τοσαύτην ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν, ὥς καὶ μέχρις ὀρνίθων πέμπειν τὸ πῦρ;” “Οὐ μέχρις ὀρνίθων...ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐρπετῶν καὶ φυτῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ δοκῶ, καὶ λίθων...” (And Satyrus, understanding the reason for my speech, prompted me to continue by asking: “Is Eros so powerful that he makes his fire felt even by the birds?” “Not only birds, ...but reptiles and plants and I believe even stones....”)

This sets off Clitophon on a quasi-scientific discourse on amorous attraction of all three, with the following consequence (1.19.1):

Ταῦτα λέγων ἔβλεπον ἅμα τὴν κόρην, πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν τὴν ἐρωτικὴν: ἡ δὲ ὑπεσήμενεν οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἀκούειν. (I was looking at the young lady to see how she reacted to my erotic lesson. She discreetly indicated that she had not been displeased by my discourse.)

At this stage, Leucippe is still sufficiently distanced and shy, and it is perhaps difficult to imagine what any direct speech contribution could have been at this stage. It is obvious that this is a deliberate perversion of the conversation between Phaedrus and Socrates in the

Phaedrus itself about love and rhetoric: we now have a sophistic lecture for amorous ends instead of a conversation.

Sometimes a long narrative may be set against very compressed quick-fire openings (2.33.2f.):

“Πόθεν, ὦ νεανίσκε, καὶ τίνα σε δεῖ καλεῖν;”

“Εγὼ Μενέλαος, εἶπεν, τὸ δὲ γένος Αἰγύπτιος. Τὰ δὲ ὑμέτερα τίνα:”

“Εγὼ Κλειτοφῶν, οὗτος Κλεινίας, Φοίνικες ἄμφω.”

“Τίς οὖν ἢ πρόφασις ὑμῖν τῆς ἀποδημίας;”

“Ὦν σὺ πρῶτος ἡμῖν φράσης, καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀκούσῃ.”

(“Where do you come from, my young friend, and what is your name?”

“I am Menelaos, born in Egypt. And you?”

“I am Kleitophon, and this is Kleinias, both from Phoenicia.”

“Why are you travelling?”

“We’d like to hear your story first: then we will tell you ours.”)

This introduces the lengthy narration surrounding Menelaos himself; Heliodorus will make even more of this technique of narrative evasion in due course.

In one unusual instance, Achilles provides two *ekphrases* of the same scene, a picture of the rape of Philomela (5.3ff.). The first belongs to Cleitophon’s own monolog as narrator, but the second is in direct response to Leucippe’s request for an explanation. The contrast is in fact very instructive, as it shows how far he is prepared to modify his description in response to his relationship with his beloved: any voyeuristic effects from the first description, such as Philomela’s exposed breast, are artfully absent from the second.

Achilles has a very good sense of timing for ironic incongruities: On hearing that Sostratus has given him permission to marry Leucippe only after she has been seen to have been decapitated, we have the following exchange (5.11.2f.).

“ὦ τῶν ἐξώρων εὐτυχημάτων: ὦ μακάριος ἐγὼ παρὰ μίαν ἡμέραν:

μετὰ θάνατον γάμοι, μετὰ θρήνον ὑμέναιοι. Τίνα μοι δίδωσι νύμφην ἡ Τύχη, ἣν οὐδὲ ὀλόκληρόν μοι δέδωκε νεκράν;”

“Οὐ θρήνων νῦν καιρός”, ὁ Κλεινίας εἶπεν...

(“O tardy tiding! My happiness was delivered one day late.

Marriage post mortem! Wedding after wake! Now Fortune presents me with a bride whose corpse she once refused to give me in its entirety.”

“This is not the time for a dirge,”) said Kleinias.

Like Chaereas in *Callirhoe*, Cleitophon must have his Polycharmus, this time more ready to cut his tirades.

Longus

Longus' use of dialogue in *Daphnis and Chloe* could be claimed to be unusual as the rest of his work: in fact, there is no direct speech until 1.13, when Chloe, after watching Daphnis bathing, repeats the name "Daphnis" itself. Her first actual exchange, as in the case of Chariton's Callirhoe, is with the supernatural, when she invokes the nymphs and the stream; Daphnis has a similar monolog in 1.18. In fact, with few exceptions, we are dealing with monologs in direct speech. Notably, there is no interaction between Chloe and Dorcon's deathbed speech: she allows the kiss that it prompts, but that is all (1.29.3–30.1).

When the couple reacts, however, to Philetas' speech on Eros and his powers, they come up with a joint monolog in 2.8. We slowly come to the realization that Longus composes set-pieces rather than dialogue interaction: so Lamon's tale of the panpipes, 2.34, or courtroom exchanges between Methymnaeans and Daphnis in 2.15f.; so too Daphnis on myths, as in 3.23. Chloe's response is more often not speech but kisses, as in her reaction when she hears the compliment from Daphnis at the end of his speech countering Dorcon in 1.17.1. Or Dryas reflects alone on the way home from Lamon's on the mystery of Daphnis' parentage (3.32.1), while in 4.16.17 Astylus does not verbally react directly to the pathetic pleas of Gnathon to be given access to Daphnis. So far, it is as if the art of equal bilateral conversation itself is somehow being avoided.

The exceptions to all these situations are the two pieces of quick-fire dialogue in 3.6 and 3.10. In the first, Daphnis imagines his unconvincing and inept exchanges with Chloe's family; and in the second, he has a real conversation with Chloe itself. This is enough to show that Longus has an effortless mastery of psychological interaction when he chooses to exercise it.

“Διὰ σὲ ἦλθον, Χλόη”: “Οἶδα, Δάφνι”: “Διὰ σὲ ἀπολλύω τοὺς ἀθλίους κοψίχους”: “Τίς οὖν σοι γένωμαι;”: “Μέμνησό μου”: “Μνημονεύω νῆ τὰς Νύμφας, ἃς ὥμοσα ποτε εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἄντρον εἰς ὃ ἤξομεν εὐθὺς < ἡνίκα > ἂν ἡ χιὼν τακῇ”: “ἀλλὰ πολλή ἔστι, Χλόη, καὶ δέδοικα μὴ ἔγωγ πρὸ ταύτης τακῶ”: “Θάρρει, Δάφνι: θερμὸς ἔστιν ὁ ἥλιος”: “εἰ γὰρ οὕτω γένοιτο, Χλόη, θερμὸς ὡς τὸ καίον πῦρ τὴν καρδίαν τὴν ἐμήν”; “παίζεις ἀπατῶν με”: “οὐ μὰ τὰς αἴγας, ἃς σύ με ἔκέλευες ὀμνύειν.”
 (“It was because of you I came, Chloe.”)

“I know, Daphnis.”

“It’s because of you that I’m killing the poor blackbirds.”

“So what do you want me to do?”

“Do not forget me.”

“I do not forget you, by the Nymphs that I once swore an oath

by < when I went > into that cave where we shall go < as soon > as the snow melts.”

“But there’s a lot of snow, Chloe, and I’m afraid I might melt before it does.”

“Cheer up, Daphnis, the sun is hot.”

“If only it were as hot, Chloe, as the fire that is burning in my heart.”

“You’re making fun of me.”

“You’re deceiving me.”

“I’m not, I swear by the ewe you used to tell me to swear by.”)

Morgan *ad loc.* evokes both stichomythia from drama and amoebaic exchanges in Theocritean pastoral; but one might readily argue for the opposite effect, of two shy teenagers elliptically expressing genuine feelings in the only way they can, as opposed to the artifice of verse genres. Christopher Gill (Reardon 1989, 286f.) notes that the blend of novel and pastoral affords prominence to the timeless elements of the latter. Here, then, it is as if we are looking at static images highly wrought with sophistic technique, and are only really once allowed to eavesdrop on the awkwardness of Daphnis and the subtle maturity of Chloe.

Heliodorus

Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica* is the most ambitious in scale of the extant Greek novels, and the dialogue reflects as much. At the simplest level of romantic cliché, we find that the recitation of lovers’ names at 7.14.4 offers us multiples of “O Theagenes! O Charicleia!” whereas in Chariton one expression of the beloved’s name will do (8.1.8). However, Heliodorus is also the most mischievously devious of the extant novelists, and once more the tricks of dialogue reflect the author himself. When Charicleia makes an impassioned plea to the already puzzled pirates in the opening to Book 1, the speech is duly reported by the author, only to be followed by the observation that the pirates themselves didn’t understand a word of it (1.3). This counterpoint of rhetoric and artful play sets the tone.

The most idiosyncratic exchange in the whole novel is the dialogue with totally inconsequential answers between a fisherman and Calasiris’ party (5.18.4f.):

“Χαῖρε” εἶπον “ὦ βέλτιστε καὶ φράζε ὅποι τις ἂν τύχοι καταγωγῆς.”
‘Ο δὲ “Περὶ τὴν πλησίον ἄκραν” ἔφη “χοιράδι πέτρα τῆς προτεραίας
ἐνσχεθὲν διεσπάραται.” Κἀγὼ “Τοῦτο μὲν” ἔφην “οὐδὲν ἐδεόμην

μαθεῖν, ὅμως δ' οὖν χρηστῶς ἂν ποίοις καὶ φιланθρώπως ἢ αὐτὸς ὑποδεχόμενος ἢ ἕτερον ὑφηγούμενος.” Καὶ ὃς “Οὐκ αὐτὸς” φησίν, “οὐ γὰρ συνέπλεον: ...”

“Good morning, my friend. Could you please tell me where one might find lodgings?”

“Just here by the headland,” he replied. “It got snagged on a sunken rock yesterday, and now it is full of holes.”

“That is not what my question was about,” I said, “but it would be very helpful of you if you could find room for us yourself, or tell me someone else who might.”

“It was not me,” he replied. “I was not out with them....”

Only now does it strike the respondents that the fisherman, while this time speaking the same language, is actually deaf. If this is a little joke for the sake of it, in the novel as a whole dialogue flourishes are used to introduce and articulate long monologue narrations. An overwhelming proportion of 2.1–5.33 is a recapitulation by Calasiris to explain the opening scene so abruptly thrust on the reader. We have a long stretch of evasive dialogue to precede (2.21):

Knemon asked the old man to tell him what his misfortunes were; “It is an Odyssey (Ἰλιόθεν) of woe,” came the reply. “You are disturbing a hornet’s nest of sufferings that will buzz and drone in your ears for an eternity. But where are you off to, young man? Where have you come from? How does a man who speaks Greek come to be in Egypt?”

“This is ridiculous!,” exclaimed Knemon. “You have told me nothing about yourself, even though I asked first, and now you want to know my story!”

Achilles had been content to announce his narrative as a σμῆνος λόγων; Calasiris’ σμῆνος κακῶν has to drag in an Odyssey as well! Even when free of the idiosyncratic obfuscations so characteristic of Calasiris and his entourage, the diplomatic exchanges between the Persian Oroondates and his Ethiopian captor Hydaspes seem likewise self-indulgently verbose (9.21.1f.):

“Ω βέλτιστε” ἔφη, “τὸ μὲν σῶζεσθαί σε κατ’ ἔμῃν ὑπάρξει γνώμην: νικᾶν γὰρ κάλον τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐστῶτας μὲν ταῖς μάχαις πεπτωκότας δὲ ταῖς εὐποίαις: τί δ’ οὖν οὕτως ἄπιστος ἀπεδείχθης;” Ὁ δὲ “Πρὸς σὲ” ἔφη <ἄπιστος> πιστὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἔμὸν δεσπότην.” Καὶ ὁ Ὑδάσπης, “Ὑπορεσῶν τοίνυν τίνα σαυτῷ τιμωρίαν ὀρίζεις;” πάλιν ἡρώτα: καὶ ὃς, “Ἦν ἂν” ἔφη “βασιλεὺς ὁ ἔμος τῶν σῶν τινα στρατηγῶν φυλάττοντα σοὶ πίστιν λαβών, ἀπήτησεν.”

“My friend,” he said, “your life will be safe: such is my will, for it is right that we should overcome our enemies with the sword while they stand, and with kindness when they are fallen. But

what did you mean by such a blatant act of perfidy?”

“My act of perfidy to you,” replied Oroondates, “was one of loyalty to my own master.”

“And what punishment do you consider appropriate for yourself in defeat?” was Hydaspes’ next question, to which the satrap replied, “Whatever punishment my king would have demanded for one of your commanders who refused to betray his loyalty to you.”)

Sometimes in fictional narratives direct speech appears simply incidental or even random: in Lucian’s *True Histories*, for example, there is very little. This might underline the prevailing parody of historical narrative, but it is always worth asking why. Endymion the King of the Selenites seems to drop into direct speech for no other obvious reason than variety (1.12), or because we have to be shown that Greek is actually spoken on the moon; Scintharus, the captain shipwrecked inside the whale, unsurprisingly breaks into direct speech to talk to the first strangers he has seen in 27 years (1.33–36). It seems perhaps odd that so consummate a writer of miniature dialogue as Lucian should merely report his own conversation with Homer indirectly in the Isles of the Blest (2.20). Perhaps the relative remoteness of indirect speech is intended to emphasize the matter-of-fact take-it-or-leave-it answers from Homer himself, or perhaps once again he simply felt it more appropriate to historical reporting.

Petronius

The *Satyrica* offers the richest reward for the student of dialogue, though the fragmentary form poses problems for most of the text outside the *Cena Trimalchionis*. The extant fragments open with Encolpius in mid-flow in what is in effect a declamation against declamation, which receives commendation from the schoolmaster Agamemnon, only for him to launch first into a prose, and then in Menippean manner an extravagant verse tirade (*Sat.* 1–5). This is not the last of the instances where the principal characters seem to be declaiming *at* each other. Much of the slapstick dialogue seems to bear reference to the procedures of mime (Panayotakis 1995).

What can be noted in the case of Trimalchio himself is that he tends to speak in direct speech—and much of the time again *at* his guests rather than to them, while the narrator Encolpius tends to couch his own reactions in indirect speech, very often with a nuance of irony. The effect overall is that the loud-mouthed host is being condemned out of his own mouth, or by the more muted and subtle

reactions of those still trying to make something of him.

Emotion, however, is greatly heightened in the exchange between Trimalchio and Fortunata. She has kept a low profile throughout the dinner and speaks directly only to greet Habinnas' wife: it is accordingly all the more effective for her to intervene when her husband goes too far and kisses an attractive boy in front of her (74.9f., trans. J.P. Sullivan):

Itaque Fortunata, ut ex aequo ius firmum approbaret, maledicere Trimalchioni coepit et purgamentum dedecusque praedicare, qui non contineret libidinem suam. ultimo etiam adiecit: "canis." Trimalchio contra offensus convicio calicem in faciem Fortunatae immisit. (Fortunata, asserting her just and legal rights, began hurling insults at Trimalchio, calling him a low scum and a disgrace, who couldn't control his beastly desires. "You dirty dog" (*canis*), she finally added. Trimalchio took offence at this abuse and flung his glass into Fortunata's face...)

This one-word direct quotation stands in striking contrast to the long rambling monologue with which he will justify himself, sliding into typically self-centered autobiography.

By far the most important stretch of dialogue in any of the novels is the freedmen's conversation in *Sat.* 41–46: not only for its unique evidence of contemporary spoken Latin in the early Empire, but for its control of stream-of-consciousness narration, and ability to identify the random preoccupations of lower-class freedmen. Characters are allowed to ramble on from topic to topic, often becoming progressively more pessimistic, until interrupted by some other character who wants them to change the record. Ganymedes is speaking (44 fin.):

"Antea stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in clivum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et Iovem aquam exorabant. Itaque statim urceatim plovebat; aut tunc aut numquam: et omnes redibant udi tamquam mures. Itaque dii pedes lanatos habent, quia nos religiosi non sumus. Agri iacent—"

"oro te" inquit Echion centonarius "melius loquere. "modo sic, modo sic" inquit rusticus; varium porcum perdiderat. Quod hodie non est, cras erit: sic vita truditur. Non mehercules patria melior dici potest...."

("In the old days, high-class ladies used to climb up the hill barefoot, their hair loose and their hearts pure, and ask God for rain. And he'd send it down in bucketfuls right away—it was then or never—and everyone went home like drowned rats. Since we've given up religion, the gods nowadays keep their feet wrapped up in wool. The fields just lie...")

“Please, please,” broke in Echion the rag-merchant, “be a bit more cheerful. First it’s one thing, then another, as the yokel said when he lost his spotted pig. What we haven’t got today, we’ll have tomorrow. That’s the way life goes. Believe me, you couldn’t name a better country...”)

Eventually, Echion is able to drift into internal dialogue with one Norbanus (45.13):

“munus tamen,” inquit, “tibi dedi”: et ego tibi plodo. computa, et tibi plus do quam accepi. manus manum lavat. (“Well, I’ve put on a show for you,” he says. “And I’m capping you,” says I. “Reckon it up—I’m giving more than I got. So we’re quits.”)

Evidently exhausting his own clichés, he interrupts his own conversation by calling on the rhetor Agamemnon:

“Videris mihi, Agamemnon, dicere; quid iste argutat molestus? Quia tu, qui potes loquere, non loquis.” (“Hey Agamemnon! I suppose you’re saying ‘What is that bore going on and on about?’ It’s because a good talker like you don’t talk.”)

This leads into a discourse about Echion’s own son, who is being schooled for upward mobility. All in all, we are closest in the *Cena* to Bakhtin’s awareness of the novel’s opportunity for an often chaotic proliferation of voices, here cleverly counterpointing a range of social and cultural levels.

Beyond the *Satyrice*

Elsewhere, we have an unusual “control” on dialogue, as we can actually compare the handling of it over long stretches of Apuleius and the epitome of its Greek original, the elusive *Metamorphoses* of Lucius of Patras; nevertheless, without access to the original Greek text that underlies both, useful deduction is limited. However, in the *Metamorphoses*, overall Apuleius makes the same conscious sacrifice as Petronius outside the closed world of the freedmen’s conversation: characters launch into a degree of artificial eloquence that is clearly impossible for their class and circumstances. It is perfectly in order that the robbers’ old woman should launch into an *anilis fabula* to console the kidnapped and apprehensive Charite in the telling of Cupid and Psyche, whose style is anything but that of the old wives’ tale it is said to be (4.27.8). However, it is inconceivable that she should choose the elevated, baroque style of narrative she does, and in a totally idiosyncratic idiom. As to the robbers themselves, they are

latrones gloriosi, who dramatize their heroism in an excessive and unnatural way; but there is no attempt in either version to give them exchanges anything like those of Petronius' freedmen. Lucius for his part is repeatedly constrained to comment as to why he himself was unable to react to situations in verbal terms, being trapped inside the body of an ass, and able only to exclaim "O!" when he needs to shout "O Caesar!"

Sharp contrast is possible between the dialogue here and in the sub-literary *Life of Aesop*, where the whole text has a vulgar demotic feel to it: this often preserves nuggets of proverbial folk-material, for example, in the anecdote on buried treasure, where dialogue is structured around the counter-interpretation of acronyms (78ff.). It also enables quick-fire dialogue to generate a string of misunderstandings: *Vita Aesopi* 25 (trans. Daly in Hansen 1998):

So Xanthus went back to Aesop and said "Good day to you."

~~AESOP~~ there anything wrong with my day?"

~~THE STUDENT~~ Is the Muses. What was wrong with his day?"

They were impressed with his apt retort.

And Xanthus said, "Where do you come from?"

~~AESOP~~ the flesh."

~~XANTHUS~~ what I mean. Where were you born?"

~~AESOP~~ mother's belly."

~~XANTHUS~~ take him. That's not what I'm asking you, but in what place were you born?"

~~AESOP~~ mother didn't tell me whether it was in the bedroom or the dining room."

We are in the territory here of the most rudimentary skoptic literature, with the stringing together of little more than joke-book anecdotes, aimed like so many of those in the late antique *Philogelos* at the philosopher exposed by the straight man as a fool.

In this regard, there can be little to say about *Apollonius of Tyre*, or indeed the *Alexander Romance*, where the impression is very strongly that the authors have not been able to address the management of conversation in much more than a random way. All this simply underlines the fact that control of dialogue is a matter of conscious and calculated artistry. In the case of the *Alexander Romance*, conversation occurs quite arbitrarily: between Olympias and Nectanebo (1.4.2ff.), between the latter and the youthful Alexander (1.14.4ff.), and in the quarrel between Nicolaus and Alexander over chariot-racing (1.18.5–8). It might be argued that they are part of a *poikilia* which includes a variety of testimony: inscriptions, omens and their interpretation, and the rest; but there is no obvious indication that they occur strategically or artistically at particularly significant

points. This seems consistent with the fact that we cannot really think of “authorship” as opposed to redaction in the first place.

One example from *Apollonius of Tyre* will suffice (Recension A9, tr. Kortekaas 2004):

Post haec Apollonius dum deambulet in eodem loco supra litore, occurrit ei alius homo, nomine Stranguillio. Cui ait Apollonius: “Ave, mi carissime Stranguillio.” Et ille dixit: “Ave, domine Apolloni. Quid itaque in his locis turbata mente versaris?” Apollonius ait: “proscriptum vides.” Stranguillius ait: “Et quis te proscriptus?” Apollonius ait “Rex Antiochus.” Stranguillius ait “Quae est causa?” Apollonius ait “Quia filiam eius in matrimonium petivi. Sed, si fieri potest, in civitate vestra volo latere.” (Afterwards, while Apollonius was walking about on the same part of the shore, another man, named Stranguillio, met him. To him Apollonius said, “Greetings, my good friend Stranguillio.” And he said, “Greetings, my lord Apollonius. Why are you wandering around here so disturbed?” Apollonius said, “You’re looking at a man with a price on his head.” Stranguillio said, “Who’s put a price on your head?” Apollonius said, “King Antiochus.” Stranguillio said “Why?” Apollonius said, “Because I sought the hand of his daughter in marriage. If it’s possible I would like to hide in your city.”)

Much of this is nursery syntax, but hardly to be confused with the calculated literary simplicity of Longus. It could pass for the language of early medieval hagiography, and seems to imply much the same mind set.

The Fragments

Of the fragmentary novels, there is much less to go on, but as it happens fragment A of *Ninos* suggests a situation and technique not too far removed from that of Longus. *Ninos*, as already a world conqueror at 17 (!), approaches his aunt Derceia to hasten marriage to (the unnamed) Semiramis: he is articulate, self-congratulatory, and rhetorical in a relatively simple way; and a normal dialogue response is the result. On the other side, Semiramis is far too shy and repeatedly fails to speak: her own aunt Thambe, the mother of Ninus, reassures her that (A V. 12ff.): “Your [silence] communicates better in my opinion than speech.” In this earliest known fragment of an ideal novel, we already have gender-contrast in the dialogues of the *Liebespaar* with their respective match-makers. We are similarly lucky

in the remains of the surviving episode of *Metiochus*: the scene is a symposium, and Metiochus himself in the presence of the philosopher Anaximenes makes a set-piece speech debunking the traditional image of Eros and his weapons, evidently in a gesture of rationalizing display in intellectual company. This excites the annoyance and antagonism of Parthenope, and she seems to be replying in kind, but that is about as far as we can conjecture. Antonius Diogenes offers us (*PSI* 1177) an evidently silenced Myrto, whether a ghost or a corpse, communicating by tablet; we may be in the same territory as the conversation between the witch of Bessa and her dead son's corpse on the battlefield in Heliodorus 6.14f. The other fragment *POxy* 3012 seems much more like a lover's melodramatic conversation between Deinias and Derkyllis. There is a long precisely contextualized fragment of Iamblichus (fr. 61 Habrich) in which Soraichos is pleading with Sinonis not to take revenge on Rhodanes for kissing the farmer's daughter; she is having none of his rhetoric (trans. Winkler-Stephens):

...she did not wait for the rest of his speech. "Soraichos, I have indulged this wicked windiness of yours, and grudgingly at that. I should have died before hearing you say that any other woman finds Rhodanes attractive..."

We are back in the realm of sophisticatedly trained heroines, as melodramatic in speech as in sword-wielding action. Something of the same is going on in *Kalligone*, but in an evidently less ambitious way. Lollianus once more has clearly a corpse speaking, but not an actual conversation as his addressee is dumbfounded. A quite extensive reaction to the cannibal meal is too heavily damaged to allow for useful comment in fr. B1 verso; the prosimetric effect of *Iolaus* is again too unclear to enable conclusions to be drawn.

Conclusions

Overall, then, we can draw some tentative conclusions from our sampling. The upper and middle ranges of the ideal novelists have worked out well-refined techniques in the application of dialogue and in the interaction between direct and indirect speech. Characters can engage in relatively realistic if rhetorically enriched quick-fire dialogue; they can engage in conversation enabling one character to feed or indeed to undercut the monologue performances of another. Dialogue can encompass the articulate speech of one character and the emotional reaction of another by non-verbal means such as kisses or sobs. There is scope for verbal trickery in more extreme situations, as

when corpses address the living, or the dumb can write their responses. Petronius serves as a special case where ordinary *sermo urbanus* can be contrasted by the lively idioms of the ostentatiously uneducated; Apuleius for his part has his low life speaking in the same style as the verbally intoxicated narrator. However, the further down the educational scale the text has slid, the more random and uncontrolled the dialogue interchanges are likely to be. As more fragments continue to appear, their contribution to the overall picture of speaker-interaction should be awaited in turn.

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CHAPTER 14

Characterization in the Ancient Novel

Koen De Temmerman

Literary character and characterization can be and have been defined in many ways, which is one of the reasons why the applicability of these concepts to ancient literature is sometimes felt to be problematic. Ever since nineteenth-century novelistic literature put character in the foreground as one of its hallmarks by famously and abundantly dissecting the inner life in minute detail, such psychological analysis and introspection have become central notions in the way we approach literary characterization. Indeed, some scholars of the ancient novel have assessed characterization in this genre against such modern standards, often to condemn it for its allegedly limited literary and interpretative value (e.g. Pérez Benito 2005, 141). Others have rightly warned against such blunt comparisons or have been explicit about the pointlessness of judging texts according to anachronistically imposed aesthetic evaluative frameworks (e.g. Fusillo 1989, 11).

What is in line with ancient concerns with character is the repeated emphasis in modern scholarship on character types in both Latin and Greek novels. Not only do many characters respond to generically prescribed roles or functions that imply certain more or less fixed characteristics (e.g. protagonists, rivals, or confidantes; Haynes 2003, 101–155), they also evoke character types from contemporary and earlier literary and rhetorical traditions. For example, rhetorical declamations (such as those of Ps.-Quintilian and Seneca Rhetor; e.g. *Decl.* 1.6, 7.1, 1.7, 2.5) as well as New Comedy and its Latin successors stage many character types that feature widely in ancient novelistic literature, such as cruel stepmothers, pirate leaders, prostitutes, tyrants, young men, faithful slaves, cunning slaves, parasites, married women, soldiers, pimps, courtesans, and nurses (the

literature is vast, Van Mal-Maeder 2001 being only one example).

The general observation by some that the open format of the novel encourages experimentation and development (e.g. Schmeling 1999a, 30) seems to be confirmed by ancient novelistic adaptations of character types. Indeed, the novels tend not merely to adopt traditional character types but also to elaborate, vary, complicate, develop, or creatively enhance them. Three types of such adaptation may be detected. In some instances, various character types are blended together into a single novelistic character. Eumolpus, for example, one of the most colorful characters in *Satyrice*, incorporates literary traditions of the comic old man, the idealized novelistic old man, and the poet as depicted in biography, comedy, and satire (Boroughs 1993, 19–153). Apuleius' protagonist Lucius and Chariton' hero Chaereas also show traces of such blending (see Keulen 2004 and Guez 2009, respectively). In other instances, existing character types are complicated and enriched in function of narrative exigencies. The anonymous author of the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, for example, rehearses character types from rhetorical and comical traditions (the pimp, the virgin) and at the same time adds Christian layers from the *Passions* of, for example, St. Stephen and St. Agnes (Panayotakis 2003). A third type of adaptation of existing character types involves the formal level. One of the literary traditions that inform Petronius' Trimalchio, for example, is Horace's satiric depiction of Nasidienus (*Sat.* 2.8), who, like Trimalchio, is a boorish host, simultaneously banal and extravagant and aiming to impress his guests (see Bodel 1999, 39). Petronius' depiction of Trimalchio does not merely echo the character type instantiated by Nasidienus but also adopts different techniques to construct it. Whereas Horace primarily uses explicit statements to characterize Nasidienus, Petronius depicts Trimalchio through more indirect techniques (see Boroughs 1993, 22; on the distinction between direct and indirect characterization, see "Techniques of Characterization" below).

The fact that character typification is instrumental in the creation of credibility does not mean that character construction is limited to mere typification. The comedies of Menander, for example, which famously share motives and character types with the ancient novel, and are praised by Plutarch for their realistic portrayals of life (*Mor.* 853a–854d), show a harmonious symbiosis of typification and psychological character individuation (Arnott 1995). As for the novels themselves, scholarly attention has occasionally been drawn to the importance of psychological aspects of conflicting emotions and character individuation (see e.g. Repath 2007; De Temmerman 2009). Here, as is well known, extant Greek novels are very different from their Latin cognates. The Latin novels, which are commonly believed

to offer some of the most colorful examples of literary characterization in ancient literature, focus upon debauched, low-life characters portrayed in realistic and sexually explicit ways; Eumolpus, Trimalchio, and the freedmen present at the latter's dinner party are often cited in this context (on Petronian characterization in general, see George 1966; Abbott 1907; on specific characters, see Boroughs 1993; Boyce 1991, 76–102). Although papyrus fragments such as *Iolais* and Lollianus' *Phoenician Story* constitute evidence of the existence of such a tradition of comic and sexually explicit low-life fiction in Greek narratives too (see e.g. Barchiesi 2006, 193–209), the extant Greek novels essentially revolve around saved chastity, reunion, and happy ending, even if they do so with too much ambiguity and playfulness to deserve the now common label of “idealistic” novel (Barchiesi 2006, 203–206; Goldhill 1995, 1–45, esp. 44–45; and De Temmerman 2009 point to less-than-ideal elements in these novels). And yet, some strands of characterization are common to both Latin and Greek extant novels. In the limited space available, I explore what I consider to be the most prominent such strands.

Ambiguity

A first observation is that the ancient novel has a fascination with ambiguous characters (a similar concern exists for historiography; see Pitcher 2007, 106). Characters are not just good or bad. Ambiguity has been shown to play a crucial role in Lucius' character in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (Keulen 2003, 107) and is also readily accepted to be prominent in all of the main characters in Petronius' *Satyricon*. Characterization in the Greek novels shows similar concerns, although they are sometimes thought to be much less problematic and to visualize a strict dichotomy between good and evil (see e.g. Létoublon 1993, 104–105). What, for example, about characters such as Xenophon's Hippothous and Heliodorus' Thyamis: are they good or bad (Watanabe 2003)? And how should we label Chariton's Dionysius, who praises Phocas for being responsible for a massacre in the Milesian harbor (3.9.11–12)? Some novels even raise the question of whether their protagonists can simply be referred to as “good” characters. One of the first things we learn about Chaereas, for example, is that an uncontrollable rage makes him kick his wife into a coma. This less-than-ideal strand in his characterization is anticipated as early as his introduction, and it is this “seeding”¹ of the hero's character in the introduction that invites a comparison with Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, where such a seed is also planted in an introductory

context. When Lucius is introduced to Byrrhena at the beginning of the second book, her description of his physical appearance (*Met.* 2.2) is the first such description that the reader encounters. As Mason (1984, 308) points out, Lucius' features can be taken to exemplify the "golden mean" (he is tall but not disproportionately so, slim but with sap in him, etc.), which in physiognomical treatises is incorporated by the man of good natural talents and abilities (*euphuês* or *ingeniosus*; cf. *Phys. lib.* 92, Polemo *SP* 1.242–4). Lucius, that is, is systematically depicted by Byrrhena in an idealized way. However, such idealization is immediately made unstable by Lucius' blue eyes, a color that in physiognomy is traditionally associated not with positive characteristics but with cowardice (Mason 1984, 308–309).

A similar tension between overt idealization and its covert problematization can be detected in the introduction of Chariton's protagonist Chaereas: "There was a young man called Chaereas, surpassingly handsome, like Achilles and Nireus and Hippolytus and Alcibiades as sculptors and painters portray them" (Chariton 1.1.3; trans. Reardon 2008.) Like the description of Lucius, this description at first sight parades itself as an idealization of the novel hero. Indeed, the *tertium comparationis* of Chaereas' assimilation to the four paradigms is explicitly presented by the narrator as physical beauty, which seems to underscore a straightforwardly idealizing reading (for such a reading, see Morales 2004, 66 n. 93). Achilles and Nireus (in this order) were the two most beautiful soldiers before Troy (*Hom. Il.* 2.673–674). Alcibiades and Hippolytus too were paradigms of male beauty in ancient tradition (Hunter 1994, 1079). On the other hand, I would argue, all four paradigms function not only as mere markers of his physical appearance, but also as implicit seeds of Chaereas' character.² As Achilles' anger is the starting point of the *Iliad*, Chaereas' anger will be the starting point of the many adventures making up the love story (see Hirschberger 2001, 169). The figure of Alcibiades may be proleptic of Chaereas' brilliant military leadership at the end of the novel, but it also evokes impetuosity and recklessness (see e.g. Smith 2007, 199–244). It is not difficult, therefore, to read both paradigms as foreshadowings of Chaereas' impetuous jealousy that will result in his fatal assault on his wife (1.4.12). Hippolytus too has more in common with Chaereas than mere beauty. Not only is he cast as a symbol of erotic jealousy in Athenian drama (Smith 2007, 99), but Phaedra's passion for her stepson is also a punishment by Aphrodite for his neglect of her (on Hippolytus as a paradigm of chastity, see Hunter 1994, 1079, and *OCD*³ s.v. Hippolytus 1). It is significant, therefore, that Chaereas' misfortunes are clearly presented by the primary narrator as a punishment by Aphrodite for the mistreatment of his wife (8.1.3). Nireus, finally, is notorious for being

a weakling in the *Iliad*, having only a small number of soldiers under his command (Hom. *Il.* 2.675: *alapadnos ... pauros ... laos*; Smith 2007, 100, however, reads Nireus as “unproblematic”). As such, this paradigm may foreshadow Chaereas’ generally helpless attitude in the first six books of the novel. The implicit *tertia comparationis* addressed by these four paradigms, then, are impetuosity, divine punishment, and weakness, respectively. Although the narrator qualifies the similarity between Chaereas and the four mythological figures by referring to their representation by sculptors and painters, thus explicitly drawing the reader’s attention to the physical similarities between Chaereas and his paradigms, the implicit message conveyed by these paradigms ominously deals with some important *inner* characteristics. In fact, they touch upon some of the most important strands of Chaereas’ characterization that the novel will develop. Rather than attributing an idealizing function to these paradigms, I would argue that they implicitly highlight important psychologically *realistic* aspects of his character. Like Byrrhena’s description of Lucius, Chaereas’ introduction rehearses a number of tropes that seem to construct idealization but immediately destabilize any such reading.

Social Control

Extant Greek and Latin novels also show notable overlaps in their common fascination with the establishment of various types of social control. The first type, which has received ample attention, especially in scholarship on the Greek novels, is self-control (or the lack thereof). This issue is thematized primarily in the realm of the characterization of protagonists, whose state of mind is often constructed as opposite to the contemporary ideal of self-control or “*maîtrise de soi*” (Jouanno 2000, 79). On the other hand, several episodes thematize precisely the protagonists’ ability to control themselves. Heroines such as Callirhoe and Chariclea repeatedly and consciously try to keep their emotions hidden from public perception (e.g. Chariton 1.1.14; 1.3.6; 1.11.2; 2.5.7; and Heliodorus 4.6.1; 6.9.4), and Chaereas’ gradually developing ability to learn how to control and express his anger appropriately represents the young man’s personal growth towards a “full adult-male status” (Scourfield 2003).

This thematic strand of self-control in the protagonists is often complemented by an equally important strand of control over *other* people. A recurrent characteristic of ancient novel protagonists is that they are controlled by divinities who have a grudge against them.³ In these and other cases, control may take different forms (sexual,

psychological, rhetorical, etc.) and in this case more ink has flowed over their presences in Latin novels than in their Greek cognates. In Petronius, for example, Trimalchio's attempts to impress have been closely connected with his desire to establish psychological control over his environment (Rosati 1999, 90, 96). Moreover, one of the most prominent dynamics between Encolpius and other characters is that these are often potent figures that present themselves as guides to him and control him through manipulation. Eumolpus, for example, is depicted as a leader who subtly controls the faces he wears, whereas Encolpius is cast as his follower. Eumolpus' ability to control Encolpius aligns him with Giton, who repeatedly assesses situations much more realistically than Encolpius does (e.g. *Sat.* 94, 98) and does not hesitate to manipulate him (e.g. *Sat.* 79.11) (Sham 1994, 130–132, 142–143, 169–199, esp. 173, 180, 231).

In Apuleius too, the issue of control over others takes center stage. In fact, this thematic area provides one of Apuleius' major thematic inversions of his Greek model, Ps.-Lucian's *Lucius or the Ass*, which stages the protagonist as a clever observer, manipulating those around him to get what he wants. In the *Metamorphoses*, on the other hand, it is Lucius who is repeatedly controlled and victimized by others (Smith 1994, 1588–1593). As in Petronius, such control is often thematized in the realm of sex (Schlam 1978). Moreover, as scholars have observed, concerns with vision are intrinsically related to issues of power and control in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* (Slater 1998, 18; Morales 2004, 156–220). The same dynamic can equally well be illustrated by a passage from Chariton, where it is the cunning slave Plangon (and not the heroine herself) who sees that Callirhoe is pregnant and uses this information to force her into a marriage with her master Dionysius (2.8.4–11.6). And finally, an even more prevalent tool for establishing control is rhetoric; the ability, that is, to influence the behavior of other characters through speech. Heliodorus' heroine Chariclea, for example, successfully employs defensive rhetoric in order to remain a virgin and safeguard her chastity (Brethes 2007, 226–227; on rhetoric as a means to control social environment in Chariton, see De Temmerman 2009).

Development

Scholars long believed that ancient literature had no concept of character evolution or change, but this thesis has been in the process of gradual revision in recent decades (see e.g. Gill 1983 and Pitcher

2007, who also give references to scholarship arguing for the absence of the concept of character change in ancient literature). In ancient novelistic literature in particular, character development has long been thought to be simply nonexistent (see e.g. Cicu 1992, 197–199, on the *Satyrica*). Especially in the Greek novels, protagonists are widely accepted to be static, even if a number of analyses have now given us firm grounds to question that view. Most notably, Lalanne (2006) reads the Greek novels as stories of *paideia* that are informed by a model of rites of passage and organize the teaching of political, moral, and social values around an evolution of status (e.g. from *parthenos* to *gunê*). In her view, the protagonists’ adventures function as different stages on this path of initiation.⁴

One area where the possibilities of character development have been intensively explored is homodiegetic narration. Ancient fiction, both Greek and Latin, stages a number of colorful ego-narrators as protagonists (Petronius’ Encolpius, Apuleius’ Lucius, and Achilles Tatius’ Clitophon). For each of them, the precise role of character development in their portrayals has been debated in terms of the tension between the I-narrator and his former self, the I-character. According to some, the character of the I-narrator is meant to be read as the result of evolution in comparison to that of the I-character (see Barrett 1994 on Lucius, and Beck 1975 on Encolpius). Others have argued that “hidden authors” thematize precisely the tantalizing *absence* of any such character development in their homodiegetic narrators (see Finkelpearl 1991 on Lucius, Conte 1996 on Encolpius, and Morgan 1996, 179–186; 2007 on Clitophon); if they thematize the possibilities of character development in homodiegetic narrators, they do so *ex negativo* by subtly but systematically highlighting the inability of their protagonists to bring to fruition the opportunities that are offered to them by the narrative.

Techniques of Characterization

Let me now turn from the question of “what” to the question of “how.” Which techniques do the novelists use to construct characters? One widely used technique is name-giving. Names generate meaning in many ways: they can be etymologically significant (e.g. Anthia, “flowery,” Encolpius, “in the crotch,” Giton, “neighbor”), and can associate characters with mythological, historical, or literary paradigms (either specific characters or character types; e.g. Gnathon, a traditional name for parasites in New Comedy) or with other *comparantia* (objects, animals, etc.) with which they have an

important characteristic in common (e.g. Conops, “Gnat”). (Keulen 2000 is just one example of work on name-giving in an ancient novel.)

Next to name-giving, one of the most prominent techniques of characterization is an explicit or overt assessment of character (direct characterization), either by the primary narrator or by a character narrator within the story. In Apuleius, for example, curiosity (*curiositas*), one of the main themes of the novel and incorporated by several characters, is not only demonstrated by the actions of these characters, for example Lucius’ insistence *vis-à-vis* Photis to be introduced to the secrets of Pamphile’s magic (*Met.* 3.19), but also explicitly commented upon, for example either by Lucius himself as a narrator (*Met.* 1.2, 3.14) or by other characters in the story (*Met.* 1.12).

As we have observed in the case of Lucius’ and Chaereas’ introductions, such direct characterization is easily destabilized or complicated. Such complication often occurs as a result of *indirect* characterization. In the ancient novels, whereas direct characterization is often limited to a number of set characteristics (in the Greek novels, the protagonists’ *sôphrosunê* is a recurrent example), indirect characterization either addresses other characteristics or corroborates, supports, problematizes, elaborates, or nuances directly attributed ones. For example, Clitophon explicitly foregrounds his own *sôphrosunê* when discussing his love for Leucippe (*sôphroneis*, 1.5.7) and his relationship with Melite (*sôphrosunên*, 8.5.2). However, this self-presentation may be brought into question by two observations. First, it is significant that Clitophon is characterized as *sôphrôn* only by himself: no other character ever labels him thus. Second, four of the paradigms with which he is associated during the novel—Odysseus (2.23.2), Heracles (2.6.3), Achilles (6.1.3), and Poseidon (5.16.5)—all appear in overtly sexual contexts, thus evoking the traditional ambiguity surrounding the *sôphrosunê* of these figures. Like Clitophon, Odysseus temporarily stays with another woman (Calypso) before being reunited with his beloved, and Heracles and Achilles are both renowned mythological seducers of women. Clitophon’s association with Poseidon also documents the complication of his self-proclaimed *sôphrosunê*. The timing of this last association is particularly relevant: Melite aligns him with this god during their journey from Alexandria to Ephesus when she tries to persuade him to make love. When Clitophon objects that the sea is not a suitable place for sex, she points to Poseidon’s lovemaking at sea with his wife Amphitrite (5.16.5). This alignment, again, infuses Clitophon’s *sôphrosunê* with ambiguity. On the one hand, the paradigm surfaces exactly when Clitophon refuses to have sex with Melite, which, of course, underlines his *sôphrosunê*. On the other hand, Clitophon is aligned with one of the

most renowned womanizers in the Greek pantheon. Poseidon's many mistresses and his numerous children from various relationships had been legendary since time immemorial (see e.g. *LSJ* s.v. Poseidon; for a full discussion, see De Temmerman and Demoen 2011, 5–9).

Indirect characterization takes on different forms. Typically, it replaces a characteristic by an attribute relating to it either by contiguity (metonymical characterization) or similarity (metaphorical characterization) (for this distinction in modern literary theory, see Koch 1991, 128–135). Examples of techniques that operate metonymically are emotions, actions, speech, appearance, and setting. In other words, characters in narrative are characterized not only by overt narratorial statements, but also by what they feel, do, or say; by how they look like; or by the environment(s) in which they operate (see Gill 1990, 7, and Halliwell 1990, 44, on some of these character-markers, actions/speech, and appearance, respectively, in ancient Greek literature). Characterization through speech, for example, conceptualized in ancient rhetoric as *ethopoeia*, is omnipresent in Latin and Greek novels alike. In some cases, characters are characterized not only by *what* they say, but also by *how* they say it. In this respect, Petronius' novel is set apart quite clearly from the others (except, perhaps, from *Iolaus*; Bodel 1984, 12) in that it is the only novel where characters adopt different styles according to the environment in which they find themselves or their social position (although stylistic differentiation seems to be exploited in at least one episode in Chariton too; cf. Doulamis 2011b on speeches in Chariton's famous courtroom scene in 5.6–7). Not only does the language of Encolpius-narrator often contrast with that of Trimalchio and his freedman guests, but there is also a surprising amount of variation in the speech, register, and tone of each of the "low-class" speakers, enough to clearly single out each of them as an individual (Petersmann 1985; Boyce 1991).

Another metonymical technique that broadly sets apart Latin novels from their Greek cognates is characterization through appearance, which draws upon the assumption, widely thematized in ancient physiognomical treatises, that character can be inferred from physical features. Whereas in Latin novels physiognomy is clearly adopted as a hermeneutic tool in a number of instances (e.g. Lucius' description in *Met.* 2.2; see also Keulen 2006; Mason 1984), its role in the Greek novels is more marginal; in fact, permanent physical characteristics are conspicuously absent in the portrayal of most Greek novel characters (see e.g. Dubel 2001 on "le refus du portrait" in these narratives). A neighboring area where Latin *and* Greek novelists frequently explore characterization, on the other hand, is the domain of variable physical features and body language (see De Temmerman

2007).

Metaphorical characterization draws upon the similarity (or contrast) between a certain character (*comparandum*) and someone or something else (*comparans*). Like metonymical characterization, it can take many forms. The association of Greek novel protagonists with gods is a well-known example. In most cases, the *tertium comparationis* of such comparisons is (divine) beauty, but, as we have observed in Chaereas' introduction, sometimes resemblances go further than that.

One of the most omnipresent types of metaphorical characterization in the ancient novels draws upon intertextual resonances. As is well known, Greek and Latin novelists paint on a very broad intertextual canvas, and they often do so in order to associate characters with or dissociate them from intertextual paradigms. Such instances of metaphorical characterization, ranging from epic over lyric and drama to philosophy and historiography, are too numerous to even begin to list here (Doulamis 2011a is a recent starting point), and a brief exemplification will have to suffice. Sometimes, paradigms are evoked explicitly (e.g. the paradigms undermining Clitophon's *sôphrosunê*), but sometimes the evocation is merely implicit. Chariton's heroine Callirhoe, for example, is aligned not only with Helen, but on an implicit level also with Penelope (through many of the Homeric quotations with which Chariton's primary narrator sprinkles his narrative), which complicates the question of how to assess her responsibility for marrying Dionysius while Chaereas, her first husband, is still alive and well in Syracuse (Manuwald 2000, 112–113). Another extremely popular *comparans* in the ancient novels is Odysseus. His victorious confrontation with the Cyclops, for example, is deviously evoked in widely different contexts by Petronius (101.5–7) and Achilles Tatius (2.23.2) to characterize Lichas as a Polyphemus and Clitophon as a non-Odysseus, respectively (see Morgan 2009, 37, on Lichas, and De Temmerman and Demoen 2011, 7–9 on Clitophon).

A last type of metaphorical characterization functions intratextually. Here, characters are associated with or dissociated from other characters within the same work. In *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, for example, characters are often pinpointed through a network of such associations. Apollonius' daughter Tarsia and her mother are aligned in a number of ways, and together exemplify a number of central female virtues (Panayotakis 2001, 104–105). Antiochus and Archistrates, on the other hand, are characterized as good father and bad father, respectively, through mutual juxtaposition (Schmeling 1999b, 141–143, 147).

Epilogue

Characterization has received more scholarly attention in the Latin novels and in Petronius in particular than in their Greek cognates.⁵ Particularly in the latter, then, most of the aspects of characterization discussed in this chapter offer ample scope for further research. One possible line of investigation is to examine to what extent and in what ways character typification and individuation complement each other in the ancient novels. Indeed, the three broad realms of thematic overlap between Latin and Greek novels touched upon in this chapter—ambiguity, social control, and development—may be areas where character individuation is particularly prominent. Moreover, a close look into the Greek novels’ concern with ambiguity and social control, which involve, as we have seen, psychologically realistic behavioral patterns, may yield arguments to further challenge the appropriateness of the label of “idealistic novel” commonly attributed to these narratives. And systematic attention to the questions of how and to what extent characters develop may question the traditional and widely held assumption that ancient novelistic characters are static. Finally, study of the formal side of characterization (which techniques are used, and to what effect?) may prove instrumental in approaching characterization not only in the novels proper but also in the vast corpus of pagan and early Christian novelistic biographies that famously share important motifs and *topoi* with the narratives discussed in this chapter.

Notes

- 1 A seed is an insertion of a piece of information, the relevance or significance of which becomes clear only later. See de Jong and Nünlist 2007, xiii.
- 2 Brethes 2009, 72, briefly acknowledges the simultaneous presence of aesthetic and ethical qualities in this passage.
- 3 Chaereas’ misadventures are the result of Aphrodite’s anger (8.1.3), and in Xenophon’s novel Habrocomes’ love for Anthia is brought about by Eros, who is infuriated by Habrocomes’ dismissive attitude towards him (1.2.1). In Petronius’ *Satyrica*, Encolpius has a similarly problematic relationship with Priapus. Divine anger is an old motif reaching back ultimately to Poseidon’s unceasing anger with Odysseus and is often rehearsed in tragedy (e.g. Aphrodite’s anger with Hippolytus). On divine control in Chariton, see Helms

1966, 118–126.

4 A few other examples of studies entertaining notions of character development: Morgan 1996 on an “educative process”; Konstan 1994, 55–59, on the development of the protagonists’ love; and De Temmerman 2007 on character evolution in Chariton’s *Callirhoe*.

5 Boyce 1991, Cicu 1992, Boroughs 1993, and Sham 1994 are book-length studies on this topic in Petronius, whereas Helms 1966 is one of the very few such books on any other ancient novel. On Apuleius, see now Harrison (forthcoming).

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CHAPTER 15

Liaisons Dangereuses

Epistolary Novels in Antiquity

Timo Glaser

Introduction

“How should we explain to someone what an *epistolary novel* is? I imagine that we should describe *epistolary novels* to him, and we might add: ‘This and similar things are called *epistolary novels*.’ And do we know any more about it ourselves? Is it only other people whom we cannot tell exactly what an *epistolary novel* is?—But this is not ignorance. We do not know the boundaries because none have been drawn. To repeat, we can draw a boundary for a special purpose. Does it take that to make the concept usable? Not at all! (Except for that special purpose.).”

With these words, Ludwig Wittgenstein explains the ambiguity of the concept of “game” (*Philosophical Investigations* 69)—slightly altered here to suit the purpose. The unstructured variety of games makes it impossible to name a common trait of, for example Soccer, “Duck, Duck, Goose,” skipping rope, or “World of Warcraft,” although all are called “games.” What Wittgenstein describes as the problem with any concept in human language is naturally also significant for the literary concept of genre. The intricacy of the genre of the epistolary novel in general is that it is almost impossible to define generic boundaries. This is, among other things, due to a “dangerous liaison”: the blending of two genres which in themselves have no fixed shape; neither the novel nor the letter can be described in a proper way without excluding texts which (should) belong to these two genres (for the ambiguity of the letter form, see Trapp 2003, 1–5; on the genre of

“novel,” see Goldhill 2008). In the history of research on ancient epistolary novels, the uncertainty about the generic delineation is the leading question.

History of Research

In 1697, Richard Bentley exposed the fraudulent character of some collections of letters of ancient prominent writers, as the tyrant Phalaris, Themistocles, Socrates, and Euripides. Though Bentley focused on this quest for authenticity, he nevertheless paved the way for subsequent classicists to read ancient epistolographic literature without regard of their presumed rhetorical character: it now became possible to analyze the texts without considering the relationship between addressee, addressor, and the epistolographic situation. Henceforward, however, classical philologists have still scrutinized ancient collections of letters under the leading question of their authenticity, ignoring the *narratio* of the (collections of) letters.

Only in the beginning of the twentieth century did an awareness of their literary character arise, though the ancient texts were read from their presumed modern counterpart. Richardson, the “father of the epistolary novel,” set the yardstick for the genre with his novels *Pamela* and *Clarissa*: “The archetype of this genre for one brought up in the English cultural tradition is obviously Richardson’s *Pamela*; and we expect certain criteria to be fulfilled if any other work of literature is to be classified as a member of the species” (Penwill 1978, 84).

The first to pay close attention to the genre was Sykutris in 1931. In *Realenzyklopädie*, he wrote two columns on the “ancient epistolary novel” in his article on “epistolography.” He compares ancient (Chion, Hippocrates, and Themistocles) with modern epistolary novels and concludes that the ancients do not show such “characteristic” elements as preface, marginal notes, and epilogue of the editor. Furthermore, he notes that the ancients are exclusively historic in orientation (based on *ethopoia*), whereas the modern novels are set in the contemporary society and deal with the inner life and emotions of the protagonist. Thus, the genre aims at entertainment, not education.

Nevertheless, it took another 20 years before, in the course of critical editions, attention was drawn again on the literary character. Merkelbach popularized the genre with his attempt to reconstruct the source of the Alexander Romance from fragments of letters preserved on papyrus (Merkelbach 1947; 1954/1977, 11–19, 48–55, 70–72; Rosenmeyer 2001, 169–192, 251–252). By comparing the text of the letters with other letters from pseudo-Callisthenes, he argued that an

epistolary novel was the nucleus of the later romance. He abstained from giving specific generic characteristics, though, and referred to the letters of Chion, Themistocles, the Seven Sages, and Alciphron. A coherent story and the connection of the letters by means of common motives and further links would be sufficient to attribute a collection of letters to the genre.

In his edition of the letters of Chion, Ingemar Düring (1951, 7, cf. 18; 23) narrowed the genre by claiming: "In epistolary literature the letters of Chion of Heraclea hold a unique position as the only extant example of a novel in letters." The opposite position was taken by Norman Doenges in his edition of the letters of Themistocles (1954, published 1981). He proposed that any transmitted collection of letters should be analyzed with a narratological focus, instead of restricting the analysis to the question of authenticity or on the search for generic boundaries (Doenges 1981, 48; cf. Sykutris 1931, 213). Doing so, the question arises why the letters were passed down as a collection and whether different sequences of the letters in different collections reveal specific intentions. Though both come to opposing conclusions about the genre, they concur in respect to the characteristics of the novel: the collections have got to be a "unified work" (Doenges 1981, 8), a "coherent whole" (Düring 1951, 7); "not a random collection" (Doenges 1981, 11), they must be "composed like a drama" with exposition, retardation, peripeteia, and a moving exodus (Düring 1951, 7). Whereas for Düring this dramatic composition is realized by a chronological order (*ordo naturalis*) of the letters, Doenges sees the dramatic order (*ordo artificialis*) to be independent of the chronology. With respect to the intention of the genre (next to their entertaining character), Düring (1951, 7) highlights the moral philosophical tendency; Doenges (1981, 40) on the other hand favors an educational intention.

It was Düring's evaluation of the letters of Chion as the only extant example of the genre that formed the *communis opinio*, though this attribution was not based on a critical analysis of a sample of possible texts. Instead, the concept of the epistolary novel was derived mainly from modern examples of this genre, especially from Richardson's novels, which are characterized by systematic plot development, coherent and cohesive structure, an identifiable series of developing themes, and consistent characterization (Penwill 1978, 84; Rosenmeyer 2001, 233).

In 1994, Niklas Holzberg took a different approach. He was the first to scrutinize multiple epistolary collections and thus established a set of generic criteria for the ancient epistolary novel. These texts were the letters of Plato, Euripides, Aeschines, Hippocrates, Chion, Themistocles, and finally the letters of Socrates and the Socratics.

Through this synoptic reading, he discerned some common traits of the collections: they give insight in the life of a famous person from the fifth–fourth centuries BCE, and the principal motive is the reflection on the relationship between an intellectual and the political sphere (set in the polis), mostly his dealings with a tyrant. Since the main part of the texts were written or composed in their final form between the late second century BCE and the third century CE and deal with the question of personal integrity in facing an autocrat, Holzberg claimed the time between the decline of the Roman republic and the establishment of a Christian empire to be the golden age of the ancient Greek epistolary novel (and thus he excludes texts from the genre which do not fit his catalogue of criteria, as *inter alia*, *Epp. Alex.*, *Epp. Hippocr.* 18–24; see also Rosenmeyer 2001, 220).

“How should we explain to someone what an *ancient epistolary novel* is?” There are three opposing answers to this question. The first one reads the ancient texts with the poetics of the modern epistolary novels in mind, especially Richardson’s. Here, the genre is confined to a very limited number of books of pseudo-epigraphical letters, mostly Chion (e.g. Düring 1951; Rosenmeyer 1994, 2001). The next approach reads a sample of collections of letters (which exhibit some similarities) and extracts a set of generic criteria for a typology of the ancient epistolary novel. Here, the scope of texts is wider than before; it is, however, arguable whether the pre-selection of some “ideal” historical novels in letters does credit to the genre and justifies the exclusion of other epistolary texts (Holzberg 1994; Luchner 2009). The third answer to the question makes use of the concept of genre as a hermeneutical device to interpret the texts by focusing on the construction of the narrative world (Sykutris 1931; Doenges 1981; Glaser 2009a). With a generic approach based on Wittgenstein’s concept of family resemblances, the question of the defining characteristics of the genre must remain unanswered. The best one can do is to follow Wittgenstein’s advice and describe some of the novels—bearing in mind that one might add to each example: “*This and similar things* are called ‘epistolary novels’.”

Epistolary Novels

To classify epistolary fiction as a novel in letters within the third approach, it needs a collection of letters which are linked in such a way that the reader can discern a plot running through the letters which points to a story “behind” the letters. From this “definition,” three secondary consequences can be derived.

First, epistolary fiction is a kind of autodiegesis, a first-person narration. This implies that the starting point for the interpretation of epistolographic literature is the narrative world, not the real world. Any reference to historical incidents, persons, etc., cannot be taken as historiography or biography (see Rosenmeyer 1994, 147: “epistolary technique always problematizes the boundary between reality and fiction”). Second, in close connection with the first consequence, the letter is more a mask rather than a “mirror of the soul” (Demetrius *de elocut.* 227) (see also Rosenmeyer 2001, 5: “Whenever one writes a letter, one automatically constructs a self, an occasion, a version of the truth. Based on a process of selection and self-censorship, the letter is a construction, not a reflection, of reality”; cf. Trapp 2003, 3–4). The author of the letter book depicts the letter writer in a way which is not per se in accordance with the tradition on the presumed author (e.g. Euripides), nor does this picture of the hero have to aim for a specific impact on the outside world (e.g. an apology for the poet). Instead, the function of the references and the self-dramatization for the narrative world must be elaborated. Finally, a distinction must be made between the implicit (i.e. real) and the explicit reader (i.e. the addressee). Epistolary novels create the fiction of a real communication between the writer of the letter and its recipient. In reality, an epistolary exchange substitutes or complements direct communication (cf. Demetrius *de elocut.* 223), and thus the partners have a common history which the fictitious letter writer and the real reader do not share. Where the explicit reader has sufficient background knowledge to understand the allusions of the writer, the implicit reader has to decipher these. Partly, he or she can do this by combining hints spread over the entire book of letters (see Rosenmeyer 1994, 161: “For an epistolary novelist, the initial withholding of information from the external reader is a generic necessity.”); partly, he or she can fill in the gaps between the clues with knowledge from his or her “encyclopedia” (in U. Eco’s sense); and partly, it is not possible to decrypt every single allusion. This is not due to the fragmentary character of the tradition (though it can be), but is also a narrative device in epistolary fiction (on the oscillation between the explicit and implicit reader in epistolary fiction, see Glaser 2009b).

Next to these “hermeneutical” consequences for the interpretation of epistolary fiction, there are some narratological structures that can be observed frequently in epistolary novels. The *first sentence(s)* of the first letter often summarizes the leitmotif of the novel (Eurip. 1.1; Themist. 1.1; Aisch. 1.1; Seneca 1.1.1; *Titus* 1.1–4). The *last letter* often is a farewell letter set at the eve of the writer’s death (Chion 17; Aesch. 12; Themist. 21; 2 *Timothy*). Especially in extensive novels, the

letters are structured in blocks dealing with single topics (see Holzberg 1994, 47–52). Some of these traits can be illustrated on the subsequent pages. An English overview of ancient epistolary novels is given by Holzberg (1996), while an extensive bibliography is compiled by Beschorner (1994).

The Letters of Chion: An Open-Ending, Coming-of-Age Novel

A generally accepted epistolary novel is the one about Chion, a young aristocrat from Heraclea on the southern coast of the Black Sea. The novel is made up of 17 letters, most of which are addressed to his father Matris, who was once a student of Socrates and wants his son also to study philosophy in Athens. Though young Chion is very reluctant to do so (he thinks philosophers to be idle folk and useless for their hometown), he nevertheless follows his father's wishes and starts his maritime voyage to Athens. On the way, the ship stops for a few days in Byzantium where the young man experiences his "conversion," as he informs his father in *Ep.* 3. Greek soldiers have just come back from their Persian campaign known as the "Anabasis" and are on the verge of plundering the city. Their captain Xenophon, a former student of Socrates, is hindering them by an impressive speech. Seeing this and after a short conversation with Xenophon, Chion starts to believe in the usefulness of philosophy and is eager to learn philosophy in Athens and become a courageous and valuable member for his polis. In the course of the letters, he informs his father about things happening to him of a mundane character; the uninformed reader who hoped to find easy knowledge of Platonic philosophy in this novel is disappointed. Instead, the reader learns how Chion acquires virtues of every kind within 5 years.

The novel takes a turn as soon as Chion is informed by his father that his fellow citizen Clearchus has established tyranny in Heraclea. Though the tyrant tries to kill his philosophical opponent by an agent (*Ep.* 13), Chion successfully convinces him of the idleness of philosophy (*Ep.* 16): The only thing philosophers want to do is sit or walk around and have the muse and quietness (*hesychia*) to be able to think. Political participation is of no interest at all for a true philosopher. This letter addressed to Clearchus is sent as a copy to his father with an accompanying letter that decodes the deceptive letter. In this, he assures Matris that he would come back as soon as weather allows, to free the polis from tyranny.

The last letter, a letter of farewell to his teacher Plato, informs the reader of the next step: In 2 days, a procession will take place in which Chion will find an opportunity to kill Clearchus. He is in no doubt that he will die himself in the attack. Yet, he has learned his lesson from Plato—that for a philosopher the welfare of the city and his kin is way more important than one's own. With this prospect, the novel comes to its end.

As is obvious in this short summary of the plot, the novel shows a close resemblance to modern coming-of-age novels with its focus on the inner self of the young hero (Rosenmeyer 2001, 250, calls the novel “an epistolary ‘Bildungsroman’”). For this very reason, it is estimated “as the only extant example of a novel in letters” (Düring 1951). Yet, this novel can highlight a specific aspect of ancient epistolary fiction: one may ask, to what end is an epistolary novel written? It has long been argued that it is engaging the political discussion on how to face tyranny (*politeuesthai* is a central term of the novel; see Konstan and Mitsis 1990, 272; Düring 1951, 8–25). Indeed, it can often be observed, as Holzberg has elaborated, that the question of political participation is vital in a good deal of those novels. However, to what extent is this novel taking part in the discussion? Because it shows a young nobleman becoming vigorously opposed to a tyrant and ends with the plan to throw down tyranny, it was suspected that this novel was written by someone involved in the philosophical opposition against Domitian and was meant to be a kind of exhortation literature in the guise of art. This may be so, though there are clues in the novel that imply this reading strategy does not exclude others. These clues, to be sure, could only be discerned by the more sophisticated reader. The novel illustrates how the meaning of a text can change with differing background knowledge. If one only relates to the story communicated in the novel, the aforementioned way of reading the moral becomes intelligible. However, for the well-informed reader, the novel relates the opposite message.

Addresser	Letter type ¹ (content)	Place of writing	Story time	Historical date
1 <i>Chion to Matris</i>	Consoling (response)	Byzantium	5 years	400/399 BCE
2 <i>To the same</i>	Commendatory (for Hlration)	Byzantium		
3 <i>To the same</i>	Reporting (of his “conversion” to philosophy)	Byzantium		
4 <i>To the same</i>	Reporting (of two adventures)	Athens		
5 <i>To the same</i>	Reporting (of his arrival at Plato’s)	Athens		
6 <i>To the same</i>	Thankful (for the sending of goods)	Athens	5 years	364/3 BCE
7 <i>To the same</i>	Vinperative ² (cover letter for the next)	Athens		
8 <i>To the same</i>	Commendatory (for Archepolis)	Athens		
9 <i>Chion to Blon</i>	Friendly (on friendship and letter writing); blaming (for not writing)	Athens		
10 <i>Chion to Matris</i>	Reporting (how he supplied Plato’s grandniece, cf. Plar. ep. 13)	Athens		
11 <i>To the same</i>	Accounting (Chion is denying coming back soon)	Athens	5 years	353/2 BCE
12 <i>To the same</i>	Reporting (wants to come home as soon as possible)	Athens		
13 <i>To the same</i>	Reporting (how Clearchus tried to kill him)	Athens		
14 <i>To the same</i>	Didactic (on the nature of tyranny, slavery, and freedom)	Byzantium		
15 <i>To the same</i>	Apologetic (cover letter for the next)	Byzantium		
16 <i>Chion to Clearchus</i>	Didactic (on the nature of philosophy, deceptive)	Byzantium	5 years	353/2 BCE
17 <i>Chion to Plato</i>	Epitaphic/valedictoria (announcing the tyrannicide and his own death)	Tieracles		

The novel ends at the eve of tyrannicide. But the stories of what

happened after is revealed by some authors, who are roughly contemporaries to the author of the letters, first–second century CE. Clearchus was dead and Chion was killed, as he suspected in his farewell address. What is more, Clearchus’ brother Satyrus followed him up in tyranny and became an even crueler autocrat. Chion’s whole family was extinguished, as were the families of his fellow-assassins (*Phot. cod.* 224, 222b–223a). Considering this end, the moral could also be: “Philosophers may make up ideal worlds and political ideas—but these are just a kind of cloud cuckoo-land; politics in the real world follow a different pattern and logic.” (This reading of the novel’s strategy was considered by Konstan and Mitsis 1990, 277, and Rosenmeyer 2001, 249; 1996, 162–163.)

This observation raises the question of how much background knowledge an author of an epistolary novel presupposes. And it stresses the importance of taking into account different ways of reading and evaluating literature. In the novel on Chion, it is interesting to observe where the story ends and what is not being narrated, whereas the novel about the poet Euripides seems to tell two stories at the same time: the story as well as the counter-story.

The Letters of Euripides: A Counter-story without a Story

Ancient as well as modern biographies and historical sketches maintain that the poet Euripides went to Pella, the newly founded capital of Macedonia, to King Archelaos, in approximately 407 and died there a year and a half later (see Gavrillov 1996; Scullion 2003 for historicity of Euripides in Pella). The short epistolary novel (five letters) takes its starting point from this scenario. The author, writing at the beginning of the second century CE, explains how it came about that the poet went to Pella. The novel begins with Euripides in Athens giving his negative response to the king’s invitation. As is observed quite often with epistolary novels, the first sentences introduce the main points of the whole book. Here, these would be the generosity of Archelaos as patron of an artist, the independence of the poet, his influence on the monarch, and his *philanthropia*. In the course of the letters, the reader can follow how the poet uses his influence on the monarch to ameliorate his way of ruling. The last letter, then, is written from Pella to a friend in Athens who has reported to Euripides some malevolent rumors concerning his decision to court a king for the purpose of power and money.

The letters of Euripides are especially interesting to illustrate how epistolary novels can create their story with reference to prior stories. The biographical tradition about the poet refers mainly to his plays as well as those of Aristophanes. Through this medium, they conjure up a mysterious, romantic picture of a reclusive hermit who lives in his cave at the shore, avoids people, hates and is hated by women, and in these circumstances and conditions writes his ingenious plays (Jouan and Auger 1983). The novel, on the other hand, depicts him as someone who lives amidst people, shows a sense of societal responsibility, and hardly ever becomes visible as a playwright.⁴ This different display of Euripides is explicitly stated in the letters by the relationship to his colleague and rival Sophocles as he writes in the final letter (*Ep.* 5.5): “Concerning Sophocles, I was not always the same as it might be known,” before proceeding to report how the two became inseparable friends, once he realized that Sophocles was not that eager for honor as he first believed him to be.

At this point, the biographical tradition could rely on the letters, or vice versa. Euripides says (*Ep.* 5.6): “I never hated him [Sophocles], to be sure, and I always admired him, but I did not always love him as I do now. I thought he was a man rather given to ambition (*philotimoterōn*) and so I looked askance at him, but when he proposed to make up our hostility I eagerly accepted him” (trans. Kovacs 138–139). A quite similar point is made in the *genos* (34), yet with a different focus, bringing to light the antithetical character of both poets: “It was for this reason that he was rather proud and pardonably stood aloof from the majority, showing no ambition (*philotimia*) as regards his audience. Accordingly this fact hurt him as much as it helped Sophocles” (trans. Kovacs 8–9). The “charge” of striving for *philotimia* or the reluctance to do so, respectively, is formulated from two different perceptions. Now, letter two becomes intelligible, which is otherwise unconnected to the Archelaos story: Euripides is being portrayed as a close friend of Sophocles who worries about him and looks after his affairs while he is out of town.⁵

While the biographical tradition has stylized the two poets as antithetical (already rooted in Aristophanes’s account in *Frogs* 76–82, 787–793), the novel exhibits them in perfect harmony: on Sophocles, the *vita* lines 31–32 states that “he was loved by everyone and everywhere” (Καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν τοσαύτη τοῦ ἡθοὺς αὐτοῦ γέγονε χάρις ὥστε πάντῃ καὶ πρὸς ἀπάντων αὐτὸν στέργεσθαι). As an opposition to Euripides, one can read the following statement (lines 37–38): “He [Sophocles] was filled with such a love for Athens that he wasn’t willing to leave his native city, though a lot of kings did call him” (Οὕτω δὲ φιλαθηναϊότατος ἦν ὥστε πολλῶν βασιλέων μεταπεμπομένων αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠθέλησε τὴν πατρίδα καταλιπεῖν).

Compare to this the statements in the dialogical Euripides biography of Satyrus (third century BCE), which is only preserved in fragments (*P.Oxy.* 9.1176), fr. 39.10: “Everyone became his enemy, the men because he was so unpleasant to talk to, the women because of his abuse of them in his poetry. He ran into great danger from both sexes” (translation by Kovac 21); fr. 39.15: “He, partly in annoyance at the ill-will of his fellow-citizens...” and in the following his renouncing Athens and going to Macedon is told (fr. 39.17–19).

Here, it can be observed how the letters contradict other stories.⁶ However, what is even more interesting in the way the letters construct their story is the following: a principal motive behind the letters is the apology of the poet against charges leveled at him for his being at a tyrant’s court. Throughout the novel, he argues for the benefit that a monarch can draw from the association with intellectuals. Yet, such a charge is virtually absent from the whole Euripides tradition.⁷ It is only by means of the apology that the charge is created; that is to say, by creating the story, the novel also creates the counter story. As soon as this “play with stories” is regarded as the principle aim of the author, it becomes comprehensible why there is no positive explanation for Euripides’ association with the king, though he is promising the recipient that “he will cease to be ignorant of the causes and at the same time to condemn me—as is natural for one in ignorance to do—as greedy for gain” (*Ep.* 5.2, translated by Kovacs 137).

The Reception of the Ancient Epistolary Novel in Christianity

The epistolary novels analyzed so far by classicists treat the “dangerous liaisons” between a hero of Greece’s classical past and political power (Euripides/Socrates vs. Archelaos; Chion vs. Clearchus; Hippocrates vs. Artaxerxes; Plato vs. Dionysios; Aeschines vs. the Athenian polis; etc.), and are set to the final stage of the hero’s life. Christian communities adopted this genre in the second century to tell similar stories of their “heroes.” Since the letter was the commonly used device for communication between the communities scattered about the Empire, the epistolary novel was an appropriate genre to deal with comparable questions.

The Apostle Paul

In the early second century, an author used this genre to answer the question how the Apostle Paul stayed in contact with his communities once he left, how he organized them, how he fought against heretics and opponents, and how he turned into a martyr. In the small collection of Pastoral Epistles, which are preserved in the canon of the New Testament, this moving story can be followed. By reading them from Titus via 1 Timothy up to 2 Timothy, the reader can see how Paul is changing gradually and what happened to him after his imprisonment. Where Acts end with the depiction of *Paulus victor* (cf. Acts 28:30–31: *kerusson...meta pases parresias akolutos*) and leaves the end of the Apostle open, 2 Timothy depicts Paul left alone and surrounded by his true fellows at the eve of his death in a Roman prison (4:6–22; see Pervo 1994; Glaser 2009a).

Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch

Later in the second century, another author has used an unknown martyr named Ignatius for providing an epistolary novel on the topic of Christian identity in the Roman Empire (although the majority of scholars estimate these letters as authentic, Hübner 1997 and others have demonstrated their fictional character). The plot of the novel runs as follows: Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch in Syria, having received death sentence there, is on his way to Rome, where he will be thrown to the beasts. On this journey through Asia Minor, he finds opportunity to receive delegates from the surrounding churches and involves heretics in theological discussions. The preserved seven letters he wrote from Smyrna and Troas to the communities in Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, Rome, Philadelphia, Smyrna, and to Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna. In these letters, he exhorts the communities to follow their bishop, to fight against heretics, and he reflects on his impending martyrdom. The entire collection reveals an elaborate construction with many of the literary techniques which can frequently be observed in epistolary novels. Different from non-Jewish/Christian fiction, this novel takes up motifs such as travel, religion, and cultural identity (see Zeitlin, Stephens, and Romm in Whitmarsh 2008), and the genre in general to tackle current theological discussions. By reading the Ignatian letters as an epistolary novel, it becomes obvious why the author chose such a novel to promote this specific picture of a martyr bishop in dealing with the question of Christian identity. Dating the Ignatian letters to the time

of Marcus Aurelius, they represent a voice in the debate on the relevance of the charismatic character of prophecy, of the martyr/confessor, and the resulting conflicts with ecclesiastical authorities. In the fourth century, the novelistic momentum of the Ignatian letters was enforced by augmenting and reediting them. In this so called “long recension,” the parallels between Ignatius and Paul are stressed by using the Pastoral Epistles extensively.

Paul and Seneca

Also to the fourth century dates a book of (14) fictional letters that stages the epistolary communication between the Apostle Paul (imprisoned in Rome) and the Stoic philosopher L. Annaeus Seneca. Whereas in the “classical” epistolary novels the letter writer directly addresses a potentate, this scenario was implausible in early Christian epistolary fiction. The letter exchange between Paul and Seneca veers toward the pagan antecedents. Though Paul is not yet addressing his letters to Nero, his words and ideas are presented to the emperor by the intermediary Seneca, who informs the Apostle of the impression he made: *confiteor, Augustum sensibus tuis motum...mirari eum posse ut qui non legitime imbutus sit taliter sentiat* (Ep. 7). With this novel, the reader can observe how the Christian religion becomes more and more socially acceptable (see Pervo 2010, 110–116).

Aftermath

The intention of this *tour d’horizon* was to acquaint readers with the variety and flexibility of the ancient epistolary novel. By attributing Wittgenstein’s concept of family resemblances, books of letters can be understood as novels—“for a special purpose.” By reading epistolary books as novels, the reader becomes a detective, collecting the hints which build up the story “behind the letters,” and the focus of interpretation shifts to the construction of the narrative world and the masquerade of the letter writer. This does not imply that each collection of letters is a piece of fiction. For example, the letters of Synesios, fifth-century bishop of Cyrene, are an example of the use of the epistolary “I” for an artful self-portrayal (Hose 2003). These traits can also be observed in the letters from exile of the former bishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom (Mayer 2006). Like Ovid’s letters, these letters display a highly stylized picture of an ostracized

individual.

A final example for the adaptability of the genre can be found in Islamic literature. In the eighth century, a Christian Syrian secretary at the court of the Omayyad caliph translated a sixth-century Greek (presumably Christian) epistolary novel on Aristotle and Alexander into Arabic. This book of letters was intended as a *Fürstenspiegel* for the young monarch. Thus, the author provided, as it seems, with the reception of classical Greek literary tradition in the form of a “modern” genre, the first piece of Islamic prose fiction (Maróth 2006).

NOTES

1 On the *tupoi epistolikoi* given by Ps.-Demetrius and Ps.-Libanius, see the edition by Malherbe 1988.

2 Ps.-Demetrius defines: “when we bring to light the badness of someone’s character or the offensiveness of (his) action against someone” (trans. Malherbe 1988, 37).

3 Ps.-Demetrius defines: “when we give the reasons why something has not taken place or will not take place” (trans. Malherbe 1988, 39).

4 The letters are, in addition, virtually unknown to the tradition on Euripides. The biographical tradition knows nothing of Euripides as a letter writer or hints to the content of the letters, and the letters are not handed down to us in conjunction with his plays; no edition of his works, which come mostly with biographical introductions, are supplemented with the letters. The first and only antique reference to our letters dates from the third century in the *Aratus vita*. See Gösswein 1975, 3 n. 1, 6–12, 24, 28; Jouan and Auger 1983, 186–187.

5 See Xen. *Mem.* 2.3.12 and Bentley’s reproach 1697, 127: “Must Euripides, his Rival, his Antagonist, tell him, *That his Orders about family affairs were executed*: as if He had been employ’d by him, as Steward of his Household?”

6 With regard to Sophocles, the letters make it explicit that tradition was changed. An uncommented change is made with regard to Cephisophon who, as the addressee of the last letter, appears as a close and loyal friend, while everywhere else he is named as the rival in love to Euripides’ wife; see Kovacs 1990.

7 Arist. *Frogs* 83–85 can be read as a similar charge against Agathon for his going “to the feast of the blessed” (Ες μακάρων εὐωχίαν 85; Kovacs 1994, 90–91), which is interpreted in some of the scholia as referring to the golden tables of Archelaos (see Chantry 2001). Possibly, Satyrus fr. 39.17 hints at such a charge against

Euripides. There, an interlocutor (A) reports the protest Euripides brought forth against Athens in the form of a choral ode which states: “There are golden wings about my back and the winged sandals of the Sirens are fitted on my feet, and I shall go aloft far into the heavens, there with Zeus...” At this point, the fragment breaks off, while the next one (fr. 39.18) goes on “... began the songs. Or do you not know that it is this that he says? (Diodora:) What do you mean? (A:) In saying “mingle my flight with Zeus,” he hints metaphorically at the monarch and at the same time increases the man’s preeminence. (Di.:) It seems to me that you speak with more subtlety than truth. (A:) You may understand it as you like. At any rate, he went over and spent his old age in Macedonia, enjoying very high honor with the king...” (trans. Kovacs 25). The “golden wings” may hint at the charge of going there for money. However, as this is the only instance in the whole tradition, and due to the fragmentary character, one cannot be certain on this point. Diodora, however, does not give credence to the rumor. This could indicate that the author was not sure about it himself. As it seems, this was at least not widespread knowledge and could only have been known to the more sophisticated reader of the novel.

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CHAPTER 16

The Life of Aesop (rec.G)

The Composition of the Text

Consuelo Ruiz-Montero

The traditional concept of the Greek “novel” has been considerably expanded in the last few years, so that now included in the genre are works that were once classed merely as “prose fiction,” “prose narrative,” or at most, “works on the fringe,” and the like. Clearly, the typology of the genre is, as it used to be, extremely rich, and these types are in turn highly mixed in nature. Such is the case with what have been traditionally called the *Life of Alexander*, *Life of Aesop*, and also the *Life of Secundus* or *Life of Homer*. What these works have in common is that they all belong to a so-called “open tradition,” where orality plays a crucial, if unclear, role, and this is why they have been considered “popular biographies.” They are “fluid texts,” inasmuch as what we are left with is a series of versions or *recensiones* of a story whose unique origin is uncertain; that is to say, it is hard to believe that they all derive from a single *Urtext*. They are “living” texts, which grow, intercross, change, and undergo a string of metamorphoses, but which, for centuries, have always been able to adapt successfully to differing narrative contexts. They are all anonymous, and it seems their circulation, literary status, origin, and destination were different to those of other “canonical” novels. Nevertheless, the importance of this type of novel in the ancient world is beyond doubt, as is the fact that the perception of their literariness was different from our own.

The group has certain features in common, such as the essentially episodic composition that combines oral and written material from different dates and with blatant anachronisms, some of which circulated independently both before and afterwards. However, they also differ as to the historical accuracy of the character, though it is true that the latter is a more important criterion for us moderns than

it was for the ancients. The “hybrid” nature of the genre is what has led to terms such as “historical novel,” “biographical novel,” “fictional biography,” “romanticized biography,” “novelistic biography,” and, in the case of the *Life of Aesop*, also “comical” or “satirical novel,” as it shares aspects of content and ideology with the comical and satirical novel that is known to us, above all, through Petronius’ *Satyricon* and Apuleius’ *Metamorphosis*, though it also differs from them in not being a first-person narrative such as the *Milesia*. All these biographical writings share some type of moralism and didactic purpose. Moreover, the structure of the *Life of Aesop* has important points in common with the biographies, but it cannot be said that it is similar to the *bioi* of Plutarch. The fact that the text does not mention the childhood and youth of Aesop brings it close to the Gospels or the *Apocryphal Acts*, that is, to the genre of *praxeis*. Aware as I am of the mixed nature of the work, I intend to study its compositional structure, treating it simply as “text.” The study will enable a better understanding of the genre and a more adequate literary evaluation of the work, whatever it may be. A study of the language and style would naturally be useful, though there is no space for it here (cf. Ruiz-Montero 2010).

The Tradition of the Text

There are three written versions of the work: *recensio G*, usually dated from the first/second century AD, which occupies a single manuscript from the tenth/eleventh century; *recensio W*, from the fourth century AD, which has a long manuscript tradition—some 15 codices containing the whole or part of the *Life* and including two translations into Latin; and the c. 1300 AD Byzantine version of Planudes, which is dependent on *W* (for the history of the text and its problems, see the introductions by Perry 1952, 1–32; Papathomopoulos 1989; 2010, 33ff; Ferrari 1997, 41–45; the *Life* of Planudes has been edited by Karla 2001). There are also seven papyri from the second/third century AD to the sixth/seventh century AD, one of which, *P.Oxy.* 1800 (late second century AD), is part of a different tradition to *G* and *W* (Lamedica 1985). Version *G* is 42 pages long, as opposed to the 27-page version *W* in the old 1952 edition of Perry, who assumed that *W* was a “school version” of *G*, whose language it “corrects” and “improves” to make it more standard, and whose content it alters, by removing certain episodes and adding others which must have been taken from the supposedly original archetype. The latter, according to Perry, would be dated between 30 BC and the first century AD (Perry 1952, 5 n.16; Adrados 1979, 674, assumed a third century BC

archetype because of the Cynic thematics). In the study that follows, I shall focus on the oldest of the versions, *recensio* G. PBerol. 11628 (second/third century AD), which is close to *G*, as the *terminus ante quem* of *recensio* *G*.

The fabulist Aesop is a ubiquitous character in the Greek oral and written tradition; his slavery in Samos and death in Delphi is reported back in Herodotus (2.134.3f.f) and Aristophanes (*Wasps* 1446ff.). His *floruit* was c. 570 BC. Aristotle introduces him as a public orator in Samos (Arist., *Rh.* 1393–1394 also links Aesop to local traditions in Delphi; see Perry 1952, 211–241; Jedrkiewicz 1989, 41–68; Luzzatto 1988 and 1996; Jouanno 2006, 9–14; Papathomopoulos 2010, 16–21). There is, however, no evidence of a biography of Aesop being written as early as the fifth century BC, as some have contended, though there may well have been a collection of fables which were attributed to him.¹ On the other hand, the possible existence of a Hellenistic biography preceding the edition of his fables does not presuppose that such a biography was similar to that contained in *G*: we are dealing with parallel traditions that are, however, mutually intersecting (Adrados 1979, 664ff.).

The peculiarities of the text make editing it very difficult. The modern editions of Papathomopoulos (1991, revised 2010; quotations are from this later edition) and Ferrari (1997) notably improved Perry's classical edition (see the reviews by Adrados 1993 and 1998; Haslam 1992; Van Dijk 1994).

The Structure of the “Life of Aesop”

From a compositional point of view, there are two clear thematic blocks: the first is the adventures of Aesop as a slave (1–90); in the second, Aesop, who is now free, serves as the counselor of peoples and kings up to his death in Delphi (91–142). The first block comprises two sections, the second block three.

The work is not a mere collection of anecdotes and fables, nor is it a juxtaposition of scenes with no predetermined plan by an author with very little literary pretensions, as Zeitz (1936, 229), Perry (1952, 2–3) and others (e.g. Holzberg 1992, 33 ff) believe. That its overall structure may be compared to a fable has also been noted.² However, it is Holzberg (1992) who has argued most strongly for a “unitarian” study of the text, contending that there is a carefully designed plan on the part of the author. This plan was based on the two following

structural principles: (1) varying deployment of three types of Aesopic *logoi*, and (2) three-stage development of the story lines (exemplified in the climatic episodes between Chapters 68–74, 78–80, and 81–91). The three types of Aesopic *logoi* are:

- A. direct instruction (monologue, dialogue)
- B. solution of a problem (difficult task, question, riddle)
- C. fable applicable to a particular situation

The *logoi* A and B are used in the episodes where Aesop is a slave in Xanthus' household (20–91) and in Babylon and Egypt (101–123). Type C is employed in those chapters that relate how Aesop helps the Samians to keep Croesus at bay (91–100), and in the Delphian chapters (124–142), the effect in the Samian section being always positive, in the Delphian always negative. Holzberg proposes the following scheme: $A/B - C(+)$ – $A/B - C(-)$. He has also noted the importance of irony and contrast between the scenes, something which, as we shall see, is especially clear in the responson between the beginning and end of the work. Holzberg's conclusions have been accepted and built upon in subsequent studies (Merkle 1996; Van Dijk 1995 classifies fables inserted in the novel). Of special interest is the comparison with the gospels, especially the gospel of Mark, made by Pervo (1998) and Shiner (1998) (see also Thomas 1998), as texts that contain the sayings and deeds of their protagonists in the service of a particular ideology.

I propose another methodology for studying the construction of the plot and devices of the author. The first thing that strikes the reader is the repetitive and monotonous nature of the episodes in the *Life*. The prime compositional technique of the novel is thus *repetition*, one of whose types is *antithesis* or *contrast*. This repetition is especially clear if we analyze the narrative morphology of the work from a functional perspective, that is, by adopting the well-known methodology employed by Propp (1977) in his study of the Russian folktale and by citing its terminology and designations.³ I distinguish between (1) narrative elements that move the plot along and that Propp terms *basic functions* of the plot, which can be performed in a variable fashion and grouped in *sequences* (there are also nexi between *functions* and *sequences*); and (2) other elements that perform a variety of functions: definition of characters, motivation for the plot, imbrication of the work in a particular social or ideological context, etc. I begin with the first.

Sequences of the Plot

Section I. Introduction

Chapters 1–19 conform to a kind of introduction that Holzberg labels “Vorgeschichte.” They begin with a description of the protagonist in three respects and stages of his life: physical (1); intellectual (the episode of the figs 2–3, which Hunter [2010, 242] observes is shaped as an exemplary tale, a fable with its *epimythion*, in a type of “ring composition” with the moral at the end of the novel); and moral (the meeting with the minister of Isis, 4–6). The episode of the figs (2–3) in which Aesop is falsely accused and saved by his natural cunning is a short sequence showing a weakened *villainy* (A) and its *liquidation* (K): Aesop acts as his own *helper*. The episode is part of a larger sequence with similar functions: *Lack* (a) (Aesop is dumb) and *liquidation* (K), thanks to Isis, who restores his voice.

Aesop’s meeting with the minister of Isis (6–8) gives rise to a series of three functions (*the first function of the donor, D; the hero’s reaction, E; receipt of a magical agent, F*) whose outcome is what Propp calls “receipt of magical agent,” granted by a helper or donor, here Isis and the Muses, through the priestess who acts as intermediary. As an extra reward, the nine Muses endow him the best eloquence (*ton ariston logon*, 7), that is, the invention of *logoi* and the composition (*ploke*) and creation (*poieseis*) of Greek *mythoi*. This is the birth of Aesop the *logopoios*, a hero with new qualities to add to that of his inborn cunning. The reward, or the wedding, of the hero, *W*, may be the endpoint of many folktales or, as here, merely of sequences. The scheme of these two sequences would be as follows:

I. a

II. A K

I. D E F K W

However, Aesop is more dangerous when he has a voice, so that, through the functions of trickery (η) and *complicity* (θ), he is once more falsely accused (*villainy, A*) and is only saved from death by the compassion of a character (*misfortune is made known, B; liquidation, K*), well-known motifs in both folklore and the novel (cf. Xen. *Eph.* 2.11.3–9 with Konstantakos 2008, II 413 ff) that will arise again in the Babylon section (IV). The scheme of the third sequence of this section would be:

III. η θ A B K

The commuting of Aesop’s death to being sold to a slave trader (15) is a typical motif in love novels (e.g. it is a characteristic of the

chain of sequences featuring Anthia in the *Ephesiaca*, though there are examples in all the novels; see Ruiz-Montero 1988, 147–148) and will function as a link between sections. As we see in the love novels, the travels connect the two sections. Aesop's sale into slavery as a *victimized hero* will prompt a chain of episodic sequences beginning in Samos. However, before the sale, a brief lexical issue (13) anticipates the later lexical play between Aesop and Xanthus. This play, such as the episode of the bread basket (17–19) in the trader's house, is a way of defining the character, i.e. is a static element in the plot, though fundamental to the work as a whole. Aesop is taken to Ephesus and to Samos (20), providing a new link to the second section of the work: Aesop's stay in Samos.

Section II. Aesop in Samos

The selling of Aesop as a slave to Xanthus (25–27) is the next *villainy* (A) that will frame the remaining episodes of this sequence, whose denouement is the freeing of Aesop by Xanthus (80). The Samian section comprises two developments: Aesop and Xanthus, as a slave, and Aesop and the Samians, now freed. In the first, the questions Xanthus asks Aesop (25–27) in the selling episode are an instance of lexical ambiguity which gives rise to a series of *juxtaposed* episodes based on a variety of linguistic misunderstandings which are repeated by means of a *cumulative technique*. Recall that the accumulation of anecdotes is typical of the biographical genre. The bulk of these episodes are based on a lexical ambiguity, as when Xanthus orders Aesop to serve water *apo tou balaneiou* (40): the master means “after the bath,” but the slave understands “from the bath” (cf. the game with *de* in Cicero’s response to his accuser in Quint., 6.86: *Dic, M. Tulli, si quid potes de Sexto Annali*), and the same is true when Aesop must give the food to whoever loves him (44–50), buy the best (51) or the worst (54–55) in the world; or as when he tells the city *strategos* that he does not know where he is going (65) and Xanthus that there is just one man in the bath (66) (these and other episodes can be regarded as expanded *chreiai*; see Shiner 1998).

Other episodes are instances of *literal* interpretations of Xanthus’ orders, as when Xanthus orders Aesop to fetch the bottle for the bath (38) or the washbasin (40); the episode of the pig’s legs (42–43) is based on this same premise. Finally, the lentils episode is an instance of the misuse of *grammatical number* (39). In all four cases, Aesop teaches Xanthus a lesson in grammatical correctness, either by playing with the singular or plural of a word (39) or teaching him to use *the right expression*, saying “no” neither more nor less than he should, in the remaining examples. Aesop’s didactic intent (*paideuso ton philosophon*, 38) is crucial in all these cases, an intent expressed by the forms *didaxei* (43) and *deixo* (50; 51). Aesop in this manner displays his ability in the use of language, which is a reflection of his age and takes back to the philosophical tradition, as we see in Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* (*Rh.* 1404ff. make frequent observations on enigma and metaphor, simile, homonyms, and the use of singular and plural; the tradition is followed by several Peripatetical treatises *Peri geloïou*, as is seen especially in Ps. Demetr. 137–189; Cic., *De orat.* 2.59–2.71; Quint. VI.). Word play is a feature of section II.1, but is absent from the rest.

II.2. Aesop and the Samians

The structure of the second part of this section is carefully designed. There are three episodes that progress *climactically* and in which Aesop displays his cunning: the drinking of the sea (69–73), the interpretation of the epitaph (78–80), and the interpretation of the prodigy (*semeion*) before the assembly of Samians (81–91). The episodes are instances of three difficult tasks being accomplished (*M N*). The three are part of an initial lack of freedom (*lack, a*), which will only be regained with the help of the Samians (*liquidation, K*). Aesop operates here as his own helper and as that of Xanthus. In all three episodes, we can see an anticipation game: Chapter 80 is an anticipation of Aesop's freedom, his mantic powers (91), and his final assault on the Delphians (125); Aesop's speech on *kairos* (88) is, by contrast, an anticipation of his end in Delphi. Chapter 91 provides a transition to section III and, at the same time, is an anticipation of the following villainy by Croesus (92).

The structure of section II.2 is as follows:

I. *a M N K neg.*

II. *a M N K neg.*

III. *a M N K.*

The triplicate nature of the episode is typical of folklore.

Section II has the greatest number and variety of examples of Aesop's wisdom: wordplay, divination and difficult tasks, etiological tales, fables, and other didactic material; the section is dominated by static episodes, whose main function is to *define* both the secondary characters and Aesop. Such is the purpose of episodes such as the sexual relation with Xanthus' wife, who is unnamed (75–76) (an episode retained in *W*, contained in *G* originally, though the passage is removed) or Xanthus' sophistic speech on why he urinates while walking (28).

Section III. Aesop in Sardis

With no links but by means of juxtaposition we pass on to the third section of the work, which begins with two felonies committed by King Croesus: in the first, he demands tributes of the Samians (92, *villainy*, A), who seek advice from Aesop (*misfortune is made known*, B), who in turn tells them a fable (93–94) and thereby operates as a helper (*beginning counteraction*, C = *receipt of a magical agent*, F). Aware of the deed, Croesus now sends an emissary to demand the arrest of Aesop (96), which is the announcement of a second *villainy* (A, B). Aesop presents himself voluntarily before Croesus (*departure*, j) and uses his eloquence (F) to impress the king, thus saving his life and helping to release the Samians (100, *liquidation*, K). Upon his return (!), the Samians dedicate a *Aisopeion* (W) to Aesop as a reward. The scheme of both sequences is as follows:

I. A B C = F

II. A B C ; F K ! W

In the second sequence, it is clear that Aesop acts once more as his own helper and also as that of the Samians as a result of the magic gift he received from the Muses. In this section, there are only fables, one of them (99) with Aesop in peril of his life, a peril which adds some suspense to the plot but which is soon dissipated (100). The sequence is rounded off very neatly with the dedication of the *Aisopeion*. The statues of the Muses and of himself which Aesop has erected here excite the anger of Apollo (*orge*, 100), as Aesop forgets the god; this creates some fresh suspense and stands as a kind of *violation or transgression* of a religious law, which will only be punished at the end of the novel.

This section represents the *akme* of the rise of Aesop and of the narrative. Next, Aesop decides to travel around the world (101), and his travels, which bring him first to Babylon, provide the link to the next section.

Section IV. Aesop in Babylon

In Babylon, the action begins with Aesop being honored for his intelligence, with King Lycurgus putting him in charge of his administration (101). It is Aesop himself who sends *problemata philosophias* to other kings (102). Moreover, it is here that Aesop adopts a child, Ainos (in *W*) or Helios, who, irritated at Aesop for erotic reasons, brings a false accusation against him to the king, who believes him and sentences Aesop to death (104). The relevant functions are now *deceit* (h) and *complicity* (q), functions which precede a *villainy* (A), which in this case is mitigated (B), as Aesop is secretly saved (104), just as in section I. After a while, Lycurgus is given a *problem* by King Nectanebus of Egypt (105): the construction of a special tower, for which he will pay a great deal of tributes if he is unable to build it. Thus, we have the *villainy*, A, of yet another *villain*, a *villainy* which is here assimilated to a *difficult task*, M. After his initial despair, the king, whose counselors are unable to help him ($B = N \text{ neg.}$), learns that Aesop is alive (107, $B = \text{exposure of the villain, Ex}$) and releases him (K); Helios is punished (*punishment*, U) and Aesop is reinstated (108, W). Aesop then agrees to resolve the problem (108, $C = F$) and leaves for Egypt (111, j). Once he has arrived, Nectanebus poses the hero two riddles, a kind of difficult task (M), which Aesop resolves successfully (113–115, *solution*, N). Finally, he also resolves the problem of the tower (116, $K = N$), together with three other problems (117–118; 119–120; 121–122, MN). Then Aesop returns to Babylon (!), where Lycurgus honors him with a golden statue in the company of the Muses (W).

Section IV has two narrative sequences; in the first of them, the initial *villainy* is interrupted by another *villainy*, this time against Lycurgus, in which Aesop, the victimized hero of the previous sequence, after being found alive, becomes the *helper* of Lycurgus in this second sequence, just as he was with the Samians. The two sequences can be illustrated as follows:

I. $\eta \theta A B$

II. $A = M B = N \text{ neg.}$

I. $B = \text{Ex } K U W$

II. $C = F j MN K = N MN MN MN ! W$

A cursory glance shows the repetition of functions in both sequences, as well as the high frequency of the *M–N* pairing in this section, which has a strong folk character (e.g. the cruelty of Lycurgus in 106, already mentioned in 104), comparable only to section II.2. It

is also clear that the resolution of the prodigy before the Samians (91), the narration of the fable before Croesus in Sardis (99), and the solution of the riddles before Nectanebus (105 ff.) in Egypt are structurally equivalent. Furthermore, the sequences of sections III and IV follow similar structural patterns, with clearly marked and rounded endings.

The basis to this section is the story of the Babylonian counselor Ahikar, which was transmitted both orally and in written form and whose text may date back to the seventh century BC and can be read in a fifth-century-BC Aramaic papyrus (there are comparable characters in Daniel, Joseph, and Mardocheus from the Old Testament and Apollonius in the *History of Apollonius, King of Tyre*; for his relation to the *Life*, see Luzzatto 1994; Konstantakos 2008, I 319 ff.; II 403 ff.). The episode, then, has a strong folk character and may have influenced the biography of Aesop from an early stage.

A fresh journey, this time to Delphi, helps link this section to the last section in the novel.

Section V. Aesop in Delphi

In two speeches at Delphi, Aesop accuses the Delphians of living off the tributes paid by the rest of the Greeks (125–126), something that first angers the Delphians and then the authorities: Aesop is the victim of a conspiracy and is condemned to death (127). However, the narration of the execution is deferred and presented climactically; Aesop twice tries to avoid his death by telling two pairs of fables (the text of the fable of the daughter raped by her father [ch. 141] appears in *W*), but in this case his eloquence lets him down. A man who has saved Xanthus on numerous occasions, the Samians, and Lycurgus, is now unable to save himself.

From a structural point of view, this episode is different from the rest because of its markedly religious content. At the end of section II, there was already a reference to Apollo's wrath with Aesop (100), so that we were expecting the god's punishment, which is usual in these cases. The *Life* explains the death of Aesop in Delphi by means of the *aition* of the wrath of Apollo, but in the end, there is a mingling and overlapping of divine punishment and the unholy punishment inflicted by the Delphians which, because it is unholy, will also be punished: the plague suffered by the Delphians and the oracle of Apollo demanding expiation is the text's two-line clue to this. The later expedition against Delphi is another final *aition*. Like the ritual *pharmakos*, in the older version of the story, Aesop was able to die guiltless. In the novel, Apollo is both the instigator and the avenger of his death, which may appear absurd unless we acknowledge there is no distinction between the *pharmakos* who causes the impurity and the *pharmakos* of the ritual whose task it is to remove it.⁴ The text appears to combine an episode of ancient ritual origin with a kind of literary rationalization, of which there are examples in the work of other archaistic second-century-AD authors, such as Xen. *Eph.* 1.2.1; 3.11.5, and Paus. 7.23.3; 26, 9, etc., the motif of divine wrath being as ancient as *Il.* 1.1. The truth of the matter is that Aesop's piety is underlined both at the beginning of the novel, with the priestess of Isis (5–6), and also in the last episode, where Aesop first takes refuge in the temple of the Muses (134) and then invokes Apollo as witness to his unfair death (142). In all of this, there is an insistence on the unholy nature of the Delphians and on the innocence of Aesop: Aesop is finally avenged but, compared to the *amplificatio* of the narration of his death, these events are hardly mentioned. Indeed, what traditionally may have been a single fable (thus in Calim fragment 192 Pfeiffer; more details in Luzzatto 1988; 1996, 1317; Plut., *De Sera*,

556f–557a also presents Aesop as innocent) is in this section converted into three pairs of them: one pair before a friend in prison (129–131) and another two pairs before the Delphians.

In certain American folktales, Dundes (1980) has found the following sequence: *Interdiction / Violation / Consequence / Attempted Escape*; an etiological element can be added at the end of the sequence. Now, the same scheme can be found underlying the Delphi section, which can be symbolized thus:

I. *Viol Conseq* =

II. *Viol*

I. *AE AE*

II. *Conseq AE*

This fifth section recalls the Sardis section (93) with the presence of fables in the face of death, but the result is different. The presence of the authorities (*archontes*) is also common to both episodes. As in section II.2, the ending is climactic and closed, and intensified by the punishment of the Delphians. Tragic irony is present here and is strongly bound up with contrast, as we shall show later. All of this confirms the presence of an author.

The events narrated in section V are from the earliest stages of the Aesop biography, as is section II.2. At some point, to this nucleus would be added sections III and IV. The material involved here is traditional in character, transmitted orally and/or in written form, which the author then develops and extends. Sections I and II.1 are the latest and show a predominance of literary material, chiefly from the comic and school tradition. The second block of the plot (sections III, IV, and V) is exactly half as long as the first, which means that the narrative *tempo* is faster.

The sections of the work tend to be linked by means of on-running threads (I–II; III–IV–V) or juxtaposition (II–III), techniques that are both typical of a literature genuinely oral in origin or which seeks to imitate it. The threading technique is as old as the *Odyssey*, but can also be found in the *Ephesiaca* and the *Ass*, and extends as far as the picaresque novel.

Other Elements of the Text's Composition

As in the repetition of episodes, functions, and narrative sequences, the recurrence of thematic motifs in the novel is continual, creating a

chain of cross-references which lend the work a structure and ideological unity, so that the *lexis eiromene* frequently employed by the author converts the text into a kind of *diegesis eiromene*, so to say, a device commonly used in archaic literature. This phenomenon can be seen in both echoes of the same words in nearby episodes and the repetition of ideas and scenes at different stages of the plot, all of which give the text a special narrative rhythm. A few examples are discussed in the following text:

Example I. One of the ideas that underlies the whole of the novel is the discrepancy between appearance and reality. This can be seen in Aesop himself, who is ugly on the outside but who has an inner beauty, all of which is hyperbolically portrayed at the start of the work (Papademetriou 1997; Ruiz-Montero and Sánchez Alacid 2003): his ugliness is alluded to reiteratively in sections I and II, and compared to that of animals or a variety of objects (7; 11; 14; 15; 16; 19; 21; 27; 29; 30; 31; 37; 87; 88); Aesop is dubbed *teras* in Samos (88) and *teras* and *ainigma* in Sardis (98).⁵ Described by his companions at the beginning as *periergos* (“meddling”), he will prove to Xanthus that it is possible to be *aperiergos* in 56–64, although he is killed precisely for being a meddler. The correlation between final scenes and analogous initial ones underlines the work’s unity. Thus, the questions the Delphians ask Aesop about their origins (126) recall Xanthus’ initial interrogation of Aesop about his own origin (25). It is only at the end that we know who Aesop really is; the words of Aesop’s friend in jail (“How could you insult them in their own land and city, being in their hands? What happened to your education [*paideia*]? And to your learning [*philologon*]? You have given counsel to cities and peoples but you have been foolhardy when it comes to yourself.” [130]) echo Aesop’s own questions to Xanthus when the latter wishes to commit suicide because of the failure of his philosophy: “Master, what happened to your philosophy? To the pride of your education (*paideia*)? What happened to your belief in self-control (*enkrateia*)?” (85). The prudent Aesop has become as vain and imprudent a scholar as Xanthus, something the author shows by means of verbal repetitions. As is the case with Xanthus, Aesop’s philosophy has been of no use to him. His own tongue has been his undoing, rendering him a walking example of his own doctrine, expressed in 54–55. He has become a living paradox. The irony and contrast, both dramatic in origin, are clear here. Like a new Oedipus who resolves all enigmas but that of his own existence, Aesop’s destiny is the answer to the question posed at the very heart of the novel: “Master, is everything possible for the human being?” Xanthus replied: “Who started talking about the human being? What a creature is this, so skilled (*panourgos*) and able (*dynatos*) in all things!” (69.2–

3). Significantly, the adjective *panourgos* is later applied to Aesop (122) and to the perfidious behavior of the Delphians (127). As for the verb *dynamai*, which is especially frequent and significant in the work at the end (128), Aesop himself admits he has no way of saving himself and wonders how, being mortal, he will be able (*dynesomai*) to elude what awaits him, in such a way that we think of Alexander converted into a philosopher by Ps.-Callisthenes (Ruiz-Montero and Fernández Zambudio 2009).

We remarked earlier that, together with the technique of anticipation, the author works a certain amount of suspense into the telling of his story. These techniques are not, however, as advanced here as in the Greek love novels; the degree of suspense for the audience is here lower, since the material is traditional and largely well known. The surprise is rooted less in the *pragmata* than in the *lexis* (*logoi*); it affects the *persona*, the protagonist himself, a character omnipresent in the scene, a character in search of his own identity, comparable to the heroes of the *Ass* and the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius. Like Alexander, Aesop is the traditional trickster, the typical *seeker* of solutions, who becomes a *victimized hero*. Hence his ambivalence. The *metabole* from *dystychia* to *eutychia* in Sardis is only apparent and transitory, because the latter changes back to *dystychia* in Delphi. Not completely, however, as there will be a claim that Aesop is innocent and he will be avenged by the gods (Aesop is revived in the comic tradition; see Perry 1952, text 45; Andreassi 2001, 220 ff.; Sanchis Llopis 1996). To the moral (*epimytion*) of the plot there is thus added an *aition* (compare Chapter 133 with the *epimytion* of the fable narrated by Aesop in Arist., *Rh.* 1393–1394).

Example II. Another constant in the narrative is Aesop's cunning. A large number of episodes are based on riddles or questions referred to as *zetemata*, *problemata*, *erotesis*, *erotemata*, or even *logoi* (119.6), which surface in both the Samos and the Babylon sections. The context for these questions is usually a banquet, in keeping with a tradition that reaches the schools of rhetoric and literature via comedy and philosophy.⁶ In the *Life*, there are at least 18 episodes of this kind, which are responses to three basic types of questioning and whose content is divided between etiological tales (33; 67; 68), riddles (25; 35–37; 47–48; 54–55; 77; 78; 113; 115; 120; 121), or inquiries about the human being (56–64; 69; cf. with the *theseis* of Theon 120), which are also present in the previous types.

We referred earlier to the *chreiai*, but there are other instances of the author's use of school material. As instances of *progymnasmata*, we can cite the etiological *diegemata* (33; 68), the *enkomiastion* and *psogos* to the tongue (54; 56), the *ekphraseis* of the two paths (95), and, of course, the fables (*mythoi*) that are attested to in all three school levels

(Cribiore 2001, 205; for mythological material combined with maxims of the Seven Sages, see 208; Theon 73 cites the “Aesopic” fables alongside those of other nations) and are called *logoi* in the novel, just like the tales and the different speeches, which are all examples of the Muses’ initial gift to Aesop (7). The fable Aesop relates in Sardis (99) is the *logoi* concerning human fortune sought by Croesus. It should also be noted that, in resolving the prodigy before the assembly at Samos, Aesop acts as an accomplished political orator, delivering three classical-style deliberative speeches, citing *kairos* as the ability to speak well and the knowledge of when to be silent, after a Gorgian conceit that also appears in the Empire. Aesop thus combines *sophia* and *paideia*, as did Xanthus, whose official wisdom he supplants from section IV on. Aesop’s journeys in the last two sections are not just a trace of a traditional motif in the biographies of philosophers, but an echo of the journeys of the Sophists which were so popular in the period (Xanthus disserts before his students in the *akroateria* [37; 43; 44; 68], in the *agora* [22.8–9], or in the banquets [44; 47; 51; 55; 68]; the presence of the masses, their shouts, and their exclamations recall contemporary declamation).

The Context of the Work

The content of the novel has clear links with Plutarch’s *Banquet of the Seven Sages*, whose degree of archaism has been correctly noted (see Jedrkiewicz 1997, 101–121; Plutarch shows a good knowledge of Aesop, whose fables he cites often, at times providing unique Greek examples). Now, archaism is typical of the Second Sophistic. The importance of *paideia* in the work, the scholarly origin of the bulk of its material, the links to cultivated authors in the Empire, and the references to different manifestations typical of the Second Sophistic need also to be underlined. The Aesop of the *Life* embodies several different personalities and traditions: the cunning hero of folklore, the Eastern-style courtly sage, the witty slave of comedy, the parasite who produces laughter in mime, the fabulist of tradition, and the ritual *pharmakos*.

The text is an instance of the interaction, which was clear in the imperial period, between oral tradition and rhetorical tradition, the latter already a mixed and multifaceted affair, since orality was not just restricted to the material of the work but could be seen in the modes of performance and, possibly, in those of transmission: the importance of the banquet scenes in the *Life*, the continual play of question and answer and the very delivery of the speeches and fables,

all resonate with orality.

Though the *Life* cannot, it seems, be ascribed to any philosophical “orthodoxy,” the very heterodox character of the work, its bitter moral,⁷ and its mixture of genres place it within the vicinity of the Cynic tradition, a question that requires further investigation. We do not know what audience or means of transmission the author has in mind, but the work may be linked to the Cynic literature of the empire (a work of entertainment for Cynic circles? See Ruiz-Montero, forthcoming) and should be seen as an important link in the chain of Greek satire, whose history it can illuminate. Precisely because it is part of that tradition, it is risky to jump to chronological conclusions, since the work is flanked by Petronius and Lucian; but neither can it be said that it is closer to Lucian than to Plutarch, an author with whose work it shares important aspects of content and terminology. The ideas expounded in the *Life* are not those of the *pepaideumenoí* of Plutarch and Chariton, but it may well have been aimed at a less “popular,” i.e. less uncultivated, audience than has been assumed. The work would appear to broaden the horizons of recipients of the literature of entertainment and to beg the idea that the levels of audience were not so rigid and were more diversified than is traditionally assumed for the reception of the novel.⁸ The *Life of Aesop* presents the paradoxes and enigmas of human existence by means of a paradoxical personage, a veritable *teras*, a monster or living enigma: in this work, Aesop poses the last of his riddles to be resolved. The mixture of seriousness and comedy is a fact in both this *Life* and ours.

Notes

1 The assumption is that of West 1984, who adduces the analogy of the biographical tradition surrounding Homer, though he was to criticize the traditional *Volksbuch* theory of Zeitz 1936 and others. The theory has been defended more forcefully by Luzzatto 1988 and 1996, who underlines the cultivated character of the Aesop tradition, something to be very much borne in mind.

2 Nojgaard 1964, I, 142 ff.; Holzberg 2003. Adrados 1979, 108 ff. sees the continual *agones* between Aesop and another character as the basis of composition of the *Life*, concluding that this is what would give birth to the comic–realist novel.

3 Propp’s methodology has been applied to the Greek love novels by Ruiz-Montero 1988; a reduced English version is in Ruiz-Montero 1981. For the present analysis, I use Ruiz-Montero and Sánchez Alacid 2005.

4 The conclusion of Nagy 1979, 283. He thinks (290 n. 2.1) that the

fables show that the *Vita* is archaic in content, if not in diction, but we shall return to this apparent archaism; he also believes that Chapters 6–7 are early, unlike Wiechers 1960.

5 The fact that in section V there are no allusions to this ugliness, and it appears only in 123 in section IV, implies that the motif was stressed and reinterpreted at a later date. It would seem to be a comic and rhetorical treatment of a theme traditional in philosophy, and exemplified in Socrates.

6 The same terminology and context in Plut., *Quaest. Conv.*, 686c; *Conv. sept. sap.*, 148d; 152c; 156e, etc. We know that the same line of investigation was already being pursued by Arist., *Rh.*, 1394a2; see Schultz 1914; Dörrie 1966; and Criore, 2001, 209, for a high level of the rhetorical school. On the *zetesis ton griphon*, see Athen., 13.448b ff. In 13.565, Diogenes is seeking the sense of *hippopornos*, a term which appears in *Life* 32: see Ruiz-Montero 2010. Moreover, the same equivalence of *philologoi* and *philosophoi* (cf. 47.1–2 with 68.1–3) can be read in Plut., 776b–779c. It is worth noting that neither *philologia* nor *philologos* appears in Lucian.

7 Compare the tone of Babr. I *prol.* 15–20. Apparently, only Babr. II *prol.* 2, and *Vita* 7 and 79.6 use *heurema* with *epsilon*. One other coincidence: in II *prol.* 9–12 Babrius uses the plural *poiéseis* (the same as *griphoi*, according to him), as in *Life* 7.

8 Karla 2009, 23, suggests a listening public which could not read, but does not dismiss the idea of another more cultivated audience. Gallo 1996 classed as “paraliterature” the biographies of Alexander and Segundus, works intended for a popular audience but rhetorical and pseudo-philosophical in inspiration.

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PART III

Influences and Intertextuality

CHAPTER 17

Reception of Strangers in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*

*The Examples of Hypata and Cenchreae*¹

Stavros Frangoulidis

In the opening section of the *Metamorphoses*, the primary character Lucius is ostensibly traveling to Hypata in Thessaly on a business trip, though in truth he is more interested in the pursuit of magic, for which the town is renowned. On his way there, Lucius hears the tale of a fellow traveler Aristomenes, according to which the people of Hypata are totally inhospitable toward strangers. This view is reinforced when Lucius arrives in the town not long thereafter: he is afforded a lukewarm reception by his host, falls victim to deception, and is turned into a laughing stock by the entire community. The last of these misfortunes occurs in a public celebration known as the Laughter festival, which follows Lucius' first indirect contact with magic the previous night. After his metamorphosis into an ass and a series of misadventures, the protagonist happens upon Cenchreae, a site dedicated to the worship of Isis. There, he is treated to the warmest of welcomes from devotees of the goddess, who treat him in a kind and humane manner despite his animal form. Lucius' positive experiences at Cenchreae culminate in his restoration to human form and initiation into the Isis cult.

The marked contrast in the treatment of strangers at Hypata and Cenchreae is in no small part due to the presence of the witches in Hypata, who represent forces of disorder. On the other hand, the worship of Isis at Cenchreae, goddess of ideal love and true knowledge, renders that city kind and hospitable. The arrival of several strangers in Hypata is designed to reveal the inhospitable character of the town, whereas the humane reception of a single

newcomer at Cenchreae demonstrates its civilized character. The presence of the witches in Hypata has an effect on the character of the community, making them indifferent and even cruel to outsiders. Their character is set in contrast to Cenchreae, where the true religion of the patron goddess Isis makes people open and friendly to foreigners. Since respect for outsiders is cardinal to Greco-Roman civilization, the remarkable difference in the treatment strangers receive at Hypata and Cenchreae suggests the superiority of the community of Cenchreae over that of Hypata.

The theme of hospitality in Apuleius has received treatment in a number of different contexts. Fernández Contreras (1997, 113–125) documents the theme of Homeric hospitality as found in Lucius' *hospitium* relationship with Milo in Book One of the *Metamorphoses*, in an attempt to show the non-canonical and subversive treatment it receives in the novel's narrative. Keulen (2007, 49, 399) provides good observations on Milo's *hospitium* and that of Callimachus' *Hecale* and *Victoria Berenices*, and of similar scenes in Petronius' *Satyricon*. Finally, Vander Poppen (2008, 170–173) has concentrated on a representative pair of *hospitium* relationships (Milo–Lucius and Isis–Lucius) and how they guide reader interpretations of the protagonist's moral condition through his rupture of the *hospitium* pact. This *hospitium* is set up by Milo as means of evaluating the resolution reached in the novel's final book: Isis figures as an ideal hostess, although the offer of priesthood by her priest reveals some flaws.

One aspect of the hospitality theme that still remains unexplored is the different way the people of Hypata and Cenchreae as a community react to strangers who come to town, even if they do not enter into a *hospitium* relationship as happens with Lucius. Lucius' time in Hypata, the capital of Thessalian magic, is closely aligned with the unfavorable experiences of other strangers, who are likewise exploited by the townsfolk for their own enjoyment. On the other hand, the cultural superiority of Cenchreae is clearly evident in the way its inhabitants behave toward Lucius as an outsider.

The term *hospitium* defines proper host–guest relations, and involves interaction between people of different cities rather than fellow citizens. The stranger is considered to be under the protection of a god, *Zeus Xenios* for the Greeks or *Jupiter Hospitalis* for the Romans. The institution is designed to welcome strangers and integrate them into the local community. This is accomplished through the acceptance of the guest in the house, bathing, clothing, feasting, and the exchange of gifts of hospitality (Herman 1987, 44–72; Herman 1996, 612; also Wagner-Hasel 2005, 511). The host is expected to accompany his guest to court, protect his legal interests, and provide a festive occasion for his stay (Bolchazy 1977, 28–29). He

is also expected to facilitate his homecoming by providing resources for travel. The guest must respect and honor his host and family. Betrayal of this *hospitium* is thought to be an offence against the gods: Herman (1987, 44–72; 1996, 612; cf. Wagner-Hasel 2005, 511) interprets the formalities of *hospitium* as enactment of a ritual that leads to the creation of a “ritualized friendship,” though Konstan (1999, 36) rightly points out that the term “ritualized friendship” is rather loaded, since there is no evidence that the bond established is solemnly sealed by ritual formalities: individual aspects of *hospitium* do not necessarily take place in a prescribed manner, as in epic typology, but may vary in tone, details, and sequence. The enactment of the rite may lead to a special bond of stranger–friendship. In Apuleius’ novel, for example, Lucius the ass identifies Milo as his closest relative, when he hears from the robbers’ spy the charge made by the Hypatans of allegedly robbing the house of his host Milo, and defines the act of allegedly robbing his house as *parricidium* (7.3). The renewal of stranger–friendship bond among guest and host and their families, as pointed out by Konstan (1999, 36), is obviously desirable, but the continuity of the bond is not based on fixed rules. The benefits gained from the renewal of *hospitium* can be summed up as the return (*gratia*) that is due for the favors (*beneficia*) one has received (Konstan 1999, 123). In Plautus’ *Miles Gloriosus*, the young Pleusicles explicitly states his concern as to whether he will be able to return the extraordinary benefits (*gratia* 670) he receives from the old Proplectomenus, his *paternus hospes*.

The institution was practiced by the elite in a context of socio-political expectations: eminent Greek and Romans gained prestige by maintaining extensive ties of *hospitium* with important figures abroad (Herman 1996, 612; Bolchazy 1977, 33–34). To avoid the risks created by this, the state practiced *hospitium publicum*, which was modeled on that practiced among individuals and analogous to the Greek *proxenia* (Herman 1996, 613).

Hospitium was a particularly useful institution in the field of commerce, offering reciprocal advantages for the transport of goods (Wagner-Hasel 2005, 511). When travel became more frequent, decent conduct prescribed that a stranger should find a hospitable environment and should not suffer harm or be expelled from a town, as the norms of civilized behavior demanded. In sum, hospitality was one of the oldest social institutions practiced in both Greek and Roman cultures, and it defined proper behavior toward strangers, while also indicating overall cultural progress.

The imagery of *hospitium* resonates strongly throughout Apuleius’ novel. Lucius is on the way from Corinth to Hypata, the capital of Thessalian magic, allegedly on a business trip but in truth in order to

get acquainted with magic. The protagonist's strong interest in the occult is presented as pursuit of knowledge, based on the erroneous belief that magic holds the key to understanding the world. At this stage, Lucius is unaware of benevolent magic as represented by Isis, goddess of compassion and wisdom. En route to Hypata, Lucius hears the tale of Aristomenes, according to which strangers do not receive fair treatment in the town.

The first tale goes as follows: a man named Socrates is on his way home, but stops near Larissa in order to watch a famous gladiatorial spectacle. There he falls victim to robbers, who attack him and take all his money (1.7). In his wretched condition, Socrates takes refuge in a nearby inn, which happens to be owned by a powerful witch named Meroe. When she tends to Socrates' wounds and offers him food and drink, the reader is encouraged to read the encounter as a hospitality scene (1.7). This is particularly so since Socrates does not pay Meroe, as opposed to Aristomenes, who covers the expenses for his accommodation later in the narrative (1.17). Having initially taken good care of Socrates, Meroe takes advantage of him and clearly does not respect his status as stranger: she leads her guest to her bed to satisfy her lust. Moreover, instead of offering him new clothes, she forces him to give her those that the robbers spared him, and even turns him into a slave by forcing him to work as a sack carrier and taking the money he earned from his work.

In the same tale, Aristomenes, another stranger, similarly receives unfavorable treatment in Hypata. The purpose of his journey there is to buy cheese, but he rapidly discovers that a merchant named Lupus has emptied the market. There he comes upon his friend Socrates, who has been reduced to begging in the forum. The care Aristomenes shows toward Socrates makes up for the kind of treatment Meroe provided for her guest when he arrived at her inn in a wretched state: Aristomenes gives his own clothing to Socrates, takes him to the baths and then to an inn where he offers him food and wine, and advises him to get some sleep before leaving the next morning (1.7–1.11). Meroe and her sister Panthia burst into the room and foil Aristomenes' plans to lead his friend to safety, unwittingly turning him into an accomplice in their crime. Meroe removes Socrates' heart, while Panthia inserts a sponge into Socrates' wound, orders it to return to the sea via a river, and assigns Aristomenes the task of burying Socrates once he has died (1.13). The following morning, Aristomenes is surprised to see that Socrates is still alive, and urges him to depart, in the mistaken impression that he is leading his friend to safety, whereas in truth he is working for his undoing. Socrates dies as soon as he bends down to quench his thirst in a river, and the sponge inserted the previous night falls from his wound to return to the sea,

as per Panthia's instructions, and Aristomenes buries his friend when he dies. In his sense of guilt in the death of his friend and his fear for his life from the witches, Aristomenes does not return to his country but relocates to Aetolia, where he remarries. Thus, far from receiving a fair reception as strangers in town, Socrates loses his life, while Aristomenes is prevented from ever returning home after his horrible experience at Hypata.

The notion of disregard for strangers in Hypata is strongly corroborated by Lucius' experience. Upon his entrance to the town, Lucius seeks information from an aged innkeeper about his host Milo, only to learn that he is very rich but pretends to be poor, an ominous statement that foreshadows Lucius' misadventures (1.21). When he knocks on Milo's door, the maid hardly opens the door, seeking first to find out if he carries gold or silver for borrowing money. Thus, Milo makes it clear that he does not pay respect to the rules of *hospitium*. The maid only opens the door when Milo finds out that his visitor bears a letter of recommendation from his friend Demeas of Corinth. The scene inside the house confirms the innkeeper's characterization of Milo as a miser: too parsimonious to own anything but basic furniture, he is depicted as sitting on a small bed, with his wife next to his feet in front of an empty table.

After reading Demeas' letter, Milo invites his guest to accept his hospitality, thus formally receiving him as a guest. The host's reference to Lucius' noble status is in line with the view of *hospitium* relations as a means to boost social status. Having received Lucius as his guest, however, the host's behavior demonstrates that he pays scant regard to the rules of hospitality. Milo tries to convey to his guest the illusion that he is poor, thereby keeping his obligations to a minimum. He asks his wife to get up, and bids his guest to sit on the floor next to him, claiming that fear of robbers prevents him from having any chairs in the house. This incident mocks the pattern of hospitality scenes in epic, in which the guest is given a seat of honor: in Homer's *Odyssey* 7.168–7.176, for example, King Alcinous has Odysseus sit on a silver-studded chair next to him, where his dearest son Laodamas was sitting earlier. Furthermore, in his offer of hospitality to his guest, Milo also makes an allusion to mythology: he invites his noble guest to accept meager hospitality at his hovel, following the paradigm of his father's namesake Theseus when he entered into Hecale's hut (1.23). This allusion to myth and associations with Lucius' father is designed to impose a moral obligation on the guest to accept the offer of hospitality. At the same time, given the host's great wealth, it mocks the pattern in which a character who is poor offers hospitality to superior guests, as seen in Callimachus' *Hecale* (Keulen 2007, 49 and 399, and Vander Poppen

2008, 163–164). Milo's parsimony forces Lucius to refuse the offer of oil and bathing utensils, on the ground that he always carries them with him. This marks another deviation from the hospitality norm, according to which the host provides all comforts to his guest: thus, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (8.652–8.654), the poor old couple, Philemon and Baucis, are the only ones in town who admit in their hovel their immortal visitors, Jupiter and Mercury, disguised as peasants, and make arrangements to refresh their feet with warm water in a beech tub. Lucius, who refuses the offer of oil and utensils, may not be viewed as responsible for this deviation from the hospitality norms, since he is only reacting in accordance with the old tavern keeper's warning about his host (1.21).

Social misconduct toward outsiders further emerges in Lucius' first walk around town, during which he is tricked by a fishmonger. The very fact that he stops in the market to buy fish for dinner marks a significant departure from the standard norm of *hospitium*, in which the host is expected to provide for his guest. In the forum, Lucius meets Pythias, an old schoolmate from Athens who has become a market inspector. Pythias sees Lucius' fish in the basket, asks what he paid for it, and has Lucius show him the merchant from whom he purchased the fish. In rebuking the fishmonger, Pythias chastises merchants for exploiting strangers, and warns him that no travelers will visit the town in the future (1.25). He then orders one of the lictors to trample on Lucius' fish, and at the same time leaves his friend without food. This instance of fraud in the market evokes Aristomenes, who made his long trip to Hypata to no avail. Pythias' chastising the fishmonger once more illustrates the disrespect shown by the people of Hypata toward strangers.

On his return home from the baths, Lucius receives an invitation from his host through Photis to join him for dinner, but is unwilling to attend on account of Milo's stinginess. He only honors the invitation when Milo appears in person and demands that Lucius join him for dinner. At the table, conversation revolves around Demeas, his family, and his slaves, even though Lucius is exhausted from his journey and dispirited following his misadventures in the marketplace. Milo's nonsensical ramble recalls the epic hospitality scenes in which the host often becomes inquisitive while feasting. For example, during the feast for the stranger Aeneas and his guests at Dido's palace in the *Aeneid*, the queen raises question after question to her guest about Troy, after which she begs Aeneas to relate the whole tale of the city and his own wanderings (*Aen.* 1.750–1.756). Furthermore, as is typical in epic patterns of *hospitium*, the emphasis falls on the dinner conversation rather than on any description of the fare. However, there is an ironic departure from the epic procedure: unlike the lavish

feast Dido offers Aeneas and his men, Milo exhausts his guest with his endless talk, but then sends him to bed on an empty stomach (1.26).

The poor treatment Lucius receives from his host in Hypata is to some extent relieved by the warm reception he receives from his aunt Byrrhaena. On the morning following his arrival, Lucius strolls into town eager to see wondrous things, as he realizes that he is in Hypata, the capital of Thessalian magic. On his walk, he comes across a rich *matrona* accompanied by an old man and a retinue of slaves. Lucius quickens his steps to come near this rich woman (perhaps because he takes her for a witch). However, both the old man and the woman recognize him as the son of her sister, Salvia. The rich woman invites him stay at her house, or rather to come to his own home (2.3). Her invitation to her nephew makes clear that Byrrhaena pays respect to hospitality norms. This is set in opposition to Milo, who does not initially welcome Lucius into his home and only allows him to enter when he learns that he carries the letter of introduction from Demeas (Vander Poppen 2008, 165–166). Lucius turns down her offer on the grounds that he has already accepted Milo's *hospitium*. However, he promises to come to her house as often as possible, without failing his obligations to his host. His turning down Byrrhaena's offer of *hospitium* suggests that he has come to town for a reason other than to visit his aunt.

The contrast with Milo is heightened in the ensuing narrative. Byrrhaena's house is large and opulent, in agreement with her social status, bearing absolutely no relation to Milo's Spartan hovel. In particular, the atrium with its four Victory statues and the sculptural representation of Diana and Actaeon in the center inspire Lucius' instant admiration, evoking similar scenes in the epics. For example, Odysseus is immediately impressed on entering Alcinous' palace in Homer's *Odyssey* (7.134; see Reece 1993, 14). Lucius derives pleasure from looking at the artwork, in stark contrast to his reaction when seeing Milo's home, which is even devoid of chairs (1.23). At this point, Byrrhaena intervenes and informs Lucius that everything he sees belongs to him (2.5). Her response may be read as a restatement of the initial invitation discussed earlier as her relative (2.3). Such a reformulation acquires added importance when Byrrhaena goes on to express her concern at the danger her nephew may be exposed to by staying in the same house as Milo's wife, Pamphile, who is a powerful witch (2.5). This information is music to Lucius' ears, who hurries back to Milo's hovel, delighted to discover that the wonders he sought in town are to be found under his host's own roof.

Lucius' decision to stay away from Pamphile complies with the hospitality etiquette, which demands respect for the host's wife, but is possibly motivated more out of concern that direct contact with such a

powerful witch will lead to disaster.² Even after his hurried departure, Byrrhaena continues to function as an exemplary hostess (Vander Poppen 2008, 166). One day, she sends Lucius a pig, five chickens, and a bottle of wine as gifts of her friendship, *xeniola* (2.11). Lucius offers Photis the wine, defined as prompter of Venus, with a view of facilitating an erotic encounter with the girl and thus, ultimately, gaining access through her to Pamphile's magic.

The notion of Hypata as an inhospitable place for strangers is corroborated by Photis' warning to Lucius to return home early from Byrrhaena's dinner party, since there is a gang of noble young men that roams the streets, wreaking havoc. In her warning, Photis offers a particularly savage picture of the town: there are corpses all over and the authorities are unable to enforce law and order. Photis further mentions the two main reasons why Lucius is at great risk: his wealth and his status as stranger (2.18). This augments the depiction of the town as an inhospitable, lawless den of thieves and witches.

The depiction of Hypatan society as vulgar and uncivilized is augmented by the account of Byrrhaena's high-society dinner party (for the symposium atmosphere in the *cena*, see Zimmerman 2008, 147–149). The entertainment is lavish and serves as an example of the kind of dinner Milo ought to have offered to his noble guest, instead of inviting Lucius to dinner and exhausting him with his talkativeness and sending him off to bed without offering him food (1.26).

Byrrhaena turns to her nephew and asks him about his impression regarding the town. In her own description, Byrrhaena mentions the temples and public buildings that make the town the most attractive destination in the entire province for all types of travelers: businessmen, leisure seekers, and tourists of modest means (2.19). Lucius agrees but also states his fears about witches that do not even leave the dead unharmed (2.20). This reply leads all guests to burst into raucous laughter and turn their attentions to a certain man named Thelyphron, who is sitting alone in the corner (2.20). Like Lucius, Thelyphron is a stranger. The guests' behavior offends him so much that he rises up to leave, but Byrrhaena insists that he stays, assures him of his safety and urges him to tell his story, as she believes that his tale might be of a strong didactic value for her nephew.

His account offers ample evidence for the disrespect Hypatans show for funeral rites, which they turn into a spectacle, and for the stranger Thelyphron, whose plight they exploit for their own entertainment. In the tale, the elderly uncle of a recently deceased man accuses the widow of having poisoned him for the sake of an adulterer; at this point, the funeral mourners demand that the widow be put to death (2.27). Order is temporarily restored when a priest named Zatchlas reanimates the dead man to question him (2.28), but

breaks down once more when the man reveals that his wife indeed poisoned him. As the former couple trades insults, the mourners begin to shout, some demanding the widow's death and others disregarding the testimony of a corpse (2.29). The crowd bursts into sarcastic laughter, pointing their fingers at the stranger Thelyphron, when the reanimated dead man discloses that witches mutilated his guard during the vigil. The veracity of this testimony is confirmed when Thelyphron touches his nose and ears and discovers that they are wax replacements, which fall off (2.30). The boorish participants at the funeral force the noseless, earless stranger to flee the scene, so as to save himself from further embarrassment (2.30).

The sarcastic laughter of Byrrhaena's guests at the end of Thelyphron's tale (2.31) recalls their guffaws when he is introduced (2.20) for the first time, and mirrors the reaction of the crowd toward the mutilated guard during the funeral procession (2.30). This repetition serves to portray the entire community as savage, since their enjoyment is provoked by the plight that has befallen a stranger.

The harshest treatment toward strangers is observed in Lucius' humiliation during the Laughter festival attended by the community of Hypata as a whole. On his return home from Byrrhaena's party late at night, Lucius thinks that he sees three robbers trying to break down Milo's door. Mindful of Photis' mention of thieves roaming the streets, he pulls out his sword and kills them one by one (2.32), though the robbers are later revealed to be wineskins animated by Pamphile's magic. The incident sets the context for Lucius' humiliation in the Laughter festival the following morning, as part of the celebrations in honor of the god *Risus* (3.1–3.11), an obscure deity the citizens of Hypata honor possibly because it suits their need to ridicule strangers.

On the morning following the attack, town magistrates accompanied by lictors burst into Lucius' room and arrest him—the authorities find no difficulty in tracking down and apprehending Lucius as an alleged criminal (3.2), even though they are incapable of controlling the gang of noble young men who kill people in the streets (2.18). The magistrates lead Lucius through the city streets to the courts and then on to the theater, while crowds throng the streets jeering at him. In this procession, the people of Hypata treat Lucius the stranger as an animal, as he explicitly states at two specific points (3.2): firstly by reference to the expression *hostiis circumforaneis* ("sacrificial animals"), which derives from animal purification language;³ and secondly through use of the term *victima* in the technical sense of a sacrificial victim—*velut quandam victimam* ("like a sacrificial victim").⁴

Events in the theater follow the procedure of a criminal trial (3.2–3.10). In his speech, the town watchman draws a clear distinction

between citizens and strangers, and accuses Lucius of having murdered three civilians. He also demands exemplary punishment of the stranger for his crime, which bears a heavy sentence even if the offender is a citizen (2.3). In his own defense, Lucius confesses to the crime, but presents himself not as a stranger but as a good citizen in the sense that he has entered into ties of *hospitium* (Vander Poppen 2008, 167–168) and has killed criminals who were trying to force their entry into the house of his host. In the belief that he has won over the judges, he turns his eyes to the crowd only to discover, to his amazement, that everyone has dissolved into laughter, including his host. Such a reaction is inconsistent with Milo's duties; as host, he would have been expected to defend his guest in the "trial" (3.7; see Vander Poppen 2008, 168–169, for the inadequacy of Milo's patronage). Lucius' agony in the mock trial continues until the judges demand that he remove the piece of cloth covering the corpses, at which point Lucius is astounded to discover that he has been victim of a farce and the "robbers" were no more than wineskins (3.9). It emerges that the crowd's laughter has been brought on by the humiliation of a fellow human being, who is accepted into the community as the guest of Milo, one of their fellow citizens. At the end of the trial, Milo approaches his guest and leads him home through less crowded streets, so as to avoid further ridicule (3.10), but this gesture comes too late, as his guest has already been humiliated in public. One could argue that, through their sarcastic laughter, the citizens of Hypata show piety toward the god of Laughter. However, this strange way of honoring a god depends on ridiculing a stranger, who is ignorant of the rite, and thus runs contrary to the spirit of civilized societies in which elaborate codes of hospitality apply. In that respect, the entire Hypatan community can be regarded as uncivilized and savage.

On the other hand, the worshippers of Isis treat strangers in a very civilized manner. This is reflected in the kind reception the novel's protagonist receives at Cenchreae, first as an animal and then as a fellow devotee restored to human form. Vander Poppen (2008, 170) has read the entire scene of Lucius' encounter and relationship with Isis in terms of a *hospitium* rite, in which the goddess appears as an exemplary hostess. The bathing of Lucius in seawater, his eating of the roses, and the white linen garment he was given to conceal his nudity have all been read in terms of the *hospitium* pact. Vander Poppen (2008, 173) also recognized a contrast between the *hospitium* offered by Isis and the *servitium* of her priesthood, which is read as an indication of the flaws in the *hospitium* even of the goddess, or at least her earthly representatives. Lucius' fair reception into the community of Isis may reflect the civilized character of Isis' religion in the

treatment of outsiders at Cenchreae, a site dedicated to Isis, when compared to the unfavorable treatment of strangers at Hypata, where the witches exert their power.

At the end of his wanderings as an ass, Lucius stumbles on the port of Cenchreae, a sanctuary dedicated to the worship of Isis, where he bathes in the sea before falling asleep on the beach (10.35). In the middle of the night, he wakes up, sees the full moon rising over the sea, is captivated by the beauty of the place (11.1), and prays for assistance from the moon goddess, later identified as Isis (11.5). The goddess appears in his sleep, promising to offer him release from his troubles the following day in the *Ploiaphesia* festival (11.5–11.6).

On the morning of the festival, the ass Lucius wakes up from his sleep and sees the people lining the streets full of peaceful joy (11.7), in contrast to the rowdy participants seen earlier in the Laughter festival at Hypata (3.2; for the contrasts between book 11 and books 1–10, see Frangoulidis 2008, 175–203). The ass Lucius sees the head of the procession in honor of the great goddess, and enters in it at a slow pace in order not to cause any disturbance (11.12). This contrasts with the circumstances in the Laughter festival, where the magistrates and lictors violently burst into Lucius' room, arrested him, and dragged him through the city streets (3.2). Moreover, the community of Isis worshippers does not shy away in disgust as the ass tries to enter the procession, but kindly make room for him (11.12). Again, their behavior lies in marked contrast to the people of Hypata, who mock Lucius as the lictors lead him like a sacrificial animal through the city streets, first to court and then to the theater (3.2). These contrasts underline the fact that the brutish crowd at Hypata treats human beings as if they were animals, whereas at Cenchreae the opposite is true.

In the *Ploiaphesia* procession, the ass recognizes the priest carrying the wreath promised by the goddess in his vision the previous night. He approaches, eats the roses, and regains human form (11.12). The priest orders that the newly reformed Lucius be given a white linen garment to conceal his nudity (11.14). The cloth may also be seen as symbolizing the purity of Lucius' new condition, following his metaphorical rebirth from animal to man in front of the crowd (11.13). The people express their awe at his transformation and offer up prayers of thanks to the goddess for the miracle, and their reaction contrasts with that of the raucous crowds in the theater at Hypata, who humiliate Lucius, reducing him to little more than the status of an animal in a public spectacle.

In his speech following the reformation, Mithras the priest encourages Lucius to enter the procession and dedicate himself to Isis' service, characterized as *servitium*; this offer of priesthood will lead to

the *libertas* of his soul (11.15). Mithras' speech recalls the magistrates at Hypata, who formally announced the town's offer to make Lucius patron of their city and cast a bronze statue of him, in recognition of his contribution to celebrations in honor of their god of Laughter (3.11). Unsurprisingly, on that occasion, Lucius turned down the honors, as they would only have served as a reminder of his role as a fool in the festival. On the other hand, at the *Ploiaphesia* festival, Lucius accepts the priest's offer, which will grant him release from his troubles and offer him the prospect of a happy life under the protection of Isis.

In the ensuing procession, the worshipers of Isis point at Lucius in awe and glorify him for receiving the blessings of the goddess and becoming man again in their presence (11.16). This brings to mind the people of Hypata, who sneered at Lucius as he returned with Milo from the baths (3.12). The worshippers of Isis share in Lucius' joy at his reformation, whereas the people of Hypata laughed at him for playing the fool in the festival.

Lucius' gradual integration into Isis' community takes the form of initiation into her rites, and his yearning to draw closer to the goddess parallels his earlier strong desire to gain access to witchcraft through Photis (3.22). When Lucius receives a clear sign from the goddess, he undergoes initiation and becomes Isis' priest (11.23–11.24). Through this process, he is reborn, *renatus*, unlike his contact with Photis' magic, which led to his metamorphosis into an ass (3.24). It is at this point that Lucius acquires the full knowledge and wisdom he initially sought to obtain through his erroneous belief that magic held the key to understanding the world (Donovan 2008, 165).

Following his initiation into priesthood, Lucius receives instructions from the goddess to travel to Rome where he goes through two further initiations into the cult: one to the cult of Osiris and one to that of Isis. So initiations into the Isiac cult are only two. The alleged third initiation into the cult of Isis, which takes place at Rome, essentially repeats the first which has already taken place at Cenchreae—in his haste to obey to the goddess's command and go to Rome, Lucius has forgotten his attire at Cenchreae, and thus cannot offer his service to the goddess without the proper outfit. Following the completion of both initiations, Lucius enters the college of the *pastophoroi* and becomes a famous orator, earning both fame and money (11.30). The religious and social advancement of the stranger Lucius in Rome sheds further light on the civilized nature of Isis' religion, which holds the promise of advancement for her devotees. As Lucius is only too well aware, his previous involvement with magic held no more than the promise of isolation and social death via metamorphosis into an ass.

At this point, it is worth considering what makes the citizens of Hypata harsh toward outsiders, and what leads the worshippers of Isis to show kindness toward others. The difference between the two places is best explained in terms of the negative magic dominating Hypata and the true religion of Isis followed in Cenchreae. The presence of these distinct forms of power can even be accounted for in geographical terms. The town of Hypata is a rural farming community located in the middle of the Thessalian plain, with very limited regular contact with the outside world. This isolation offers fertile ground for superstition and magic. On the other hand, the town of Cenchreae lies on the shore, by both the Aegean Sea and the Saronic Gulf, and serves as the harbor of Corinth. As a port town, it is open to the arrival of strangers and the import of foreign cults such as that dedicated to the goddess Isis (see Smith 1977, 203, with figure 1).

The presence of these distinct types of magic accounts for the cultural standards observable in each place. The catastrophic magic of the witches in Hypata renders society savage, as the witches represent forces of violence and disorder in the world. On the other hand, the worship of Isis at Cenchreae makes the people humane, as Isis is a goddess of love and compassion in the world.

More specifically, the presence of negative magic in Hypata dominates every aspect of the citizens' life: their dinner conversations and entertainments, their rites, and their private lives. The witches have a powerful position in town: Socrates identifies the witch Meroe as *femina divina* (1.8), and Aristomenes characterizes her as a queen, *regina*, thus hinting at her rule as an autocrat (1.8). The power wielded by the witches has a corruptive effect on the community as a whole, turning people into savages. The disregard they show for strangers and institutions is plainly manifested in the way they trample on the norms of *hospitium*, which was a core concept in the ancient world, and one of the hallmarks of a civilized society. At Vergil's *Aeneid* 2.539–2.540, disrespect for the rite is associated with savagery: Ilioneus defines Carthaginians as a savage nation for not allowing the shipwrecked Trojans to land on their shores.

The presence of the witches at Hypata leaves no room for any forms of civilized religion. Those *peregrini* who visit the town—Socrates, Aristomenes, Thelyphron, and Lucius—end up falling victims to sorcery and suffer immensely: Socrates meets a savage death; Aristomenes never returns to his home in Aigion, but moves instead out of fear of the witches to Aetolia; in his disfigured state, Thelyphron remains a metic in town; and Lucius undergoes a series of adventures as an ass. The number of strangers who arrive in town and receive poor treatment indicates the uncivilized character of the citizens of Hypata. The mistreatment of strangers is ultimately

indicative of the absence of accepted cultural standards and progress in the community in question.

Furthermore, magic may also be linked to lack of knowledge. This notion emerges implicitly from the skeptic companion of Aristomenes' tale, who asks the educated Lucius whether he believes in Aristomenes' tale of the supernatural (1.20). This allows us to surmise that belief in magic is associated with ignorance and is appropriate for less educated and culturally inferior people.

The savagery of the people toward strangers is not limited to a certain class, but extends to all social strata, in full compliance with the rural character of a community that has little contact with the outside world. There are, of course, a few exceptions that prove the general rule. The aedile Pythias exposes the fishmonger's fraud played on Lucius in the market, though he too has his own share in various flaws—he is clearly more interested in making a display of power than in seeing to others' needs: Lucius goes hungry as a direct result of his alleged friend's actions (1.24–1.25). Likewise, Byrrhaena shows respect for the *hospitium* pact. Nevertheless, both Pythias and Byrrhaena are outsiders: Pythias is an old friend of Lucius from Athens, and Byrrhaena has married into the community.

On the other hand, at Cenchreae, the people worship the goddess Isis, who offers protection to all. Isis responds to the stranger Lucius when he offers up a desperate prayer for help, and promises to restore him to the dignity of his former self in the *Ploiaphesia* festival the next day. Isis' sympathy for the plight that has befallen Lucius the ass is mirrored in the humane reaction of her worshippers, who kindly make room for him to enter the festival procession and then express their awe and joy when he is restored to human form. Isis herself is a stranger in Greece, imported from Egypt; she thus may have lent the city its particular character as welcoming outsiders. It is also worth pointing out that at Cenchreae there is only one stranger, Lucius, who arrives in town and receives favorable treatment, thus demonstrating the civilized character of the town, in contrast to all other strangers who arrive in Hypata and receive savage treatment.

The civilized character of the religion practiced at Cenchreae is ultimately connected with Isis' designation as goddess of knowledge and wisdom in the world. Associations between Isis and knowledge are implied in the etymology of the name, which derives from the Greek verb εἰδέναι (Plut., *Is. et Osir.* 351f). The name of her shrine, as Plutarch also suggests, promises knowledge (Plut., *Is. et Osir.* 352a). This knowledge and wisdom associated with Isis ultimately points to progress and humane standards in the society of Cenchreae, and thus appears in opposition to the nescience linked to magic and by extension the backward standards prevailing in Hypata.

It should be clear that the leading role magic plays in Hypata renders people savage and without respect for strangers, religious rites, and social institutions. This import of magic in town can be explained by the geographical seclusion of Hypata in the middle of the Thessalian plain, near Larissa, with no direct contact with the sea and, therefore, the outside world; this geographical isolation of the area undermines the cultural development of the town and in turn explains the nature of the religious festivals and rites of its citizens. Because of the lack of progress in the community, magic finds a place to grow. This absence of cultural standards is reflected in the inhumane treatment that several strangers receive in town, as well as in the humiliation of the stranger Lucius in the Laughter festival, as the aftermath of his indirect contact with magic in the wineskin incident. Even the worship of the god Laughter, a rather insignificant deity, in town seems to suit the need of the community to ridicule strangers in the context of a religious festival and thus explains why *Zeus Xenios* or *Jupiter Hospitalis* is not honored there. On the other hand, Lucius finds release from his troubles that came from magic only when he reaches the harbor of Cenchreae, where he appeals to the goddess Isis who offers her protection to all, strangers and citizens alike. The presence of the foreign cult of Isis in the town of Cenchreae also makes obvious the openness of their society as sea people. Isis' compassion toward the stranger Lucius in his wretched condition is also mirrored in the reaction of her worshipers, who treat the same stranger in the most humane manner even in his animal form and admit him in their community. This radically different treatment of strangers at Cenchreae and Hypata reveals the cultural superiority of Isis' community over the society of Hypata and their god of Laughter, since respect for strangers is cardinal to civilization.

Notes

1 I would like to thank David Konstan, Eleni Manolaraki, Daniel Iakov, and Yannis Tzifopoulos for their valuable suggestions in reading a draft of the paper and to the editors of the volume, Edmund P. Cueva and Shannon Byrne, for their invitation to contribute to the volume and their editorial advice thereafter.

2 In any event, the desire to gain access to Pamphile's magic via her servant Photis reveals a character flaw that outweighs any considerations of status, learning, and decorum as a guest. Vander Poppen 2008, 166, reads Lucius' *curiositas* for magic as another instance of a "clear breach of the trust entailed in the pact of *hospitium*."

3 For the ritual use of animals in *Abarvalia*, see Turpin 2002, 15.

4 All quotations of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* are from the Teubner edition of Helm 1992; all English translations of the Latin text are from the Loeb edition of Hanson 1989.

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Further Readings

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Fernández Contreras (1997) focuses on the subject of Homeric hospitality, as pictured in terms of Lucius' *hospitium* relationship with Milo in book 1. Keulen (2007) passim offers valuable comments on Milo's *hospitium* and that of Callimachus' *Hecale* and *Victoria Berenices*, and on similar scenes of Petronius' *Satyrica* as well. Vander Poppen (2008) discusses a model pair of *hospitium* relationships (Milo–Lucius and Isis–Lucius) and examines it from the perspective of the flaws, as exhibited by the *hospitium* pact, offered by both Milo and the goddess, or her earthly representatives, in any case. Bolchazy (1977) and Konstan (1999), respectively, provide excellent theoretical discussion on *hospitium/xenia*.

CHAPTER 18

From the Epic to the Novelistic Hero

Some Patterns of a Metamorphosis

Luca Graverini

One of the most notable features of the novel of all times is its ability to absorb typical elements of other literary genres and adjust them to its own purposes. Among those literary genres, epic poetry certainly holds, for ancient novels, the place of honor: ancient fiction writers constantly took inspiration from Homer and Vergil to shape their narratives, and modern scholars frequently and willingly adopt Hegel's definition of prose narrative as "bourgeois epic" (a general overview and initial bibliography on the vast theme of the relationship between epic and novel can be found in Graverini-Keulen-Barchiesi 2006, 36ff.). The unquestionable continuity between epic and novel, however, should not allow us to forget differences and variations, especially when they appear to trace a coherent pattern that leads from one literary genre to the other. A particularly fruitful approach to this problem is the analysis of the relationship between epic and novelistic characters, since the construction of a character is perhaps what best defines a narrative: the *Odyssey*, after all, is Odysseus' story, like Chariton's novel is the story of Callirhoe¹—and already the presence of a heroine (or of a couple of heroes) instead of a single male protagonist says much about the differences between the *Chaereas and Callirhoe* and the *Odyssey*, and between novel and epic in general.

The construction of a novelistic character is a complex and sophisticated process that involves imitation of the epic model, but also change and innovation from it: most characters are, in a way, like Odysseus and Achilles, but none of them is, or could be, a faithful

replica of those archetypes. Homer's heroes themselves would be out of place in the new world of the novel, and if, for example, Chaereas or Clitophon tried *tout court* to bring Achilles back to life in their words and acts, they would probably end up as Don Quixote, who is a complete misfit to the "real" world he lives in. What follows will be an analysis of the various narrative strategies adopted by ancient novelists to make Achilles, Odysseus, and their companions feel at home in a new world and in a new literary genre.

Cultural Mediation

Hellenistic culture looked at Homeric epic much in the same way in which we look at it: a fascinating literary form that is centuries old, related to a different world, something that needs to be studied and interpreted, something that underlies a long literary tradition. In some cases, this literary tradition helps reduce the distance that separates the epic from the novelistic world, thus making it easier for epic poetry to be assimilated and absorbed by the novel. Theater in particular often acts as a mediator. In Achilles Tatius' novel (which I have already and in some cases in more depth analyzed in Graverini 2010), the scene where Menelaus and Satyrus sit by the sea lamenting their situation and thinking about a subterfuge to prevent Leucippe from being sacrificed by the brigands (3.20) illustrates a good example of this process. It has been suggested (Cresci 1976, 123ff.) that this is an allusion to the Homeric passages where Achilles begs his mother Thetis for help (*Il.* 1.349ff.; 18.65ff.). There are no textual hints to connect Achilles Tatius' text with Homer. Nevertheless, both in the *Iliad* and in the novel, the scene takes place on the seashore; and just as Achilles received his new set of weapons from Thetis in response to his lamentations, Menelaus and Satyrus see a trunk going adrift on the sea and washing up on the beach and find some weapons inside it. However, there is a difference: these weapons are only fake weapons, those usually handled by actors who represent Homeric scenes on the stage, and they will come in handy for the deception Menelaus and Satyrus are going to stage for the brigands. Here, the novel clearly appropriates a famous Iliadic episode through the cultural experience of theater. In other words, epic becomes novel through comedy (or mime); theater helps in the process of "lowering" epic material, of making it more homogeneous to the novel.

Epic heroes are not only formidable warriors; they are usually good orators and storytellers too. While only a few characters in the ancient novel can show off a warlike heroism, many of them are also good

storytellers; some of them (like Calasiris in Heliodorus' *Aithiopika*) offer very long retrospective accounts that fill in the reader on past events, like Odysseus did at Alcinous' court or Aeneas at the court of Dido, but sometimes such an account would be perceived as out of place. This is the case when, in the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* (abbreviated *HA*), Apollonius is invited to a banquet by King Archistrates. The attractive force of a well-established topos is too strong, and the king's daughter cannot help asking Apollonius to tell his story; however, contrary to what happens in the *Odyssey* and in the *Aeneid*, the reader is already informed of the hero's misadventures, and it would be pointless to tell them again. So, we are only told that Apollonius described all that had happened to him, and that at the end of his account he began to weep (16).

It is not only a question of narrative economy, but narrative technique is also to be taken into account: in the ancient novel, it often happens that a simple narration tends to become (or to mask itself as) performance and theatrical show, in an attempt to obtain total involvement of the reader in the narrative world. A "performative" account allows the members of its audience not only to *listen to* a report of a series of events, but also to *see* those events in the first person, as if they were taking part in them: the effect is that the audience experiences a sort of "full immersion" in the narrative world, something similar to what could be experienced in a theater (cf. Graverini 2012, 154 ff.). The banquet at Archistrates' palace offers us a very graphic representation of this preference for performance over simple narration. Intertextuality makes it clear that, just as Apollonius is in some ways a new Aeneas, the king's daughter is a sort of reincarnation of Vergil's Dido: so, in Chapter 18, her love for Apollonius is described using several quotations from the famous beginning of *Aeneid* Book 4. However, the African queen fell in love with Aeneas after the hero's account of his exploits and misadventures, while Apollonius wins his queen's heart thanks to his histrionic art, by performing as a lyric singer, a comic and a tragic actor²: Apollonius is certainly a new Aeneas, but an Aeneas who is also an accomplished and versatile actor. The account of his adventures is only cursorily referred to; even the verbal aspect of his subsequent theatrical performance is totally neglected, and his performative abilities get almost all the attention. This scene can be considered as an effective mirror of Imperial times, when theater (especially mime and pantomime) and actors were an important element of social and cultural life (Graverini 2006, 16). On a more literary level, it is also a movement back from the *Aeneid*, explicitly recalled at the textual level, to Homer's description of Alcinous' banquet, whose "performativity" (Phemius' songs, but also dances and

athletic games) were completely lost in Vergil's poem (together with another important detail, the hero's weeping, found in *Od.* 8.83f. and 521ff. and in *HA* 16, but not in Vergil). Contemporary world and literary tradition are both involved in the genesis of this scene.

Selection of Features and Gender Shifts

A straight and unmediated imitation of an epic hero, as I was saying at the beginning, would be a very difficult task for a novelistic character. Achilles, in particular, is a rather difficult model: none of the main characters in the ancient novels comes even close to his superhuman strength, bravery, and wrath. Nevertheless, Achilles is frequently mentioned in the Greek novels as the model of a particular aspect of a character's personality. Only a couple of times (Heliodorus 3.2.4 and 4.3.1) is he remembered as a paradigm of warlike valor; elsewhere, he is an example of friendship (Chariton 1.5.2), or simply Briseis' lover (Achilles Tatius 1.8.5). Most often, however, he is the prototype of the handsome hero. Of course, Homer already described Achilles as the most handsome of the Greeks (e.g. *Il.* 2.672ff.); however, it is meaningful that, among his many virtues, this is the one most frequently advertised by the Greek novelists, as in Heliodorus 2.34.4: "I met the young man yesterday, and he struck me as a truly worthy member of the clan of the Sons of Achilles, so tall and handsome to behold that the mere sight of him is proof of his ancestry"; cf. 4.5.5: "The young man traces his lineage back to Achilles, and I think he may well be right, if his stature and looks are anything to go by; they are a sure sign of a pedigree worthy of Achilles—except that Theagenes has none of his conceit or arrogance"; Chariton: 1.1.3: "There was a young man called Chaereas, surpassingly handsome, like Achilles and Nireus and Hippolytus and Alcibiades as sculptors and painters portray them" (the passage could be read as a sort of metaliterary programmatic statement about the relationship of the novel with epic, tragedy, and historiography, and perhaps Platonic dialogue); and Achilles Tatius 6.1.3. In this last passage, Clitophon is in disguise, dressed as a woman, and Melite says to him: "How much more lovely you have become in this dress. I once saw such an Achilles in a painting."

Rather paradoxically, Clitophon comes to look like Achilles when he cross-dresses: but of course this is not the Achilles who fought at Troy, but the young man his mother Thetis tried to keep safe from the

dangers of war by disguising him as one of the daughters of Lycomedes, king of Skyros. This Achilles is a handsome and effeminate character, quite far from the handsome but warlike hero described in the *Iliad* and almost a personification of the idea of “sexual symmetry” suggested by Konstan (1994; cf. Morales 2004, 65f.). We know of Achilles’ stay in Skyros thanks to traditions different from Homeric poems (see, e.g. Bömer 1982, 246f. *ad* Ovid, *Met.* 13,162–164, for an overview of sources and scholarship; and, more recently, Heslin 2005 and Fantuzzi 2012), so it is not by chance, I think, that in this passage the author refers not to literary sources, but to paintings (paintings and sculptures in Chariton 1.1.3): the aesthetic appraisal dominates, and obliterates any other narrative or heroic aspects of Achilles’ character. Again, the appropriation of epic material by the novel is facilitated by a cultural mediation, this time provided by figurative arts; and an important aspect of this process is the feminization of the male hero.

The opposite process, the masculinization of a female character, is also frequent. The first book of Chariton’s novel ends with the heroine’s sleep, in the epic way—only in epic poems usually a male hero occupies that place of honor. In Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*, Psyche is asleep between Books 4 and 5, and afterwards she urges herself to “take on a male spirit” (6.5.3). One of the ordeals angry Venus forces her to undergo is a descent to the Underworld (6.14–15), just as Odysseus and Aeneas already did before her; this experience takes place in perfect epic style in the middle of the novel (6.14–15).

The strong emotions of epic and warlike heroes can provide a paradigm of behavior to both male and female novelistic characters. In Chariton 1.4.6, Chaereas is shocked at the news that his wife is unfaithful to him, and his sorrow is similar to that of Achilles grieving for Patroclus: “a black cloud of grief covered him” (cf. *Il.* 18.22). It is not an isolated instance: it happens sometimes that different novelists refer to the same Homeric passages, as if a common repertoire of epic clichés has been defined by the first authors. So, Achilles Tatius uses the same expression at 6.8.3 (paraphrasing rather than quoting Homer) to describe Melite’s reaction when she finds out that her beloved Clitophon has been thrown into jail. A woman is attributed the same emotional response as Achilles: it could seem a paradox or a learned witticism, and in a way it certainly is, but from another point of view it should not surprise us at all. Homeric heroes display their emotions with no restraint and they are not ashamed to cry, to shout, to tear out their hair, to roll on the ground in desperation. In later times, especially after Hellenistic philosophies had propagated the ideal of the *ataraxia*, “imperturbability,” of the wise man, such displays of emotions were not considered proper anymore; indeed, the

scholia to *Il.* 18.22 discuss the subject in these terms:

Zoilos says that on this occasion Achilles appears to be indecorous. He should have known that war is dangerous to everybody. Therefore, he should not have considered death as something terrible, and his excessive grief is womanly. Not even a barbarian wet nurse would behave this way. Even the lamentation of Hecuba on Hector dragged by Achilles was nothing like that. Zenodorus defends him instead and says that he is suffering because of the exceptionality of events.

So, when Achilles Tatius transforms the grieving Achilles into a woman, he also offers his readers a sort of narrative representation of a philological discussion that was probably current in his times. We will see that this is not the only instance of this phenomenon.

Philological Perspective

Achilles Tatius is probably the most sophisticated and provocative among ancient Greek novelists, at least as regards his use of epic models. We can appreciate these qualities if we examine another instance of parallel imitation of a Homeric passage in different novels. The imitated passage is, significantly, again from the same Iliadic context, the sorrow for Patroclus, which clearly offered a repertoire of emotions that could be easily exploited in a novelistic context. In *Iliad* 19.301, the unnamed Trojan slaves of Achilles cry for Patroclus after Briseis' funeral lament:

So she [Briseis] spoke weeping, and to it the women added their laments; Patroclus indeed they mourned, but each one her own sorrows ("Ὡς ἔφατο κλαίουσ', ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες / Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κήδε' ἑκάστη).

These highly emotional verses evidently struck Homer's readers to such an extent that they became proverbial (cf. Plut., *De laude ipsius* 546 F); and it is not surprising to see them repeatedly imitated in the ancient novels. Chariton alludes to them twice, at 2.5.12 (a prose adaptation: Dionysius "begins to weep, ostensibly for Callirhoe, but in fact for himself") and at 8.5.2, where several Persian noblemen mourn at the announcement of Queen Statira's death: "apparently for Statira, but in fact each for his own sorrows" (this time a quotation proper, with the substitution of the proper name). In Heliodorus 1.18.1, Theagenes and Charikleia burst into tears when Cnemon has finished telling his story: "ostensibly at his story but in fact in remembrance of their own" (again a prose adaptation). In Achilles Tatius 2.34.7, the

situation is very similar; the whole passage is worth quoting:

Kleinias wept as he was speaking, “outwardly for Patroklos” (Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν), remembering Charikles. He [the character who had previously narrated his sad story] said, “Are you weeping for me, or has a similar experience sent you into exile?” Heaving a great sigh (στενάζας), Kleinias told him all about Charikles and his horse.

First of all, we must note that the passages by Chariton and Achilles Tatius raise a very interesting gender issue: Chariton transforms “Patroclus” into two women, Callirhoe and Statira; Achilles Tatius transforms him into the young homosexual partner of a narrating character. However, this is not only a further instance of genre shift like the ones we have already examined earlier, but it is also an example of an almost philological, if humorous and provocative approach. This is true in two ways. Generally speaking, it is well known that the true nature of the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus was the object of heated discussions among ancient scholars (e.g. a famous passage is Plato, *Symp.* 179Ef.): were they friends, or lovers? Our novelists are implicitly, and maybe ironically, taking a stance in this debate. This philological aspect of imitation is especially clear in Achilles Tatius, who is not simply imitating the *Iliad*, but reading it through the thick lenses of literary history. The first imitator of Homer’s *Iliad* was actually Homer himself, in the *Odyssey*; at 4.183ff., several characters break into tears after Menelaus has commemorated Odysseus, whom they believe to be dead:

So he spoke, and in them all aroused the desire of lament. Argive Helen wept, the daughter of Zeus, Telemachus wept, and Menelaus, son of Atreus, nor could the son of Nestor [Peisistratos] keep his eyes tearless. For he thought in his heart of peerless Antilochus.

The ancient commentators already noted that this scene is a sort of a rerun of the sorrow “for Patroclus” in the *Iliad*: these characters cry at the mention of Odysseus, but at least some of them have their own losses to grieve for. Here is the text of the scholia—that, by the way, point out once more the womanly character of these extreme manifestations of sorrow:

The poet clearly shows that, on the pretext of Telemachus, everybody cries for his own troubles: Helen because of what happened to her, or because “very prone to tears is the woman;” Peisistratos because of his brother. Also, the slaves cry “for Patroclus:” indeed, on the pretext of him, they cry because of their own troubles (*Il.* 19.302). E. Taking advantage of the opportunity in a very brilliant way, the poet makes his audience

cry and then transfers this image on those who were listening [to the commemoration of Odysseus].³ He also uses a proper order. He makes Helen cry first: by nature, indeed, women are prone to tears. Then the guest, who is personally involved in the grief. Then Menelaus, rightly third, after the woman and the one who is personally grieving. Peisistratos comes fourth, and he—by Jove!—does not cry for Odysseus, whom he did not even know: he is moved by the memory of his own brother, like in the *Iliad* “on the pretext of Patroclus, but for their own troubles” (*Il.* 19.302). H.Q.R.

This scene in the fourth Book of the *Odyssey* was commonly read and studied in parallel to *Iliad* Book 19. This is extremely relevant to the interpretation of our passage in Achilles Tatius because of the identity, or more exactly because of the name of the character who has provoked Kleinias’ sorrow with his story. His name is Menelaus: exactly the same name of the king of Sparta who in the *Odyssey* has just finished his commemoration of Odysseus. Is this just a coincidence? Most certainly not. On the contrary, we have all reasons to think that both Homeric models are artfully, deliberately, and ironically highlighted by the novelist. In comparison with Chariton and Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius’ reference to the topic “crying for Patroclus” is clearly more elaborate and combines the *Iliad* with the *Odyssey*—or, better, Achilles reads the *Iliad* through the *Odyssey*. Not only does Kleinias cry “for Patroclus,” like Achilles’ slaves in the *Iliad*, he does so after a speech delivered by a Menelaus, like Telemachus, Helen, Peisistratos, and others in the *Odyssey*.

I think that we can consider the short dialogue between Menelaus and Kleinias to be a sort of dramatization of the traditional interpretations of the *Odyssey* preserved by the scholia we have just read. The scholiasts point out parallels, they describe a fragment of literary history exhaustively, but not without pedantry—fundamentally, they do what the author of this paper is trying to do. Achilles Tatius represents the same literary history through the actions and speeches of his characters: the dialogue between Menelaus and Kleinias is a sort of dramatized lesson in Greek literature. Needless to say, this “philological” slant also contributes to placing the ancient novels, or at least some of them, in the mainstream of the most sophisticated Hellenistic literature (Heliodorus also seems to be well aware of issues of Homeric criticism attested in the scholia: cf. Telò 1999 and Capettini 2008).

Selection of Secondary Characters

An aspect of the sophistication of Hellenistic literature is to look for models even in the most hidden folds of the epic tradition; again, this is true for the ancient novels, too, which shape their characters not only after Achilles and Odysseus, but also—as we have seen in the previous point—after secondary epic characters. This can be considered the continuation of a very ancient literary practice, since the *Odyssey*, as Genette (1997, 197) pointed out, already differentiates itself from the *Iliad* also because a secondary character from the former poem becomes the main character of the second.

At the beginning of Chariton's novel, Callirhoe falls in love with Chaereas; in distress, she lies on her bed, covered by blankets, and cries. Her nurse soon comes to announce her that her wedding day has finally arrived; Callirhoe does not know that her groom will be none other than Chaereas, and her despair is described through a formulaic Homeric verse: “and then her limbs gave way, her heart felt faint” (quoted also at 3.6.3 and 4.5.9). In Homer, that verse is used in *Iliad* 21.4 (Lycaon killed by Achilles) and *Odyssey* 24.345 (Laertes recognizing Odysseus), but in this context the most important occurrence is certainly *Odyssey* 4.704, where Penelope is in despair at the news that her son has gone to search for his father. The identification of Callirhoe with Penelope is reinforced by the fact that the whole scene I have described here is a clear echo of the beginning of *Odyssey* Book 23, and Callirhoe's nurse behaves exactly as Penelope's nurse Eurykleia did. At 21.355ff., when the bow contest is about to come to its tragic ending, Telemachus sends Penelope to her rooms; there she lays on the bed, crying for Odysseus, until she falls asleep. Then, after Odysseus has killed all the suitors, Eurykleia comes and wakes her up (23.1ff.) to tell her that her husband has finally returned home.

This implicit but clear identification of Callirhoe's nurse with Eurykleia (and of Callirhoe with Penelope) introduces us to a novel that we can imagine as something related to the *Odyssey*, but especially to the most emotive, familiar, and feminine parts of the poem. It is also a rather subtle literary joke, since it lets the reader imagine a surprisingly early happy ending—could Callirhoe/Penelope meet and happily marry her Odysseus just a few pages after the beginning of the novel? Clearly, it is the task of the skilled novelists to prevent this from happening: Chariton will achieve this goal a few lines later by bringing his reader to another Odyssean narrative situation, the machinations of the suitors (1.2.1 οἱ γὰρ μνηστῆρες...).

Thus, we realize that the happy ending was just an illusion: the suitors are still alive, misadventures and tragedies loom large, and the story can unfold.

Clearly, secondary characters and secondary models can also have something important to say about the nature and the general structure of the novel; this appears to be an underestimated aspect of ancient novels, and it could provide a subject for further, profitable studies.

Mythomania

Epic characters live on, not only in the actions, but also in the aspirations and dreams of their novelistic counterparts, who try to dignify themselves through implicit comparisons with their noble ancestors. Of course, their attempts are not always successful, and in some cases the novelist himself seems to take pleasure in frustrating them. In the *Satyricon*, Encolpius and other characters often refer to themselves in so lofty and sublime terms that a sharp and parodic contrast with their “real” conditions is inescapable; as Gian Biagio Conte (1996) famously states, Petronius frequently highlights their “mythomaniac” nature.

This concept can easily be generalized, and more instances of this narrative strategy can be found in other novels. In Apuleius, for example, Charite relives in a dream the dramatic adventure of her kidnapping (4.27.7):

I saw myself, after I had been dragged violently from my house, my bridal apartment, my room, my very bed, calling my poor luckless husband's name through the trackless wilds. And I saw him, the moment he was widowed of my embraces, still wet with perfumes and garlanded with flowers, following my tracks as I fled on other's feet. As with pitiful cries he lamented his lovely wife's kidnapping and called on the populace for aid, one of the robbers, furious at his annoying pursuit, picked up a huge stone at his feet, struck my unhappy young husband, and killed him. It was this hideous vision that terrified me and shook me out of my deathly sleep.

This oneiric kidnapping echoes the “real” kidnapping Charite has narrated just a page earlier (4.26.3–8) quite closely, except for few, but important details: in her dream, the maiden is already married and the bridegroom dies while pursuing the kidnappers and urging other people to do the same; in the previous narration, the kidnappers arrive when the marriage has not yet been celebrated, their incursion

takes place in a purely domestic and not public context, nobody dares to confront them, and of course Charite's fiancé, Tlepolemus, does not die. These divergent details reveal that this dream reproduces and distorts not only Charite's "real" experience, but also a literary model, namely the simile Homer uses to describe Odysseus' despair in *Odyssey* 8.521ff.:

... the heart of Odysseus was melted and tears wet his cheeks beneath his eyelids. And *as a woman* wails and flings herself about her dear *husband*, who has fallen *in front of his city and his people*, seeking to ward off from his city and his children the pitiless day; and *as she beholds him dying and gasping for breath*, she clings to him and shrieks aloud, while the foes behind her smite her back and shoulders with their spears, and *lead her away to captivity* to bear toil and woe, while with most pitiful grief her cheeks are wasted: even so did Odysseus let fall pitiful tears from beneath his brows.

Actually, this Homeric simile becomes a topos in later epic poetry; before Apuleius, it already develops into the dream of a woman in Apollonius Rhodius (3.656ff.: Medea), Ennius (*Annales* 1.25ff.: Ilia), and Vergil (*Aeneid* 4.465ff.: Dido). So, in her dream, Charite lives her (rather ordinary) story over again, but she also dignifies it by implicitly comparing it to a well-established epic tradition; she is clearly not a parodic character like Encolpius in Petronius, and there is no trace of a destabilization of her sublime and pathetic dream by a "hidden author," but it would not be inappropriate to define her, by adapting Conte's terminology, as a "mythomaniac dreamer" (on Charite's dream, see more thoroughly Graverini 2003).

Parody

Charite's mythomany mainly adds to the pathetic quality of the narration and prepares her following, sustained identification with Vergil's Dido (see Finkelpearl 1998, 115ff.). However, when a text suggests a comparison between an epic and a novelistic character, it often lays more stress on the distance that divides them than on their similarity: the result is usually parody that is not ignored by Greek novelists, but most often practiced by their Latin colleagues. Petronius, in particular, is especially fond of desecrating epic parallels; his "mythomaniac" Encolpius frequently styles himself after Homeric or Vergilian heroes, even in situations that can hardly be considered heroic. At 132.11, he addresses his male member with a furious

speech, reproaching it for his limpness and the consequent erotic failures; the reaction of the “cause of all his misfortunes” is famously described with a quotation of *Aeneid* 6.469ff., two verses that describe Dido’s refusal to answer to Aeneas’ address to her in the Underworld: “But on the ground / She fixed averted eyes. For all he spoke / Moved her no more than ...”

This passage, as Connors (1998, 32) points out, “has struck readers as the most transgressive of the *Satyricon*’s epic parodies,” and there is no need to linger over a minute analysis of the interaction between the two texts and their contexts, and of the comical effects this interaction produces. I would rather point out that even such a disruptive use of epic material follows the same patterns we have seen are followed by other, more “conventional” novels. In particular, this Vergilian imitation clearly moves along the axis of genre shift: Dido, the most feminine character in the whole *Aeneid*, becomes not a man, but directly, and paradoxically, the most masculine part of his body. Such an extreme genre shift also activates the possibility of a sophisticated philological approach to this intertext: Vergil’s Dido, in fact, can be considered in turn as the reincarnation of Homeric *male* heroes, and Servius already noted that the verses that describe her obstinate and angry silence “are drawn from Homer, who represents Ajax refusing to speak to Odysseus, since he had caused his death” (cf. *Od.* 11.563). Servius’ suggestion has been duly exploited by modern scholars (e.g. Fedeli 1989, 396f), but there are more subtle possibilities. The first of the two verses I have quoted earlier appears to be an almost exact translation of *Iliad* 3.217, which illustrates Odysseus’ rhetorical skills: when the hero rose to speak, the first impression was rather surprising and he appeared to be angry or even foolish or mad, since he “would stand and look down with eyes fixed upon the ground”; but then he would begin to speak with a loud voice, and his words were “like snowflakes on a winter’s day” (222). Vergil’s heroine is *already* the result of a gender shift from male to female, and from heroic to erotic; her silence is more eloquent than a long and angry speech, just as Ajax’s silence in the *Odyssey* or, even more, the silence that preludes Odysseus’ powerful rhetoric in the *Iliad*. Petronius does nothing else but play with these same shifts, reversing and/or maximizing them: what was male in Homer and female in Vergil becomes male again (male *par excellence*!) in Petronius; what was heroic in Homer and erotic (or at least love-related) in Vergil becomes hyper-erotic and almost pornographic in the *Satyricon*; the eloquent and powerful silence of Odysseus, Ajax, and Dido becomes a simple matter of fact in the novel, since Encolpius’ interlocutor has nothing to say, and indeed *could* say nothing at all.

Conclusions

Epic poetry and prose narrative are so close, but they are separated by a cultural gap that is too big to be really filled. Because of this gap, as we have seen, the ancient novelists have to work on their models and adapt them to a very different context; this adaptation usually points out both the similarity and the distance between epic and novel. We can find an icon of this complex relationship in Heliodorus 5.22.2–3, the only instance where an epic hero plays a role in an ancient novel. Odysseus himself appears to Calasiris in a dream, but the Trojan war is so far in time that he cannot be Homer's hero anymore: he is an old man "withered ... almost to a skeleton, except that his cloak was hitched up to reveal a thigh that retained some vestige of his youth."⁴ He is not even a man anymore: as a dream apparition, he acquires a quasi-divine status. As a consequence, we have a very unexpected role reversal here: Odysseus, the prototype of the man who is persecuted by a god, becomes a persecutor himself and threatens Calasiris:

You, my fine friend, are the only man who has ever treated us with such utter contempt. All others whose ships have passed by the island of Kephallenia have paid a visit to our home and deemed it a matter of importance to learn of my own renown. You, on the other hand, have been so neglectful as to grant me not even the common courtesy of a salutation, despite my dwelling in the vicinity. But your omissions will be visited on you very soon. Ordeals like mine shall you undergo; land and sea you shall find united in enmity against you.

Odysseus is clearly pointing out, for the benefit of Heliodorus' readers, that the story of Calasiris and his friends is a sort of *Odyssey*, whose characters are in a way his own offspring. However, he also tries not to give us a wrong impression. This new *Odyssey* has its own new features, and a different balance between genders is prominent among them. Therefore, in the last part of his speech, Penelope and Charikleia come to the fore:

However, to the maiden you have with you my wife sends greetings and wishes her joy, since she esteems chastity above all things. Good tidings too she sends her: her story has a happy ending.

Notes

- ¹ There are some clues as to the fact that at least some novels were known, or at least commonly referred to simply by the name of their heroines: for example Michael Psellus, at the beginning of his

essay on the comparison between Chariton and Achilles Tatius, refers to their novels as “the book of Charikleia” and “the love story of Leucippes.”

2 HA 17: “the king’s daughter, when she saw that the young man was accomplished in all arts and skills, was wounded by burning passion.” Here and elsewhere, I adopt the English translations provided by Reardon 1989 for the ancient novels, and from the Loeb collection for the other texts (when available; otherwise, the translations are mine). Occasional small adaptations are not noted.

3 This comment is a very early theorization of a common modern hermeneutical principle: the emotional response of a character in the narrative can be interpreted as a mirror of or a guideline for the emotional response that is expected from the reader.

4 Odysseus’ thigh is an unmistakable sign of his identity in the three most important stages of his life: in his youth when he is wounded during a boar hunt that marks the beginning of his adulthood; as a grown-up, when Eurykleia recognizes him thanks to the scar left by that hunting feat and he is about to win back his reign and his wife; and, thanks to Heliodorus, who is clearly expanding on this Homeric tradition, in his old years, when he is nothing but a dream apparition that tries to influence the destiny of one of his many late literary descendants.

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Further Readings

Illuminating discussions on the relationship between epic and novel on a more general level are contained in several works by Massimo Fusillo, among which I mention his paper of 2005 "Metamorfosi romanesche dell'epica," in *La poésie épique grecque: métamorphoses d'un genre littéraire* ("Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique," 52), 271–273

(Vandoeuvres-Genève: Fondation Hardt); and his 2002 “Fra epica e romanzo,” in *Il romanzo*, edited by Franco Moretti, vol. II: *Le forme*, 5–34 (Turin: Einaudi).

For a general approach to the problem in Bakhtinian terms, very useful insights are provided by Kahane, Ahuvia. 2005. “Epic, Novel, Genre: Bakhtin and the Question of History,” in *The Bakhtin Circle and Ancient Narrative*, edited by R. Bracht Branham (*Ancient Narrative*, Suppl. 3). Groningen: Barkhuis, pp. 51–73.

The Latin novels provide an especially fruitful field for intertextual researches on the epic models of ancient narrative, and a great number of detailed studies have been produced. For Petronius, the best starting point is Gian Biagio Conte’s monograph, already listed in the bibliography. For Apuleius, see various studies by Stephen J. Harrison, now collected in his volume *Framing the Ass. Literary Texture in Apuleius’ Metamorphoses*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013. Useful starting points for further enquiries can be found in two other monographs already referred to in the paper for matters of detail, Finkelpearl 1998 and Graverini 2012.

On the “heroes” and characters of the ancient novels (but with no necessary connection to their epic models), see the collective volumes *Les personnages du roman grec*, edited by Bernard Pouderon, Lyon: Maison de l’Orient Méditerranéen 2001; and *Characterisation in Apuleius’ Metamorphoses: Eight Studies*, edited by Stephen J. Harrison, forthcoming.

CHAPTER 19

Roman Elegy and the Roman Novel

Judith P. Hallett and Judith Hindermann

Since 1892, when Collignon published his study on literary criticism, imitation, and parody in Petronius, scholars have observed various affinities between Roman elegy—particularly the elegiac poetry of Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid, composed in the mid- to late first century BCE—and the Roman novel. This chapter contributes to this longstanding research project by considering how Petronius’ *Satyricon*, written in the mid-first century CE, and Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*, from the following century, engage with the language, conventions, themes, and assumptions of earlier Roman elegiac poetry. Its intertextual investigations also accord attention to the different attitudes toward earlier elegiac writings that their allusions imply and to what these differences reflect about their respective audiences.

Building on earlier analyses of the intertextual relationships between Propertius 4.8 and the Quartilla episode at *Satyricon* 16–26 (Hallett 2003), this discussion argues that, by evoking Propertius here, Petronius critiques assumptions central to the genre of Latin love elegy itself, and offers a “resistant reading” of this earlier elegiac text. First, however, we situate Petronius’ portrayal in this episode of female sexual aggression and male responses to it, a portrayal that parodies conventional elegiac scenarios, in the tradition of earlier Roman verse satire and invective. Petronius’ efforts to parody and critique earlier elegists similarly figure in our discussion of the intertextual connections between Ovid, *Amores* 3.7, and the account of Encolpius’ impotence at *Satyricon* 126ff. This particular Ovidian elegy echoes and engages with several poems by Ovid’s predecessors Catullus, Propertius, and Tibullus, and represents Ovid’s literary *persona* as recalling that of these earlier poets. Hence, we also compare Petronius’ intertextual strategies in this portion of the novel with those employed in earlier Latin erotic poetry itself. Our

discussion of Petronius contends that his allusions to Roman elegy presume a learned audience closely familiar with, and seek to render that audience cynically disposed to, Catullus and the Augustan love elegists.

Apuleius is recognized as a major source on Roman elegy because, at 10.2–3 of his *Apology*, he claims to reveal the actual names of several women celebrated by Roman love elegists. However, even though various studies have investigated the affinities of his novel with other literary genres—epic, drama, satire, mime, and the Greek romances—they have only begun to pay serious attention to its connections with Roman elegy (see, e.g. Mattiacci 1998; Harrison 2006; Mathis 2008; Hindermann 2009a, 2009b, 2010). By demonstrating through intertextual analysis that key elegiac themes survived and thrived in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, this chapter seeks to establish that the genre of love elegy serves as a major field of literary reference throughout the novel. Thus, it contends, building on earlier analyses, that the relationship between the protagonist Lucius and the slave girl Photis takes the form of *servitium amoris*, love as slavery: an elegiac literary convention inverting social reality by representing a free Roman male as dominated by a woman of a lower social class. This discussion argues that Apuleius characterizes Photis as an elegiac *puella* endowed with charm, elegance, and beauty; it claims that the elegiac theme of *militia amoris*, love as military service, prominently figures in the relationship between Lucius and Photis as well. We maintain that Apuleius, a rhetorician of the Second Sophistic, expects his readers to reflect upon the relationships between his novel and earlier Greco-Roman literary works, and to admire his cleverness in combining different genres and styles. Nevertheless, by depicting Lucius and Photis as a loving elegiac couple, he validates assumptions of elegy that Petronius does not.

Petronius and Latin Love Elegy: Critiques of Latin Love Elegy in Earlier Satire and Invective

Merely by featuring several poems in the elegiac meter, the *Satyricon* invites its audience to reflect upon the relationship between its own narrative content and the situations portrayed in earlier Latin love elegies. It warrants emphasis, therefore, that Petronius inserts one of these elegiac poems into Chapter 18, during the Quartilla episode, and

two into the impotence episode, at the end of Chapters 126 and 132, respectively. To be sure, when the poet Eumolpus waxes rhapsodic about the art of poetry in 118—immediately before delivering his own verses in dactylic hexameter on the Roman civil war—he cites Vergil and Horace as literary exemplars, but does not mention any of the Latin elegiac poets. In 109, however, the novel’s narrator Encolpius identifies Eumolpus’ six lines in elegiac couplets about hair (*capillorum*) as an *elegidarium*, little elegiac dirge, literally calling the “minor” literary genre of elegy to mind. What is more, by having Eumolpus refer to Horace immediately after reciting the opening line of Horace, *Odes* 3.1, *odi profanum vulgus et arceo*, in 118, Petronius may be reminding his audience of Horace’s own allusions to the sexual arrangements and scenarios of Roman love elegy, and Horace’s critique of the genre itself, in *Satires* 1.2.

In *Satires* 1.2, dated to the early thirties BCE, Horace argues for the importance of avoiding extremes in all human activity. He uses, as a specific example of behavioral extremism, the selection of recreational female sexual partners, representing adulterers, those who pursue the wives of other elite males, as a particularly pitiable category of extremists in lines 28–36. Then, after enumerating perils and physical injuries that await such men, Horace also proceeds to fault those who have affairs with freedwomen, mime actresses, and courtesans in lines 47–63, on the grounds that such women demand huge sums of money and damage the reputations of their male lovers. He concludes by recommending cheap and willing prostitutes, on the basis of his own personal, satisfying, experiences. Through this recommendation, and by casting aspersions on sexual liaisons not only with other men’s wives but also with freedwomen, mime actresses, and courtesans—the two different categories of women that the love elegists represent as the women they love—Horace criticizes love elegy as well (Hallett 2003).

Horace composed this satire a decade before the three major male Augustan love elegists—Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid—began to write. However, by the early thirties BCE, their admired and imitated precursor Cornelius Gallus had established many of the literary conventions later associated with this poetic genre, as Vergil’s portrait of Gallus in his tenth *Eclogue* attests. Such conventions include writing in the first person, and sharing one’s intimate feelings, much as Horace does here, though the works of these elegists celebrate illicit liaisons with precisely the type of women Horace regards as problematic. Roman love elegies also pay frequent homage to the work of the Hellenistic poet Callimachus, to whom Horace alludes in lines 105–108 by evoking Callimachus’ own words in *Anthologia Palatina* 12.102. However, Horace does so to challenge not only

Callimachus' praise of unattainable love objects that cause emotional suffering, but also the worth of Callimachus' poem as emotional solace (Hallett 2003).

The female Augustan elegist Sulpicia subtly testifies that she read Horace's poem as a critique of the love elegiac genre by referring to her young male partner in an illicit and torrid affair by the pseudonym Cerinthus, apparently as a form of protest. Horace addresses a man of this name at *Satire* 1.2.81, faulting him for preferring women of high birth, wearing pearls and emeralds, over a common prostitute; Sulpicia makes it clear that she is herself a woman of high birth, and even introduces herself in 3.8 as dressed in expensive clothes and jewelry (Hallett 2003). Still, Horace does not represent the expensive, dangerous women he criticizes as causing their lovers emotional distress. Nor does he mention the explanations that the elegists themselves offer for enduring such treatment.

A six-line invective in elegiac meter recalling several earlier poems in the same meter by Catullus, and written around the same time as Horace, *Satires* 1.2, warrants attention in this context too. Composed by the man who became the emperor Augustus, it shares certain features with the amatory scenarios in the love elegies of this period and the later Augustan age, since it is written in the first person, and associates making love with making war, albeit literally rather than (in the manner of love elegiac texts) figuratively. However, it ridicules the erotic independence and self-assertiveness displayed by Sulpicia and the women celebrated by the male love elegists as their lovers (Hallett 1977).

Like *Satire* 1.2—though unlike Roman elegy itself, which always employs refined euphemisms to describe sexual activities and equipment—Augustus uses a string of primary obscenities in representing his own erotic circumstances. Here, he explains his decision to wage the Perusine War, in which he, then known as Octavian, confronted Mark Antony's wife Fulvia on the battlefield. After claiming that Fulvia, angry over Antony's affair with the Cappadocian queen Glaphyra, had demanded that he "fuck her (with the verb *futuere*) or fight," he asserts that he had no choice but to fight, since Fulvia did not meet the standards of his "prick" (*mentula*). He even likens "fucking" her to "asshole-fucking" (with the verb *pedicare*) Antony's male agent Manius.

It is significant that the late-first-century-CE epigrammatist Martial, to whom we owe the survival of these six elegiac verses, quotes them in 11.20 to justify his own use of primary obscenities such as *futuere*, *mentula*, and *pedicare*, by stating that Augustus knows how to speak with *Romana simplicitate*, "Roman frankness." For in the elegiac verses at *Satyricon* 132, which defend sexual couplings and joys as narrative

subject matter immediately before and after describing the impotent Encolpius' erotic failures and sorrows, Petronius utilizes *simplicitas* too, to characterize his writing on this topic as a work of new frankness, *novae simplicitatis opus*. This detail may suggest that Petronius is alluding to, and assumes his audience's close acquaintance with, Augustus' poem and its dismissive portrayal of a libidinous woman who takes the sexual initiative.

Numerous other echoes in the *Satyricon* of Augustan elegiac texts and the situations they depict similarly indicate that Petronius assumes an audience familiar with the textual details of earlier love elegiac poems. He evokes these poems during the novel to critique the preoccupation of male elegists with female erotic control and male sexual performance, and to ridicule his narrator Encolpius for trying to emulate the poet-speakers of these elegists. Petronius does not appear to voice criticism of our one surviving Augustan female elegist Sulpicia through alluding to her work. Yet, as the two following examples illustrate, his critique of elegy as a genre contains strong misogynistic elements, as evinced in its unflattering portraits of sexually enterprising women in circumstances recalling elegiac scenarios.

***Satyricon* 16–26: Propertius 4.8 and the Quartilla Episode**

Let us now turn to Petronius' account of the encounter that Encolpius claims, at *Satyricon* 16–26, to have experienced with his two male sidekicks in the company of the priestess Quartilla, her slave girl and a 7-year-old virgin. This portion of the novel's narrative has attracted and continues to deserve close attention because it has numerous features in common with Propertius 4.8. In addition to sharing specific details of language, the episode represents its first-person narrator Encolpius as—like the first-person poet-speaker in Propertius' elegy—excusing his emotional mistreatment by a sexually promiscuous, heartless, and physically abusive woman on both religious and physically performative grounds. A summary of the events that Propertius relates, and some information on how he describes them, will facilitate our intertextual comparison between Propertius' elegy and Petronius' narrative.

Propertius 4.8 begins on an erudite note. By demanding that the reader learn the causes of a disruption that occurred one night on the Esquiline Hill, it evokes Callimachus' *Aetia*, a learned poem about

causes. It proceeds to provide several details about a fertility ritual in the town of Lanuvium, centered on the feeding of a snake by a virgin. Then, in lines 15ff., Propertius reveals that his beloved, anything-but-virginal Cynthia, treated him cruelly by travelling with another man to participate in this cult; he explains Cynthia's abandonment of him by citing her religious obligations to Juno, the goddess honored by this ritual (though he notes that Venus was a better *causa*, "excuse").

In the lines that immediately follow, Propertius represents Cynthia's departure from Rome as a military triumph. He then refers to a noisy bar-brawl that shamed him, and hails Cynthia as a *spectaculum*, dramatic sight, to behold as she left the city. Using a military metaphor ("since my bed had been changed, I wanted to relocate camp"), he next reports that he attempted to find sexual consolation with two paid sex workers, women of precisely the sort that Horace recommends for erotic recreation, along with wine and song. Yet, at 43ff., Propertius relates that he could not perform sexually with them, since he kept thinking of Cynthia at her ritual.

It was at this point, Propertius tells us, that Cynthia suddenly returned. He again describes her appearance with the word *spectaculum* and, in military language, by likening this dramatic sight to that of a captured city. He testifies that after she physically attacked one of his two partners, the other called for help and their lamps awakened the respectable citizens of the neighborhood, *Quirites*. He recounts that Cynthia not only battered, bit, and beat him up but also inflicted physical harm on his innocent male slave. Then, in lines 71 ff., Propertius relates Cynthia's demands and his own abject apology, employing legal as well as military language; he concludes the elegy by reporting that—after Cynthia ritually purified the premises—they made passionate love, employing a military metaphor to describe their activity: "we let our weapons (*arma*) loose on the entire bed." Propertius underscores the success of their love making, despite the physical abuse he endured at Cynthia's hands, giving it as his second justification for her emotionally cruel treatment of him. Indeed, he represents Cynthia's cruelty, physical and emotional, as enhancing his own sexual performance (Hallett 2003).

Like Propertius' elegy, the Quartilla episode is narrated in the first person, by the literarily learned, self-deluded, youthful Encolpius. Both texts have a nocturnal setting and foreground women's involvement in religious rites. Both assign a prominent role to a virgin: the elegy uses the word *virgo* three times; the episode also uses it three times, as well as the diminutive form *virgiuncula* twice, and the verb *devirginari*, to deflower. Both texts, moreover, make figurative use of military and legal language to describe erotic activities. In the sentence immediately preceding the elegiac verses in Chapter 18, for

example, Quartilla claims that a crowd had been prepared to avenge (*vindicaret*) the injustice done to her (*iniuriam*); the verses begin with the statement *contemni turpe est, legem donare superbum*, “to be scorned is disgraceful, to impose a law glorious” (Hallett 2003).

Curiously, both Propertius 4.8 and Petronius’ Quartilla episode place a major emphasis on hands, and portray the tying up of feet. Just as Propertius has Cynthia claim that she abandoned him to worship Juno (while actually paying homage to Venus), so Petronius has Quartilla invoke the goddess Juno in defense of her voracious and promiscuous sexual conduct. In both texts, the noun *spectaculum*, shortened a syllable in the elegy, appears twice in connection with female erotic self-assertiveness: Petronius uses it for the mock marriage between Encolpius’ boy beloved Giton and a 7-year-old virgin that Encolpius is forced to watch with Quartilla. Laughter plays a role in both Propertius’ elegy and the Quartilla narrative (Petronius employs the noun *risus* six times within the episode), as do sounds of other sorts, especially those made by doors (Hallett 2003).

Each scenario centers on a public building of low status: a tavern in Propertius, and what one might call a “flophouse” in Petronius. Each narrative is marked by much action, and inaction, on couches and beds, described with the repeated use of the nouns *lectus* and *torus*. In each, we find drinking in abundance; faltering lamps and tables; a focus on eyes and eye-action, as well as on urban citified action and speech. Both narratives, too, feature the calling of neighbors referred to as *Quirites*; the verb *admittere*—“to confess”—used for confessions of bad behavior; and such other verbs as *cadere*, “to fall”; *effundere*, “to pour”; *lenire* “to lighten”; and *spargere*, “to sprinkle.” Finally, just as Propertius’ elegy readily lends itself to staging as a comic routine, so does Petronius’ narrative: both are developed dramatic scenes containing much descriptive information about the setting, gestures, and dialogue (Hallett 2003).

Nevertheless, Petronius locates his narrator Encolpius in totally dissimilar erotic circumstances from those in which Propertius situates himself as a poet-speaker. First of all, Petronius has Encolpius represent the religious activities of his female partner—to whom Encolpius twice refers by the Latin word *domina*, the very term used by the love elegists for their mistresses, as altogether different from the rites at Lanuvium so appealing to Cynthia. Quartilla conducts an all-night vigil in honor of the phallic god Priapus, on Encolpius’ own premises, which includes Encolpius’ former male lover Ascyltus and current boy lover Giton as well as Encolpius himself, and which demands energetic erotic performances of all participants. Still, like Propertius’ endeavors to couple with the two female prostitutes in 4.8, the multiple sexual couplings in which Encolpius has the chance to

take part remain unconsummated, even those forced on him by *cinaedi*, aggressively pathic males (Hallett 2003).

Encolpius resembles Propertius in needing to compete with another man for the attentions of his female partner. However, this rival is his own younger male lover, who should not qualify as sexual competition. And though Quartilla ostentatiously fondles Giton's sexual endowments in Encolpius' presence, she postpones taking Giton on as her partner until she has made him deflower a 7-year-old girl. Petronius has Encolpius characterize Quartilla as lusty (*libidinosa*), portray this defloration as "children's entertainment," and report that he and Quartilla watched it "through a crack naughtily made in the door." Yet, Encolpius is not aroused: while Giton and the little girl have no difficulties consummating their sexual union, Encolpius cannot perform at all. Unlike the first person poet-speaker of Propertius 4.8, he is not beat up, bitten, or bashed, merely kissed, by Quartilla. He depicts those kisses, however, with the verb *verberare*, "to lash," as tantamount to whipping (Hallett 2003).

In addition to acknowledging that he suffered from sexual impotence throughout the episode, Encolpius describes himself as repeatedly paralyzed by fear: of Quartilla, her worry about tertian fever, and her demands. He claims that the female trinity of Quartilla, her maid, and the 7-year-old girl terrorized his two male companions as well as himself, employing military language to characterize the women as having made a long battle formation (*longum agmen*) and adding that Giton had not fought back (*non repugnauerat*). Whereas Propertius portrays Cynthia's sexual aggression, brutal physical violence, and total control of their amatory transactions as physically empowering to him, energizing his erotic performance, Petronius has Encolpius describe himself as totally unlike Propertius as both lover and literary figure. By characterizing Encolpius in this way, Petronius parodies the circumstances and challenges the conventions of earlier love elegiac texts. He thus offers what has been termed a resistant reading of assumptions central to love elegy as a literary genre, indeed a reading that renders his first-person narrator and dramatic protagonist utterly ridiculous to those familiar with love elegy in general and Propertius 4.8 in particular (Hallett 2003)

Encolpius' Impotence in *Satyricon* 126ff. and Ovid,

Amores 3.7

Scholars have long noted that Petronius' depiction of Encolpius' debilitating penile failure at *Satyricon* 126ff. echoes key details from Ovid's portrayal of his own temporary impotence, or at least that of Ovid's poetic *persona*, in *Amores* 3.7. They have observed that both texts feature *languor*, "limpness," brought on by *veneficium*, "sorcery"; the accusation by the offended lover that a rival party is the cause of sexual dysfunction; and such stylistic details as the prominent positioning of a tricolon accompanied by anaphora (McMahon 1998, 10; Courtney 2001, 193–194). However, further resemblances between the Ovidian elegy and the Petronian narrative merit scrutiny, as do the major differences between the two texts. Close comparison between their language and scenarios suggests that Petronius is parodying this particular Ovidian poem, as he does Propertius 4.8, but at the same time also ridiculing literary conventions and assumptions informing Ovid's erotic verse, and love elegy as a literary genre. Among these conventions is Ovid's own, at times parodic, intertextual evocations of his own poetic predecessors.

These resemblances between Ovid and Petronius include both individual words and larger themes. In *Amores* 3.7, Ovid thrice characterizes his own impotence as rendering him "not a man," each time employing the Latin noun *vir*; in lines 59–60, the last of these passages, he describes his partner as worthy of arousing those "who are both alive and men" (*vivosque virosque*), lamenting that he was "neither alive nor a man" on this occasion. At 129.1, Petronius has Encolpius use the same word, *vir*, and the same motif of impotence as death, when complaining to his boy beloved Giton, "I do not feel that I am a man. That part of my body, in which I was once an Achilles, is dead and buried." When speaking to his malfunctioning organ at 132.10, Encolpius also recalls Ovid's representation of his past sexual vigor as both youthful and manly. Here he says that his impotent penis has "dragged him down to the dead," and asks if the intent was "to betray [his] years blooming with first youth and afflict [him] with the weakness of extreme old age."

Not only does Encolpius liken his sexual performance to that of the legendary epic warrior Achilles, at 130.4–5, he also employs a military metaphor for his male sexual equipment and endeavors when writing to the woman he desires, who bears the name of Circe, a goddess bedded by the legendary epic warrior Odysseus: "although I was a soldier (*miles*) ready to take action, I did not have my arms (*arma*)."¹ Ovid uses the same figure of speech in saying, in line 68, that his sexual parts "now demand their work and military service" (*militiam*), and in telling his delinquent member in line 71, "through you I was

caught in the act unarmed” (*inermis*). Both Ovid and Encolpius, moreover, address and admonish their male organs. At *Amores* 3.7.69–72, Ovid calls his manly member “the worst part (*pars*) of myself.” He then accuses it—as if the feminine gender of *pars* (and of the never-uttered primary obscenity for this bodily part, *mentula*) rendered it a faithless female lover—of having deceived him with promises, behaving falsely to him, its master (*dominum*), and of having caused sad losses with great disgrace, *pudor*. At 132.7, Encolpius speaks angrily to what he euphemistically calls “that noun of feminine gender (*eam*) which had been the cause of all my misfortunes,” using the word *pudor* as well.

Later in the same passage, Encolpius asserts to his organ that “[you failed me] in order that you might hand over my years (*annos*) flourishing with their first energy, and inflict the weakness of extreme old age (*senectaeque*).” He thereby recalls Ovid’s worry, at *Amores* 3.7.17, about “what old age (*senectus*) holds in store” for him “if his youth is so disappointing” as well as his claim in 19 that his plight “causes me shame for my years” (*pudet annorum*). So, too, and contrary to his practice elsewhere in the *Amores*, Ovid puts words in the mouth of the woman he has disappointed sexually at 3.7.77–80: “why do you play (*ludis*) with my feelings . . . Either a sorceress from Circe-land (*Aeaea venifica*) bewitches you (*devovet*) . . . or you come worn out from another love routine.” Petronius assigns words not only to the woman Encolpius fails to satisfy sexually—literally named Circe—but also to her slave girl Chrysis. Indeed, Petronius represents Circe as writing a lengthy letter to Encolpius, which her slave girl conveys, and Encolpius as responding with a letter of his own. At *Satyricon* 129.4–5, Petronius calls to mind Ovid’s partner in *Amores* 3.7 by having Circe use the verb *ludere*, to play, in the context of her own sexual disappointment.

Yet, the distinctive differences between these two texts establish that Petronius is evoking Ovid’s elegiac scenario parodically, to emphasize that Encolpius’ impotence causes him not only to experience immense anxiety but also to suffer both emotionally and physically in painful and humiliating ways that Ovid, or at least his poetic *persona*, does not. Ovid is obviously relating the details of this failed sexual encounter to his readers. However, he represents the incident described by the poem as only known to his unnamed and dissatisfied female partner, who departs in a rush, and as a single occurrence quickly forgotten. Petronius, however, represents Encolpius’ plight as long lasting, and as known at the time to other women who do not share his bed.

Both Circe and Chrysis express their reactions to, and ponder explanations and cures for, Encolpius’ impotence; at 131.2, Chrysis

even introduces Encolpius to a sorceress named Proselenos who manages to arouse and charge his organ with charms and chants. After Encolpius lashes out at Circe in 132.2, moreover, she takes revenge by having her bedroom attendants beat him, and other slaves spit upon him; they throw Proselenos out and beat Chrysis as well. Ovid's *puella* merely upbraids him for his phallic failure; she does not inflict physical harm.

Significantly, and as has been noted, Ovid portrays the impotence of his poet-speaker as only temporary, setting *Amores* 3.7 at a dramatic moment when he recalls his past erotic failure to an organ now fully aroused. In lines 65–68, he reports that his “body parts” now “thrive and flourish (*valent*) at the wrong moment, and demand their work and military service.” By way of contrast as well, whereas Ovid sounds merely exasperated at his manly part for its poor timing, Encolpius expresses shame at having conversed with his. And his organ is in no way ready to perform. At *Satyricon* 1.32.8–11, Petronius vividly describes Encolpius' male member, when Encolpius contemplates cutting it off, as retreating from his groin to hide away in the flesh of his entrails, utterly unrecognizable owing to its “covered head,” “averting its gaze,” and unresponsively drooping. He provides this description, moreover, in lines of verse, two of them lifted wholesale from the sixth book of Vergil's *Aeneid*, another half-hexameter from the ninth. The Vergilian lines from Book 6 (469–470) represent the silent and angry Dido whom Aeneas encounters in the realm of the dead. The words from Book 9, in line 436, liken the dying Trojan warrior Euryalus to falling petals of a poppy with weary stalk.

Most important, Ovid boasts of his past sexual prowess with other women at *Amores* 3.7.23–26, asserting “But recently blonde-haired Chlide was kept satisfied (*continuata*) by my functioning (*officio*) two successive times, shining Pitho and Libas three times; I remember that in a brief night Corinna demanded from me and that I held up for nine numbers” (*numeros ... novem*). With this reference to performing “nine numbers” on one night, Ovid recalls Catullus' more obscenely worded promise in poem 32, to one Ipsitilla, of an afternoon consisting of “nine non-stop fuckings” (*novem continuas fututiones*). With this intertextual detail alone, Ovid offers a phallically realized reenactment of the artistic theory propounded by the contemporary literary critic Harold Bloom, who posits that an “anxiety of influence” informs the competitive relationship between male poets and their predecessors (Bloom 1997). For what Ovid's influential predecessor Catullus merely proposes, Ovid, through parodic allusivity, claims to have delivered.

Other details in this poem, recalling lines from other Catullan poems, as well as from elegies by both Propertius and Tibullus about their erotic performances, further suggest that Ovid is wittily

competing with his poetic predecessors on a literary as well as a sexual level, and willing to admit that at times he has experienced erotic failures because he ordinarily enjoys amatory successes. For example, in 65–66, immediately before berating his recalcitrant organ, and while contrasting his present rigidity with his past flaccidity, Ovid states that his *praemortua membra*, “prematurely dead manly bits,” *iacuere*, “lay there,” *hesterno languidora rosa*, “more wilted than yesterday’s rose.” He thereby recalls the language of Catullus 50. It opens with a reference to yesterday, *hesterno die*; lines 15–16 describe Catullus’ bodily parts as lying half-dead (*membra...semimortua...iacebant*) on a bed. In this poem, though, Catullus employs the language of lovemaking to describe his participation not in non-stop erotic couplings, but in an impassioned, mutually demanding and productive verse-writing session with his friend Licinius Calvus.

Ovid’s self-representation in *Amores* 3.7 also calls to mind passages from Propertius in 2.22 and Tibullus in 1.5, each of which shares memories of both amatory success and failure. At 2.22.23–24, after bemoaning his own current erotic disappointment, Propertius consoles himself with the observation “often a girl has discovered that my sexual performance (*officium*) is strong (*valere*) for the entire night,” and with words Ovid also uses in *Amores* 3.7 for sexual activity. At 1.5.39–2, Tibullus relates that, even when he—unlike Ovid in *Amores* 3.7—has become physically aroused, “Venus often deserted” him as he “was approaching sexual joys”; at this point, Tibullus adds, the woman, departing, said that he “had been bewitched,” *devotum*. Ovid, as we have seen, describes his partner as responding in the same way with the same word (Holzberg 2009).

However, some of Ovid’s words for sexual acts and positions in *Amores* 3.7—*numeri*, “numbers,” in 18 and 26, and *modi*, “measures” in 64—also serve as terms for poetic meters in his earlier, programmatic elegy *Amores* 1.1. There, in fact, they refer to the workings of the elegiac couplet itself, in contrast to the dactylic hexameter of a martial Roman epic. By declaring, in lines 27–28, “let my work rise in six metrical units (*numeris*), and sink back in five: farewell, iron wars, with your meters (*modis*),” Ovid associates what it takes to make love with what it takes to make love poetry. Earlier in *Amores* 1.1, at 17–18, Ovid forges the same association. Here, he describes the effect of the elegiac couplet with such sexually charged words as *surgere*, “to rise,” and *nervi*, “muscular parts”: “when the new page rose up (*surrexit*) well with its first line of verse, the next one diminished its muscular parts (*nervos*).” He thereby characterizes the elegiac meter—in contrast to the hendecasyllabic meter employed by Catullus in 11 and 50—as operating in the fashion of a male sexual organ, alternatively turgid and detumescent.

In this narrative segment about Encolpius' impotence, Petronius portrays Encolpius as responding to Ovid's elegiac *Amores* 3.7, much as Ovid responds in that poem to Catullus' hendecasyllabic 32 and 50, and to two elegiac poems by Propertius and Tibullus. However, while Ovid echoes these earlier texts to establish himself as a contender in the realms of both phallic and literary performance, Encolpius painfully testifies that he does not succeed in his phallic and literary competitive endeavors. Unlike Ovid, too, Encolpius does not recover quickly from his bout of impotence, and haplessly turns for help to women who harm him, with pain and humiliation resulting. And although in *Satyricon* 132 Encolpius directly quotes an earlier Roman poet after reproaching his uncooperative organ, these words from Vergil's *Aeneid* were originally about the dead Dido and the dying Euryalus, not the life enhancing, energizing power of love poems by Catullus and the Roman elegists whom Ovid echoes.

In calling these poems by Propertius and Ovid to mind, Petronius assumes an audience familiar with these texts, and aware of the values that they embrace. He utilizes these evocations to imply through parody that the literary genre of Roman elegy in which they wrote obscures the anguish, pain, and humiliation that sexually independent and aggressive women may inflict and male sexual dysfunction may entail. These evocations of elegy, therefore, voice a learned, albeit laugh-inducing, critique of the genre itself.

Apuleius and Latin Love Elegy

Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* also draws heavily on Roman elegy, through the author's depiction of the relationships between the protagonist Lucius and the female figures he meets: the slave woman Photis, the Corinthian matron, and the goddess Isis. Apuleius' novel recalls earlier Latin love elegiac texts in foregrounding such themes as dominant and submissive behavior, reversals of social hierarchies, and transgressions of borders, not only in its characterization of Lucius himself, but also of Lucius' alter ego Socrates, whose experiences with the innkeeper Meroe anticipate the protagonist's encounters. Yet, at the same time, the love affairs in the inserted stories also draw on the literary genres of tragedy, comedy, and mime.

This discussion contends that, in presenting his protagonist as an elegiac lover at both the beginning (Books 1–3) and the end (Books 10–11) of the novel, Apuleius adds another type of love to the broad spectrum of relationships between the sexes that he presents in the *Metamorphoses*. In the process, he subtly signals to the reader that his

entire work lends itself to interpretation by means of a single Latin literary genre, one that is genuinely Roman and thus suits Apuleius' aim of adapting his Greek literary model for a Latin-speaking audience (cf. Sandy 1997). By integrating elegiac themes, Apuleius bridges the two linguistic cultures, as he announces in the prologue, and simultaneously furnishes a new perspective on the relationship between Lucius and Photis that inaugurates the protagonist's transformation and his subsequent adventures.

The Beginning of the Novel: Lucius and Photis, Socrates and Meroe

In the *Onos*, the epitome of the lost Greek *Metamorphoses*, the relationship between the female slave Palaestra and the protagonist Lukios is described as purely sexual. Its only purpose is to bring the protagonist in contact with the world of magic. By way of contrast, Apuleius adds suspense to the relationship between Lucius and Photis by having it oscillate, in elegiac fashion, between submission and domination, authentic feelings and strategic role-playing.

The protagonist Lucius, a free citizen, becomes enamored of the slave girl Photis and, once their love affair commences, behaves toward her in a manner recalling the love elegiac convention of *servitium amoris*, "the slavery of love" (Hindermann 2009b). This notion of erotic bondage inverts Roman social reality by representing a free Roman citizen as dominated by a woman from a lower social class (see Murgatroyd 1981). The actual social roles occupied by Lucius and Photis, those of *civis*, free citizen, and *ancilla*, slave maid, are stressed in 1.22–25, immediately before they launch their love affair; the reversal of these roles is therefore soon perceptible in their changed behavior.

Photis, for example, gives Lucius various orders when they first flirt with one another in the kitchen (2.7 *discede ... discede*; 2.30 *cave; abi, te compara*) and during the following night (2.17 *proeliare ... proeliare ... derige ... grassare ... occide*). What is more, Lucius has to ask his *domina* Photis for permission to accept an invitation from Byrrhena, his mother's close friend and an important member of Hypata's social elite. Like a slave, Lucius has no right to go where he wishes. He is tied to the house and has to ask his mistress to allow him to leave (2.18).

Apuleius strengthens the impression of Lucius' complete dependence on his beloved by stating that he waits for her nod, *nutus*. This word often appears in the *Metamorphoses* in connection with the power wielded by goddesses: Fortune, Juno, Venus, and Isis all express their will wordlessly in this way (e.g. 6.4 and 11.11). By associating Photis with this gesture, Lucius classes her with the female divinities who appear in the novel, thus elevating her above the human sphere, as he does elsewhere in the work (2.17 and 3.22) by comparing her to Venus, goddess of love. Unlike Palaestra, her counterpart in the *Onos*, Photis is a fully developed character. Apuleius not only changes his female protagonist's name (cf. Scobie 1969), but also transforms her into Lucius' witty, clever, and attractive partner, whose character and appearance—particularly her seductive movements and her hair—are modeled on the idealized females of Roman elegy, and the prescriptions for sexually appealing female conduct and looks in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (Hindermann 2009a, 100–144). Although magic surrounds Lucius completely, his attraction to Photis derives from her cultivated looks and manners: *nam et forma scitula et moribus ludicra et prorsus argutula est*, “because she is attractive, sexy and clever” (2.16–17).

In addition to employing the motifs of *servitium amoris* and the idealization and deification of the beloved, Apuleius introduces another elegiac theme, that of *militia amoris* (cf. Murgatroyd 1975). Lucius not only begs his Photis humbly for permission to attend a dinner party without her, but also entreats her explicitly for a short break from his military service of love, *amatoriae militiae brevem commeatum* (2.18). Unlike the Greek novel, where the love scenes between protagonist and slave—whose name, Palaestra, means a gym, place for male exercise—feature metaphors of wrestling, sexual encounters between Photis and Lucius are figuratively referred to in the language of waging war (2.16–17).

Although Lucius acts like a slave and a soldier of love, he does not have to experience the anxieties and sorrows of an elegiac lover. His mistress Photis, moreover, does not resemble the harsh girl, *dura puella*, immortalized in earlier Roman elegy. She is not cruel, but kind and generous; the relationship between the lovers is portrayed as relaxed and full of mutual affection. As a survey of the different forms assumed by *servitium amoris* in Roman elegy indicates, this specific, more enduring, variety of the motif surfaces prominently in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (see Holzberg 1981). Ovid advises that the male student of love seek to dominate and structure a relationship according to his own wishes. Such an arrangement does not prevent him from being indulgent to his female beloved, or even from letting her have her way at times. Occasionally, Ovid notes at *Ars* 2.209–222, the student of

love may even have to perform slavish tasks for her. However, he is never enjoined to obey his beloved completely, and is simply supposed to let her play the role of the more powerful partner. In this way, the student of love may use *servitium amoris* as a pose, in order to enjoy a relationship that suits him. Ovid thus upgrades the role of the love-slave by teaching that slavery has to be feigned, performed for the sake of deceiving the female lover.

It is striking that Lucius depicts himself as a slave of love (*in servilem modum addictum atque mancipatum; tuumque mancipium*) in *Met.* 3.22, only when he wants Photis to fulfill his desire for magic. With his choice of words, Lucius indicates that he sees himself as a voluntary (*mancipatum ... volentem* at 3.19) and short-term slave of love. He can offer his beloved the prospect of staying with her forever if she is willing to help him realize his greatest wish. As an independent salesman, he bargains with Photis according to the principle of *do ut des*, “I give so that you may give,” utilizing as well several commercial terms (*fructu, inremunerabili, pignora* at 3.22). By displaying his emotional and physical dependence on her, he tries to allay her fears, and promises that he will stay with her even after an encounter with the world of magic. This promise, in fact, does not turn out to be true. As the *praeceptor amoris* Ovid recommends in lines 631–634 of *Ars Amatoria* 1, Lucius simply commits perjury and never really loses control of his feelings. His submission to Photis is not an end in itself, but a means of getting in touch with magic.

How independent Lucius remains despite his adopted pose as a *servus* becomes clear when we compare his fate to that of Socrates (Hindermann 2010). Lucius learns Socrates’ story in 16–19 of *Metamorphoses* 1, immediately before his own adventures with both love and magic. The circumstances of Lucius and Socrates are similar in many respects. Both are salesmen who meet, in the very same city, women with magical powers: Meroe and Pamphile, Photis’ mistress. For both men, an erotic encounter proves to be the path for magic. The consequences of these magical experiences are serious: Socrates dies, and Lucius not only suffers painfully in his asinine form, but also faces mortal danger several times before he is changed back into human shape.

The central figure of reference for the Apuleian Socrates, who lacks his namesake’s celebrated restraint, is of course the Greek philosopher. Without rejecting a Platonic reading of the novel’s narrative—a combination of multiple intertexts is found throughout the *Metamorphoses*—we would like to propose a new interpretation of the story about Socrates and Meroe, reading it as an example of *servitium amoris* in the original, “severe,” form of the motif. Critics, for example Walsh (1970, 177) or Tatum (1969, 493ff.), have maintained that

Socrates' story is to be read as a warning about the dangerous consequences of both magic and sexuality that Lucius fails to heed. It can, however, be argued that Lucius absorbs valuable lessons from Socrates' story, since he does not succumb completely to the power of his beloved.

In his first appearance, Socrates makes a pitiful impression. He is emaciated, pale, half-naked, and far away from home. Aristomenes, a salesman and old friend, meets him by chance, sitting on the ground in the streets of Hypata. Instead of being happy about their reunion, or asking his unlucky friend about the reasons for his misfortune, Aristomenes heaps reproaches on Socrates. Since it was assumed that Socrates had passed away, Aristomenes tells him that his children have been given a guardian and his wife has been urged by her parents to marry again (1.8). Aristomenes' mercilessness can be explained by his inability to make an accurate diagnosis of what ails Socrates. He appears to be an expert in interpreting symptoms of love-sickness: without asking, he deduces that Socrates must be in love. Paleness and emaciation are typical symptoms of love-sickness, characteristic of the elegiac lover, for example Propertius 4.3.27 and Ovid *Ars* 1. 729. Thus, it is assumed that Socrates has abandoned his family in order to enjoy sexual pleasures with his mistress.

Despite his friend's mistrustful attitude, Socrates proceeds to tell Aristomenes how he got into this situation. He begins his story by exclaiming *me miserum* (and also refers to himself as *miser* in 1.7), a phrase that conveys a special meaning in an erotic and elegiac context (Hinds 1998, 29–34). The same words, *miserum me*, are found in the first line of Propertius' first poem in his first book, known as the *Monobiblos*, and also occur at line 25 in the first poem of Ovid's *Amores*, 1.1. They programmatically point to the elegiac lover's state of mind, and establish the tone for the elegies that follow as well as for Socrates' story.

After visiting a gladiatorial show, Socrates is attacked on his way back to the inn. A gang of robbers take away all of his possessions, leaving him only with the clothes he is wearing. Back at the inn, Socrates, in a state of shock, confides in his friendly landlady Meroe. She listens to him, provides him with free food and drink, and seduces him. After spending a single night with him (*ab unico congressu*, 1.7), the old but still attractive Meroe brings Socrates under her control. Like Photis, Meroe enchants her lover not by means of magic, but with her looks—in 1.7 she is described with the same adjective, *scitula*, as Photis—and her skilled ways. Socrates is so devoted to Meroe, whom he describes in 1.8 as a *femina divina*, a goddess, that he even sells the clothes the robbers did not take from him. After he no longer owns any possessions, he begins to carry bags to earn money for her (1.2).

Socrates has changed from a free and reputable salesman into a slave who does servile labor to please his beloved and fulfill her wishes.

Complaints about the financial demands of the greedy mistress are common in Roman elegy, found at, for example Propertius 2.16, Tibullus 2.4, and Ovid, *Amores* 1.10. There, *puellae* want to be rewarded for their physical favors with costly gifts, which the *poeta-amator* cannot afford. Like an avaricious *puella* in love elegy, Meroe also plunders her lover until he is completely exhausted and looks like a ghost (1.8). As Socrates fears his mistress' wrath, he does not defend himself against this mistreatment and gives up his right to freedom of speech. Such a reaction is also characteristic of an elegiac *amator* who accepts the superiority and control of his *domina*. Although he suffers physical and psychic violence, an elegiac lover does not dare to complain, or to leave (e.g. Propertius 1.9.1–4; 1.18.25ff. and Tibullus 1.6.69–72).

By viewing Lucius as a strategist rather than a true slave of love, we understand that his relationship to Socrates is different from that which earlier critics have assigned him. While the helpless Socrates pays for his attempt to abandon his mistress with his life, Lucius remains independent. With this attitude, he not only fulfills his wish of acquiring magical skills, though not exactly in the way that he intended, but also saves his own life.

The End of the Novel: Lucius and the Corinthian *matrona*—Lucius and Isis

After his transformation into an ass, Lucius abstains from relationships with women until the end of the tenth book, when he meets a matron at Corinth who falls in love with him. Scholars (e.g. Zimmermann 2000, 26) interpret this episode as a counterpart to the sex scenes with Photis at the beginning of the novel. Here, again, Roman gender roles are reversed, since the matron pays Lucius, the keeper of the ass, a great deal of money to have sex with her (10.19 *grandi* ... *praemio*; 10.22 *pari* ... *pretio*). She defines the rules of their encounter in every detail, whereas Lucius remains entirely passive. If we compare this Apuleian episode to the corresponding one in the *Onos* (50–52), it becomes clear that Apuleius uses typical, and faked, elegiac blandishments to unmask the matron's bestial desire and the naïve credulity of Lucius, the elegiac lover.

The importance of sweet-talk for initiating and enhancing love, as well as during sex, is a frequent theme in Ovid's love poems (e.g. *Ars* 3.523f. and 795f.; *Amores* 2.19.17; 3.7.11f.; 3.14.25). Lucius believes the words of his beloved—"amo" et "cupio" et "te solum diligo" et "sine te iam vivere nequo" et cetera... (10.21)—who acts with the same fury (10.19 *vaesana libido*) as Ovid's Pasiphae, who evinces *furiosa libido* at *Ars* 1.281 and, as Apuleius notes with *ad instar asinariae Pasiphaeae* at 10.19, serves as her role model. By calling her beloved *palumbulum*, "little dove," and *passer*, "sparrow," the *matrona* adopts on the one hand Ovid's advice to engage in sweet-talk during sex. By using bird names, at the same time she reminds the reader that Photis, Lucius' first lover, transformed him into an ass instead of what he wished to become, a bird.

A popular approach in research on Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* is to interpret Lucius' lovemaking with the *matrona* as his final degradation, reading the malevolent deeds of the lustful witch figures Photis, Paphile, and Meroe as negative foil for Isis' benevolent acts. According to this reading of the novel, Lucius has to overcome the destructive powers of the first 10 books in order to reach the savior goddess and true religion. However, typical elegiac patterns also figure in the relationship between Lucius and Isis. If one reads the 11th book, as van Mal-Maeder (2001) and many other scholars have recently suggested, not in contrast to, but in continuation of, the first 10 books, and at the same time not as the serious report of a convert, but as a playful literary *mélange* drawing on different texts and traditions, parallels between elegiac lover and religious believer are unmistakable.

First of all, Lucius is not released at the end of the novel but remains a slave. Whereas Lukios, the protagonist of the Greek *Onos*, finds his way back to his former life by shedding his asinine appearance, Lucius stays under the control of others for the rest of the novel. Although he recovers his human shape, his re-transformation does not turn him back into the man he was before his adventures. His metamorphosis is only an external one, and he is kept in a servile state. Not only does he shave his head like a slave in 11.28–30 (van Mal-Maeder 1997, 100f.), he is also summoned by the priest of Isis to spend his life in the service of the goddess, which is described as a new, more powerful mistress. In the priest's order to serve Isis at 11.15, we can find the same connection between the metaphors of slavery (*deae servire*; *servitium deae*; *ministerii iugum*) and military service (*sanctae huic militiae*) as in Lucius' earlier plea to Photis (Hindermann 2009b).

To reward Lucius for his persistent veneration, both Isis and Photis provide him with *voluptas*, pleasure. After finally having accepted

Byrrhena's invitation to a dinner party, Lucius promises Photis that he will return home early because he prefers to share *voluptas* with her, a slave girl, to an evening with Hypata's high society (2.18). The same love addiction is evident in Lucius' relation to Isis (11.24). Spending time with Isis seems to be more important to Lucius than a reunion with his friends and relatives, whom he has not seen for at least a year. Even though he welcomes his compatriots, he soon returns back to his goddess, from whom he is inseparable (11.19). In his intense service, Lucius forgets in both cases to return back home to his normal life (*nec domuitionem paro* at 3.19; *tardam satis domuitionem comparo* at 11.24).

Isis is a much more demanding mistress than Photis. Whereas his conquest of Photis is quite easy, Lucius has to fight hard to obtain access to the interior of Isis' temple, which is described by the unusual term *cubiculum deae* (the goddess' bedroom) in 11.17. Like an *exclusus amator*, "locked-out lover," of elegy, in 11.21, Lucius repeatedly begs to be admitted while the priest, Isis' guardian, *custos*, defends the door. And, like lovers in elegy (e.g. Propertius 2.16; Tibullus 2.4; Ovid, *Amores* 1.10; 4.8), Lucius has to pay a great deal of money to maintain his relationship with her (11.21–23; 11.28).

Another difference between Lucius' relationship with Photis and that with Isis is the exclusive and lifelong connection that he has with the goddess, reminding readers of the "eternal bond," *foedus aeternum*, described by such elegists as Tibullus at 1.6.85 f. and Propertius at 1.12.20. Not only does Isis' priest want Lucius to swear an oath of allegiance at *Metamorphoses* 11.15, Isis also wants Lucius to be faithful to her for his whole life (11.6). Her statement is astonishing, as initiation in several mystery cults was not unusual; what is more, Lucius has, as Photis tells us at 3.15, formerly been initiated into a number of cults. At 11.25, Lucius promises to worship Isis constantly, even when they are apart. Whereas, with Photis, the male protagonist remains always in full control of the situation and keeps his free will despite his gestures of subjection, in his relations with Isis he is utterly dependent and servile. He is incapable of resorting to strategies that enable him to keep his emotional freedom, like the Ovidian student of love. Isis is a true *domina* of the kind readers encounter in Tibullus and Propertius, a woman whom Lucius cannot manipulate as he did Photis. It is Isis who is in control, and Lucius totally obeys.

This representation of the relationship between devotee and goddess as *servus* and *domina* raises serious questions about one-dimensional religious interpretations of the novel's 11th book, as suggested by a variety of scholars. It brilliantly illustrates how Apuleius combines various literary motifs, interweaving and juxtaposing them, not only in Book 11 but also in the rest of the novel.

The relationship between Lucius and Isis contains elements from the Isaic mysteries and the Greek love novels, as well as from Roman elegy. While, in the Greek novels, separated couples are invariably reunited in the end and live happily ever after in marital bliss, Lucius finds a lucky conclusion to his adventures, not as a *pater familias*, but in servile submission to a demanding goddess.

Conclusions

Both Petronius and Apuleius look to earlier Roman elegy, and assume an audience familiar with Roman elegy, when constructing the characters and plotting the events of their narratives. As we have seen, Petronius closely models segments of his narrative on specific elegies by Propertius and Ovid, evoking numerous textual details as well as themes, and expecting his readers to be closely acquainted with these earlier texts. Apuleius assumes that his readers merely have some exposure to earlier love elegiac conventions and concerns, among them those formulated by Ovid in his didactic elegiac poem on the art of loving.

However, at the same time, Apuleius has a more positive impression of love elegy, its values, and its scenarios than Petronius. In addition to evoking love elegy when describing successful as well as disastrous love affairs, he acknowledges that its final practitioner Ovid offers sound advice to protect male lovers from the disappointments and complications that love can bring. Petronius focuses exclusively on, and derives comic capital from, the pains and humiliation caused to male lovers by the sexually aggressive, promiscuous, and unfeeling conduct of the women elegy celebrates; he also underscores the inability of male lovers to handle the sexual and emotional pressures characteristic of love elegiac scenarios. In this way, he casts elegy in a negative light, and encourages his readers to share his opinion.

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Further Readings

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For elegiac elements in the first two books of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, see Mathis 2008; for the tale of "Amor and Psyche" see Mattiacci 1998; and for an overall view of the relation between Roman elegy (particularly Ovid's *Ars amatoria*) and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, see Hindermann (2009a). On the intertextual relationships between Ovid *Amores* 3.7 and Petronius' account of Encolpius' impotence see McMahon 1998 and Courtney 1998; on the echoes of Propertius 4.8 in the Petronius' Quartilla episode, see Hallett 2003.

CHAPTER 20

Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*

A Hybrid Text?

Paula James

Personal Reflections

Casting my mind back to 30 years ago, when I embarked upon a literary commentary of *The Golden Ass* (*Metamorphoses*) of Apuleius, I found enough to read and absorb for the purposes of a PhD thesis. My thesis *Unity in Diversity* was published 2 years after its completion. This delay in publishing had a significant effect, because, in the meantime, John J. Winkler's (1985) narratological reading of the work, *Auctor & Actor*, caused an intellectual revolution in Apuleian studies. Looking back, it was probably for the best that my first book on the *Metamorphoses* caused a relatively modest ripple in Apuleian scholarship, as I relished the opportunity to broaden my research interests and publishing profile in subsequent years. There is a danger that a linguistic or cultural commentary on one work can convert one into a single-text person, and textual monogamy has its frustrations. I diversified, revisiting Apuleius with the occasional presentation and publication, but never feeling inclined to produce another monograph on his novel. I have, however, "kept my hand in" with essays and articles ranging from comparisons between Apuleius and film director Luis Buñuel to metaphorical parrots in the Latin narrative.

The State of Play

I have had the privilege of reviewing a number of stimulating works on Apuleius in the last few years, for instance, the *Paideia at Play: Learning and Wit in Apuleius* (2008, ed. Werner Riess). This is a collection of wide-ranging essays delving deeper into Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and *Apology* from the perspective of the author's cultural identity and with an eye on his strategies for self-promotion. In spite of the emphasis on playfulness as a strategy in engaging the reader in the game of literary allusions and in jokes for the educated, it was not the fashion to wear one's learning lightly in this cultural milieu. The community of writers and orators of the Antonine age liked to parade themselves as polymaths in print and performance. Although Lawrence Kim (2011) in his review of *Readers and Writers in the Ancient Novel* asked if there were still new and worthwhile things to be said about the ancient novel, he clearly approves of approaches to Apuleius and other prose narrative authors that see authors as simultaneously second guessing and manipulating the responses of their contemporary readership. Fantasy fiction in prose form was considered to be a "trivial pursuit," but Apuleius called the bluff of those reading his work for pleasure with ironic asides about the genre he was producing and they were consuming.

What, however, does the *lector scrupulosus* (learned or attentive reader) of the twenty-first century make of his text? Winkler (1985, 11) explores the rich cultural referencing of the *Metamorphoses* while involving any and all readers across the centuries in the game of "outwitting." This response to Apuleius' narrative strategies adds another dimension to the notion that the reader rewrites the text or at least shares the burden of creativity with the author. Joseph Pucci (1998, 26) states:

My claim in what follows is that the allusion demands a special sort of reader (the full knowing reader)—who is just as busy as the author of the literary work and, so I hope to suggest, just as powerful. [See the comments in Hilton's 2004 review.]

Winkler suggests that the consumer of the text does indeed produce meaning but well within the framework constructed by the author. To sustain the metaphor of consumption, it is worth returning to John Heath (1982), for he identified the tension in Apuleius between narration and nutrition (Lucius as man and ass is offered stories rather than sustenance at key points), and its real and figurative role in the novel.¹ Heath argued (1982, 71) that: "fed on free-floating narratives the modern reader faces the main menu with frustrated appetites." He concluded that because we are unsure about the import of what we have read, readers: "return to the feast for a second helping—but it is with a different strategy for filling our plates."

The message has remained the same for many years, namely that the scrupulous reader of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (henceforward *Met.*) must expect to be stretched by displays of erudition, sometimes, but not always, signposted, and occasionally experimental in function and effect. Wytse Keulen's 2007 highly detailed linguistic exegesis on Book one comprehensively explores controversial literary and historical issues that emerge from the text at the outset. Keulen's commentary on the novel's opening chapters engages with most of the motifs and conundrums that arise from the language, imagery, allusions, and narrative arcs.

Bring it on!

What does one say, 30 years on, about a work that is close to suffering from interpretation overload? As the rules of engagement with the novel shift and proliferate, the main links of the *Metamorphoses'* narrative and methodological chain can be difficult to grasp. The *Metamorphoses* continues to be discussed in academic forums on the ancient novel, for instance the Rethymnon International Conference on the Ancient Novel (RICAN), convening every 2 years in Crete and taking up the mantle of the Groningen Colloquia where Apuleius usually had a starring role. Kyknos, a center of research on Ancient Narrative Literatures, University of Wales, has regular conferences and seminar series. Publications invariably follow. The Lisbon conference of 2008, *Crossroads in the Ancient Novel: Spaces, Frontiers, Intersections*, was a generously inclusive fiction fest, allowing for the possibility that, in the world known to, even if not actually a colonized part of, Greco-Roman culture, all kinds of oral and written forms of communication might be reviewed as storytelling, including historical writing, epic poetry, personal epistles, inscriptions, and performance art. Paradoxically, several Lisbon papers on the *Metamorphoses* seemed to suggest that Apuleius' text is almost anti-narrative, being capable of metamorphosing into epic, elegiac, satirical, and theatrical modes. Hence, while the underlying assumption and compass of the 2008 conference was that most ancient genres could be viewed as narrative, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* has for some time proved far too protean to be categorized in this way (the genre issue has been discussed at length by Laird 1993; Selden 1994; and Rosenmeyer 2006).

However, I continue to be intrigued by Stonehill (1988) on the self-conscious novel: his texts are post-Classical, ranging from Pynchon to Joyce, in which he sets out a stall of identifying characteristics for this genre. His checklist "The Repertoire of Reflexivity" has these subheadings: Narration, Style, Structure, Characterization, and

Themes. He identifies such features as “direct address to the reader, as reader, reminders that the book is a book, overt and eccentric moralization, Euphuistic styles [affected or artificial but also exuberant and effective?], discontinuity between rhetorical codes.” The list goes on, and Apuleius’ narrative ticks all the boxes. Stonehill argues that the self-conscious novel is distinguished as a genre by insisting upon its own artifice and its textual self-reference. After the prologue, in which it is announced that a Greek tale will be told, Lucius the narrator never actually violates the illusion of reality where his own experiences are concerned. What he does do, with an occasional direct address to his notional reader, is to forestall objections about the accurate reporting of events which he has not witnessed with his own eyes, or apologize for passing judgment like a rational human when he is imprisoned in a bestial form.

Back to the Text: Further Adventures of Lucius?

The heading is inspired by Niall Slater’s observations (2008, 235–236) on the *Metamorphoses*’ relationship to its Greek source, which has survived as a problematic epitome. Slater suggests that Apuleius:

[t]reated the previous narrative very much as the great declaimers of the Second Sophistic treated the common inheritance of Greek history: as materials that could be refashioned for new cultural purposes. It might be revealing to approach the whole of *The Golden Ass* as an extremely extended *melete*, a historical declamation in character, in which Apuleius writes a new first person narration for a pre-existing fictional character, Lucius.

This approach in some measure (but with a twist) engages with Laird’s (1993) “Fiction, Bewitchment and Story Worlds.” Laird cites the opening of C.S. Lewis’s *The Magician’s Nephew* to illustrate the way in which a fiction, in this case a fantasy fiction for children, the Narnia series, can locate itself in the historical past by referring to real events, actual people, and, less factually secure, but sociologically significant, nostalgic memories of the way things were. By introducing made-up characters and plotlines from other fictional texts as part of this relatively authentic world, Lewis creates a community of story words (“the spatio-temporal universe designated by the narrative,” Laird 1993, 151 n. 6) which readers can accept as plausible, drawing upon

their own experiences of life as it is lived and as it is represented in fiction. It seems we cannot get far with Apuleius without bumping up against allusion and intertextuality again.

This is the point at which Slater's suggestion adds an interesting nuance. It implies that Apuleius has incorporated further adventures into the *Onos* of Lucius' story world, one familiar to readers, whether this was the shortened *Onos* narrative or the Greek *Metamorphoses*, which, according to Photius, included additional transformation episodes. We shall probably never know which of the two Greek "story worlds" of the ass-hero was more widely disseminated in the second century CE, but the assumption is that Apuleius brought new material into his version of Lucius' encounters with witchcraft in Thessaly to suit his own literary and possibly philosophical agenda. How exciting it would be if the Greek original ever came to light and, instead of a partial match with Apuleius' text, we were able to enjoy completely different subsidiary narratives and episodes experienced by Lucius, man and beast. No doubt, that would set us all puzzling over the "story world" created by one Lucius of Patrae and the kind of cultural footprint he left for us to decipher.²

Does the Latin Lucius drive the plot?

Apuleius constructs a highly suggestible hero who, from very early on in the text, is eager to enter a world full of mystery and magic. He operates in a world familiar to his readers but filters it through a mythical, mimetic, and literary lens. The early narratives, those of Aristomenes and Thelyphron, could be viewed as skillful but spontaneous slices of make-believe that actually respond to cues and prompts from Lucius himself. In the first story (1.5–19), Aristomenes, one of two fellow travelers in a chance meeting on the way to Hypata, gives Lucius just what he wants to alleviate the tedium of the journey with his fantastic and fearful tale of the supernatural. Lucius describes this truly terrifying narrative as *lepida* (elegant, pleasing) though modern readers might flounder to find the charm in it. Keulen (2007) is informative on the range of meanings indicated by this epithet. The *lepida fabula* also delivers frissons of fear, and this has implications for Lucius' description of the Cupid and Psyche story as just such an experience for the audience. Aristomenes swears that the events are well known in Thessaly: *nec vos ulterius dubitabitis, si proximam civitatem perveneritis, quod ibidem passim per ora populi sermo iactetur quae palam gesta sunt* ("and your doubts will be further dispelled, when you have arrived at the next town, because my narrative is being bandied about there on everyone's lips as things that happened

in broad daylight”). Is Aristomenes bluffing? He has actually taken ingredients provided by Lucius and incorporated them skillfully into a scary story of witches avenging themselves on his friend, Socrates. Lucius has championed an open mind about strange and supernatural scenarios in response to the derision of the unnamed skeptical companion. The hero then proceeds to relate an anecdote about choking on cheese bread and how this intensified his wonder at the flexible throat of the sword swallower whose wondrous performance he witnessed. Blades going down gullets and cheese displacing sponges, along with other ingredients present in Lucius’ story, are reworked by Aristomenes to embellish his performance (I hinted at the extemporization theory 1987, 44–46; but see Kirichenko 2006).

Later, at his aunt’s banquet, one of the guests, Thelyphron, is entreated to tell of his traumatic experience, as he has first-hand knowledge of Hypatian sorcery and of the mutilation that witches are capable of (2.21–30). Thelyphron’s tale seems to be a standard party piece, although he feigns reluctance to relate it. The company clearly finds the storyteller’s loss of nose and ears while guarding a corpse from desecration a hilarious horror story, however many times it is told. To step outside the text for a moment, Thelyphron’s narrative has proved a popular choice, in suitably simplified Latin, for school students of the language. It resonates with the young, always ready to be scared in safe surroundings so the story is still effectively spooky in the twenty-first century. However, within the narrative continuum of the novel, it could be argued that Lucius himself exhibits a childlike curiosity and eagerness to hear about things weird and wicked. He has pre-empted the central premise of the story to come with his declared fascination with witches who bite off parts of corpses to use in their spells. Lucius locks into rumors readily, and Thelyphron, by happy coincidence, is ready to fulfill Lucius’ expectations with an original variation on the theme—the corpse is not violated but his watcher is. Thelyphron’s mutilated face both is and is not living proof of the truth of his tale. Does he always tell the same story, or is he another skillful opportunist who refreshes his tale to suit the company and the circumstances of his party piece?

Whether this strategy for explaining the echoes of themes and images across the early narrations would work for subsequent stories and especially those Lucius hears as an ass when he can no longer speak and give ideas to narrative “performers”³ is a moot point. However, it is worth speculating about Isis rising on cue from the sea in Book eleven. She picks up on what Lucius needs and arrives ready to tick all the boxes about the kind of goddess the hero has prayed for. The hero finally finds his voice perhaps to utter his prayer or silently summons one who has the divine ears to hear his inward utterance.

The ass articulates a range of attributes and identities for his savior goddess and, behold, Isis! For those skeptical about Lucius' salvation and the change of tone and pace in Book eleven, the goddess, like the rest of the narrators/actors, could be viewed as repeating to the hero the sort of story he has asked to hear. She looks and plays the part the praying ass has created.⁴

Crikey, Psyche: More Divine Encounters⁵

In an earlier chapter (Chapter 7: "Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*: The Nature of the Beast"), I gave a skeletal analysis of this story, its place in the text, and its lasting appeal as an interlude with attitude. Lucius the ass is entranced by the tale and, as we finish reading it, he paradoxically laments his lack of writing materials to record such a *lepida fabula* for posterity (see Winkler 1979, 84). This fable is possibly the most lasting legacy of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. It boasts a tantalizing mix of features from folktale, fairytale, and myth packaged up in an absorbing story and punctuated with poetical passages of description, dramatic monologues, and emotional highs. The story of Love cleaving to the Soul adapts itself in chameleon fashion to philosophical and religious interpretations. Its main parallels with Lucius' story were summarized in my previous chapter in this book (Chapter 7).

In the past, I have argued (1998, 35) that we should rejoice in the proliferation of theories that linked the fable of Cupid and Psyche thematically with Lucius' story, even if they sometimes confused as much as clarified the function of the interlude in the novel.⁶ The internal function of the story is (allegedly) to charm and distract. Apuleian scholars have been so busy integrating it, thematically and metaphorically, into the mainframe (and I plead guilty to this strategy) that it was refreshing to hear presentations at Lisbon with an emphasis on the story's transmutations outside the text and across cultures.⁷ The fable of Cupid and Psyche continues to be detached from the main narrative in a variety of contexts. It is another favorite in school teaching and, like Trimalchio's feast in the *Satyricon*, it is more familiar in popular culture as a free-floating story.

However, there are more scholarly circumstances in which it might become the route into a study of the whole *Metamorphoses*. I am grateful to Daisy Thurkettle Roper (University of Leeds) who in 2008 shared with me her recent experience of writing an undergraduate

dissertation on Cupid and Psyche in Apuleius' novel. She felt delight and surprise that "such a charming story was surrounded on all sides by inordinate amounts of debauchery and revels in all shapes and sizes." She compared the description of the lingering death of the girl Charite sewn up in the rotting corpse of the ass Lucius, which the robbers plan with detailed relish, as truly shocking: "I have only felt such shock and morbid astonishment at the author's ability to surprise his audience when reading the Marquis de Sade. All in all, I adored reading and studying Apuleius at such an early stage in my academic life." This view of a first-time reader in an academic environment is illuminating not least because she started out by reading the myth of Cupid and Psyche, situated in a far-away, fairytale world, and then was jolted into the reality, relatively speaking, of the bleak landscape where Lucius continues his adventures. The ass' suffering and the near-psychotic characters he encounters might put the modern reader in mind of the slasher movie or pulp fiction. Several storylines reveal a "Tarantino" in the text (violence and vengeance with more than a touch of the farcical—Quentin Tarantino's films are famous for incorporating stylized scenes of slaughter and torment inspired by graphic novel representations and the Japanese Animé screen genre) as well as having a real affinity with Gothic narratives of the nineteenth century, something I noted in the earlier chapter.⁸

The presentation at Lisbon by Sonia Sabis (Reed College, OR, United States) on the "Donkey Gone to Hell: A Katabasis Motif in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*" visualized as well as interpreted the horror of hell on earth in the mill episode, Book nine, with striking images of donkeys at the wheel. Such scenes as the mill in Apuleius are eminently filmable, especially as the entertainment industry seems to be encouraging consumers to embrace feelings of social alienation and have packaged this up for audiences as part of the normality of capitalism. Slaves and worker wage slaves have some affinity.

Dangerous (Literary) Liaisons

The ass' misery at the mill seems a far cry from the fantasy world inhabited by Cupid and Psyche, and yet slavery is both real and figurative throughout the story. Psyche, like Lucius, enters into a relationship that demands bondage and bargaining. The vital need of secrecy to preserve happiness involves a sacred promise, a taboo that cannot be broken. The dangers and delights the two mortal protagonists experience with extraordinary partners culminate in near deaths of the orgasmic and spiritual kind and suggest that an

enthralment with that is potentially fatal for both of them. In its literary and post-Classical incarnations, the story of Cupid and Psyche rather readily metamorphosed into the cultural form of the fairytale. The genre can foreground the fearful and transform the narrative into a cautionary tale. Warner notes that Mme de Beaumont, a governess working in England, published her 1758 story *La Belle et La Bête* in the *Misses' Magazine*, and one of her sources was the fairytale of Cupid and Psyche:

[h]er version is kindly and domestic, shaped to help young women facing arranged marriages to hope for a happy future and accept the marriage their father proposed, however unappealing they find the prospective husband. They will come to love him, the story reassures him. As Angela Carter acerbically commented, Mme de Beaumont was in the business of “house training the id.”⁹

In Apuleius' story, the oracle of Apollo predicts a fatal destiny and commands the king, her father, to sacrifice her to a serpent. She is to be a monster's bride—literally, not just in the sense that “men are rough hairy beasts, eight hands and all just want one thing from a girl!”¹⁰ There is a partial fulfillment of this prophecy. Psyche's virginity is described eccentrically by the narrator as murdered (*interfecta*) when Cupid “makes her his wife” (*Met.*5.4). Although it contradicts her experience of her unknown husband, Psyche believes her sisters when they tell her a huge snake is her nightly visitor and that she must take a lamp and razor to the bedside and kill the creature. Was it just that she remembered the oracle, or had she been reading too many fairy stories? Gullible Psyche becomes totally besotted with Cupid at her first sight of him. There is a lingering and sensuous description of his wings: *per umeros volatilis dei pinnae roscidae micanti flore candicant, et quamvis alis quiescentibus extimae plumulae tenellae ac delicatae tremule resultantes inquieta lascivium* (“the shoulders of the winged god glistened with the whitest feathers, like dew-bright blossoms. Even at rest, the fragile plumes on the surface of his wings were tremulously quivering, restless and playful” *Met* 5.22). Wings are attributes of gods and monsters, and angels and demons in Christian imagery. They are the means by which Cupid abandons and then subsequently rescues Psyche. Psyche is given ambiguous feelings about this hybrid husband, even before the moment of revelation: *in eodem corpore odit bestiam, diligit maritum* (“in the same body loathing the beast but loving her husband” 5.21). This surely sums up the test and the tension of Beauty's feelings for the Beast.¹¹

Pasquale Accardo (2002) has a fascinating chapter, “The Beast Goes to the Movies” (88–101), in which Accardo suggests an

illuminating interplay between Apuleius and the David O. Selznick's classic 1933 film *King Kong*. At the end of the film, it is sententiously pronounced that: "It was Beauty who killed the Beast." Noting (2002, 93–94) that the mighty Kong inspired subsequent horror films "exploiting the theme of 'Beauty and the Beast' as well as monsters emerging out of the archetypal past to level a modern city," Accardo (2002, 98) identifies motifs in the film from Apuleius and the European "Beauty" traditions:

A girl child is sacrificed in a marriage that is equivalent to death and in which the bride is fully expected to be "eaten" by her monster groom, the implied contrast of urban and civilised with rural and jungle societies, the wardrobe of beautiful clothes and the service and attention by numerous "hands" and, of course, the (almost) mortal pain that Beauty ultimately inflicts on the Beast.

Accardo already observes (2002, 89):

If Victorian virgins had vaguely feared the beastly sexual appetites of their future husbands, there now arose a quite specific hairy beast with which to associate these primal images, the ape from which man had apparently not yet completed his descent.

The classic (and post-Classical) Beauty and the Beast templates imagine their heroines as a gentle and civilizing force able to expel the bestial from the male of the species. It is interesting that, in such stories, the equivalent to Psyche wakens the equivalent to Cupid from a deathly sleep. In this respect, the restorative kiss in *The Sleeping Beauty* is closer to Apuleius' myth.

Reading Ed Cueva's 2008 Lisbon paper on "Horror and the Ancient Novel," I was, for the purposes of this chapter, inspired to revisit some tentative ideas about dangerous liaisons or even fatal attractions in Lucius' and Psyche's story that I trialed at a Kyknos seminar in Swansea in 2009.¹² I justified my title, "Lover Come Back," a conscious tribute to the definitive rendering by Al Bowlly of this romantic torch song, with an exploration of two popular culture texts that might prompt us to trace the cultural trajectory of Apuleius' fable and witness its metamorphosis into a horror story. Viewing Psyche's story from this perspective adds further correspondences between the fantasy princess and Lucius, as both reap rewards and punishments from unusual partnerships. William Sansom's extremely short tale of the unexpected, *A Woman Seldom Found* (spoiler warning!) at first sight owes more to the Mélusine traditions than to Apuleius, but it does present the reader with a young man on a walkabout in Rome who is ready for a romantic adventure and gets more than he

bargained for. If the hero had read his myths in Ovid's or Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, he would, no doubt, have recognized the angers of any *locus amoenus* (alluring place) setting and perhaps been suspicious of a sudden encounter with an equally alluring woman.

There are resonances in Sansom of the Socrates' story in Book one of the *Metamorphoses* insofar as something pretty fatal can be the only outcome of this one night with an older woman of some considerable attraction: *et utpote ultime affectus ad quondam cauponem Meroen, anum sed admodum scitulam, devertio* ("and in my traumatized state, I sought lodging with a certain innkeeper, Meroe, a woman of advanced years but rather sexy," 1.7). Of course, Byrrhena, Lucius' wealthy relative, is an unknown and clearly powerful woman in whose presence Lucius feels anxious after their chance meeting in Hypata: "*Vereor*" *inquam* "*ignotae mihi feminae*" ("I am shy," I say "in the presence of a woman I do not know," 2.2). Lucius' encounters with the fetching slave girl Photis are the beginning of his decline into ass-hood, and even the *matrona* who desires Lucius as an ass is a bizarre, semi-mythological wish fulfillment character.¹³ Last, but not least, is Isis at whose shrine the retransformed Lucius spends the night as part of his initiation. Sansom's character meets a fantasy female and, once in the darkness of the bedroom, the beautiful but serpentine stranger stretches her hand across the length of the room and, with a terminal click, turns off the light!

Storytelling on Screen

My second choice for a modern text resonating with elements from Apuleius, and the reappearance of the beast, culturally layered and filtered over the centuries, was the last story in a portmanteau film, *Tales from the Darkside: The Movie* (1990, directed by John Harrison). The mainframe narrative has a captive boy, imprisoned in a cage, reading horror stories to the witch (played by pop star icon Deborah Harry, stage name "Blondie") who plans to cook and eat him. As the book has a fairy story cover, the film sets up an interesting reversal of normality and role-playing as far as expected identities of narrator and audience are concerned, and the nod to Scheherazade and *The Arabian Nights* is also obvious, as the boy tells stories to postpone his fate.¹⁴ Saving the best till last, the boy entrances his jailer with *The Lover's Vow*, by Michael MacDowell but based upon *Yuki-Onna*, from Lafcadio Hearn's stories and studies of strange things from Japan. Hearn's collection, *Kwaidan*, inspired the 1964 film directed by Masaki Kobayashi (four supernatural stories are told in this acclaimed and

atmospheric piece of cinema). *Tales from the Darkside: The Movie* sets this final story in 1990s New York and, once again, the victim is male and the monster female. Without going into too much detail, this strong finish (narratively and cinematically speaking) is a horror story with both poignancy and darkly humorous moments. It is peppered with jokes about humans as demons and monsters: metaphors come to life or which prove to be true,¹⁵ and there are all kinds of visual, as well as dialogic, clues to the identity of the hero's mysterious wife for the second-time (and observant first-time!) viewer. Wings are a central motif in this story, being bright and bestial, the means of saving and abandoning. The beautiful stranger, Carola, who changes the hero's life and brings him success and happiness (shades of Isis here), takes everything away from her husband, Preston, when he tells the secret and breaks the taboo. There is no pleasurable outcome here, only a retransformation and elevation that kills Preston and immortalizes his family but by turning them into lifeless gargoyles. This is a story of an extraordinary coupling that is doomed from the beginning.

Mixed Marriages

I had the privilege of chairing a thought-provoking paper on "The Implied Mule in the *Metamorphoses*" at the Classical Association annual Conference, Glasgow, United Kingdom, 2008, in which Lisa Hughes of Colorado College, CO, United States, looked at unequal yoking in Apuleius' novel as an indication that the mule (born of a mare compelled to lower herself to coupling with a donkey) was not only present in the subtext of the *Met.* but also the aim of physical existence, an animal representative of mystical achievement. Hughes' central premise about the metaphors of miscegenation in the novel and its philosophical and religious ramifications that drive the reader forward to the Isiac conclusion is enormously rewarding as an interpretative strategy for a great deal of the novel. For instance, if Psyche is read as an allegory for Lucius, then she, as Hughes mischievously suggested, is the implied Donkey to Cupid's Mare. Venus condemns Psyche to a marriage beneath her, with the lowest and most unfortunate mortal partner, and yet this backfires. Cupid shoots himself with his own arrow in order to fall in love with the mortal who has supplanted his divine mother. The union between the god and the girl shifts around in the levels of mismatch. As Hughes observed, *impares nuptiae*, Venus' contemptuous term for Cupid and Psyche's liaison, might be an unequal sexual yoking, but it can yield a valuable commodity. The mixed marriage of Cupid and Psyche gives

the child *Voluptas* to the world, and this Hughes read as an eternal good, the mule on a philosophical plane, quoting Dowden (1998, 9): “Platonic or mystic thesis, confronted by Gnostic antithesis, yields Apuleian synthesis.”

As one who has read *Voluptas* (Joyfulness) as only too short-lived for mortals outside the confines of this clearly demarcated fantasy world (see Zimmerman 2004, 553, for the disingenuous *nominamus* “we name”), this forced me to rethink the product of Cupid and Psyche’s union. I always imagined that *Voluptas* and *Consuetudo* (Habit), which seems to imply the sexual addiction Psyche develops for Cupid, doubled as psychological sites for destructive sex drives. I also argued (2001) that they were part of the proliferation of abstracts as characters that the plot of Cupid and Psyche sets into motion. It is possible to overcomplicate the shifts between the symbolic and corporeal presences of these abstract states as all kinds of processes and conditions could be worshipped as minor deities in the Roman belief system.

Greek and Roman authors exploited the essential indeterminacy and sometimes over-determinacy of largely supernatural or numinous creatures that signified a skill or a characteristic and yet became agents in mythical narratives and poetic scenarios. Ovid must be regarded as the most imaginative writer in this respect, realizing the potential of the duality for destabilizing identities among gods and nymphs (for a rich nexus of correspondences between the Apuleian and Ovidian treatment of metamorphosis and myth, see Krabbe 2003). However, the mule as metaphor sheds a new and intriguing light upon the immortality (or not) of the Apuleian *Voluptas*, the child born to the star-crossed lovers!

Hybrid Forms—the Metamorphoses as a Literary Mule¹⁶

It seems fitting to finish this journey through Apuleius’ novel somewhere near its starting point. The genre issue that I sketched out earlier in this chapter is perhaps an issue no longer. We may not need to pin the ass and his story down any further, at least not for the purposes of its popular reception in our contemporary world. However, it would be interesting to take the mule metaphor further and apply it to the structure and nature of Apuleius’ novel as well as

to an ending that still seems to trouble scholars as out of kilter with what has gone before. Has Apuleius mated fictional forms in order intentionally to produce a valuable product? If so, his choice of the ass story as a vehicle for experimental hybridized literature seems more than appropriate. Ultimately, Lucius, *asinus multiscius* (the very knowledgeable ass¹⁷), being for a time united as beast and man in one body, may be having the last laugh.

Notes

- 1 Zimmerman 2008 explored the festive nature of the Apuleian text and its symposiastic features, which would have made it suitable intellectual fare for the elite dinner party. See also James 2001.
- 2 As indicated in my previous chapter (Chapter 7 in this book), the *Onos* text is being re-evaluated by scholars especially for its portrayal of empowered women and through them the issue of narrative control. This has implications for Apuleius' novel. See the research of Dollins into "the edible man as consumable text" (paper delivered at ICS, London, May 2011).
- 3 I am conscious that I have concentrated on the first half of Apuleius' novel in both my chapters. This is partly out of considerations of space but also because the first-time reader needs to have some surprises. The student of Apuleius who pursues the secondary scholarship will find that the same challenges of interpretation and narratological questions only proliferate in the later episodes and secondary stories.
- 4 Zimmerman 2006, 317–339 draws out the Lucretian poetic resonances in the Isis epiphany. She observes that the Olympian goddesses are unresponsive to Psyche's plight, whereas Isis responds to prayers (332–333).
- 5 This is another irresistible pun from the Oswald adaptation of the novel for the Globe (see Apuleius' *The Golden Ass: The Nature of the Beast*).
- 6 This chapter is not necessarily a palinode (retraction), but the pleasure (*voluptas*) of having so many interpretations to read is not always unalloyed!
- 7 For instance, Giovanni Solinas (University of Bergamo, Italy) traced the legend of Cupid and Psyche to the novel of Mélusine, and Leonor Santa Barbara (Universidade Nova, Portugal) explored the tale's reflections across European literary genres.
- 8 Any course designed for a study of the nineteenth-century novel will distinguish between realist and non-realist fiction of this period by looking at categories such as characterization, narrative voice,

and setting. However, authors are fully capable of mixing modes and genres, introducing the Gothic into a realistic scenario for purposes of parody or to take readers in and out of comfort zones.

9 Marina Warner in Afterword, p. 34 of *Beastly Tales*, part 7 of *Great Fairytales—the Guardian, the Observer* October Supplement (2007).

10 The stereotype of the male of the species, voiced by a man disguised as a woman in Billy Wilder's 1959 comedy classic *Some Like It Hot*.

11 Jean Cocteau's 1946 film *La Belle et La Bête* is renowned for its artful and ravishing treatment of the fairy story. See Elsom 1989 and James 1998 for Cocteau's unconscious realization of Apuleian motifs.

12 I am grateful for the animated discussion from students and lecturers in the Kyknos seminar, which added nuances to the idea of Cupid and Psyche as horror. The audience also shared their perceptions (and those of their adult education evening classes) of the novel as first- and second-time readers.

13 In her encouragement of the nervous ass who is acting like a virgin in their sexual encounter (10.21), she repeats the blandishments that Psyche used on Cupid at 5.6. There is clearly boundary blurring on the human and animal front going on in this scene.

14 The boy is empowered by his storytelling to take control of his own situation and defeat the witch. He does this by relating his successful tussle with his captor as if it is one of his fictional narratives transforming itself into reality. He tells the story of his escape—and escapes!

15 Keulen 2007 notes throughout his commentary on Book 1 that Apuleius actualizes or enacts metaphors, proverbs, and philosophical maxims. In fact, Lucius the ass at one point suggests that he is the reason that the proverb of the peeping ass and the ass's shadow came into being (9.42).

16 Finkelpearl 2003, 37–51, discusses the creative tensions when the Apollonian and Isiac discourses meet.

17 *Nam et ipse gratas gratias asino meo memini, quod me suo celatum tegmine variisque fortunes exercitatum, etsi minus prudentem, multiscium reddidit* (“For I am mindful of the thanks due to my time as an ass because hidden under cover of his exterior and exercised by a variety of fortunes, he rendered me very knowledgeable but with less foresight”).

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CHAPTER 21

The Magnetic Stone of Love

Greek Novel and Poetry

Françoise Létoublon

Greek novels have been investigated as a kind of concentrated intertextual genre, as a “symphony of texts” (Zimmermann 1997); however, their relation to Greek poetry was not analyzed as accurately as was their relation to other genres, such as epic or drama. Though an important article by Chalk (1960) dealt long ago and at large with this question, it centered on Longus. The commentaries on Longus also took into account the massive presence of poetry in the text of this novel, often called a *Pastoral* under the auspices of Theocritus (Hunter 1983; Morgan 2004; Pattoni 2005). While we can read some remarks on the question in several other publications, it may still be worth a specific investigation.

Though the term “intertextuality” has generally received approval (see Morgan and Harrison 2008), I would like to stress the interest in the terminology of “allusion,” due as far I know to the Italians Giorgio Pasquali and Gian Biagio Conte; this terminological choice refers to a less literate culture than the modern one (Alaux and Létoublon 1998; Zimmerman 1997). When we say further that the novelists were working “in the library” rather than in reality, it does not however imply that they were quoting *books* as we do in modern times, but that they allude to *texts*, be it the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Oresteia*, or any other Greek poem or prose. They had those texts in mind, rather than books in hand.

The whole of Greek literature seems to meet in the Greek novels at different levels, less in the *Ephesiaca* than in the other four of the so-called “Big Five,” either because the *Ephesiaca* is a summary or because it is merely not as well composed and written than the other surviving texts. In Chariton, the heroes’ emotions in critical moments

in particular call for several references to heroic death on the Homeric battlefield (Fusillo; Létoublon 2008a; Morgan and Harrison 2008). More generally, the novels' heroes model themselves most often on the *Iliad's* Achilles (Chaireas and Theagenes, see Morgan and Harrison 2008, 219–220), whereas the novel's plot itself rather follows the Odyssean model (Morgan and Harrison 2008, 220). In a more parodic manner, in Achilles Tatius, we see Leucippe and Clitophon escaping the very tempest that almost killed Odysseus in the *Odyssey* with its “big wave” (*mega kuma* occurs as a formula for the tempests that Odysseus meets in the epics, and Tatius uses in his second tempest the superlative *kuma megiston* [5.9.1.4]). During the first tempest in the novel (3.5.1–5), the youths vow they could be swallowed together by the same whale with words that recall Patroclus' vow in the *Iliad* that his ashes be later reunited with Achilles' in the golden urn that Thetis once gave his son (see Létoublon 2008a, on “*Λύτο γούνατα*” and other typically Homeric formulas). In both episodes, the parody of the *Odyssey* appears.

Other poetical quotations may be found, with an apparently decorative function, such as Hesiod's *Works and Days* 57–58, which is actually an attack against women:

In lieu of flame I have a gift for men:
an evil thing and still their heart's delight,
so all men will embrace their own destruction.

(*Leucippe and Clitophon* 1.8.1; on this passage and the use of the Hesiodic allusion to the myth of Pandora, see Fusillo 1990, 43.)

In the context of Kleinias' discourse for Clitophon, it is interesting that the next sentence in the novel comments on the quotation with a substitution of the Sirens instead of Pandora, in a kind of syncretism typical of mythological thought in this period of the Roman empire (on this phenomenon, see particularly Selden 1994). It will not be possible to treat in depth here the relation between poetry and myth (for myth in the novel, see Cueva 2004; for theater myths, see Létoublon and Genre in this collection): mythological themes often occur in the novels as short narrations in prose, as if they would summarize a longer tale—not a feminist one—maybe originally in verse: *Leucippe and Clitophon* 1.8.4:

ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ιδιώτης ἦσθα μουσικῆς, ἡγνόεις ἂν τὰ τῶν
γυναικῶν δράματα· νῦν δὲ κἂν ἄλλοις λέγοις, ὅσων
ἐνέπλησαν μύθων γυναικες τὴν σκηνήν· <ὁ> ὄρμος
Ἐριφύλης, Φιλομήλας ἢ τράπεζα, Σθενεβοίας ἢ διαβολή,
Ἀερόπης ἢ κλοπή, Πρόκνης ἢ σφαγή. (If you were a stranger to
culture, you would not know about the dramas involving women,
but as it is you could tell others how many plots women have

contributed to the stage: Eriphyle's necklace, Philomela's banquet, Stheneboia's accusation, Aerope's theft, Prokne's slaughter.¹⁾

Since the ideal form of Greek novel consists in love stories, dealing entirely with a young couple's adventure and the difficulties met before finding happiness, the genre could not use solely the epic tradition to express fittingly its main object. As Simon Goldhill (2008, 187) puts it, "Comedy calls forth laughter, the lyric sublime emotions, the novel the enchantment of narrative.... To resist such pleasures is to deny the genre." Greek lyric and epigrammatic poetry more properly correspond to the various manners and ways of expressing love that the novel needed.²⁾ As Fusillo has shown, Eros is a "thematic paradigm" in the novel, and the novelists knew specifically from the Lyric poets how to express this paradigm, especially through a large range of metaphors (see Morales 2008, 41, on eros and sexuality).

As the title of this chapter suggests, the metaphor of the magnetic stone, borrowed in several of our novels most probably from tragedy and Plato,³⁾ could account for the whole genre; as a symbol of love and attraction between the two lovers, it could also show how the literary genres attract each other and the ways in which the more recent of them borrow their lexical material from their predecessors.

Eros as Central Theme of the Inserted Tales and of Reflexivity

As we show elsewhere (Létoublon *ANS*, forthcoming), mythological tales function in the narrative as paradigms. Confer, for example, the meaning defined by Willcock for the Niobe tale in *Iliad* 24: in *Daphnis and Chloe*, the tales told by Daphnis concerning Phatta, Echo, the mimetic dance of both Daphnis and Chloe imitating Pan and Syrinx⁴⁾ (which compare to the ordalic judgments in the end of *Leucippe and Clitophon* [first Leucippe with Syrinx, then Melite within the Styx cave]) show the characters what to do, to some extent. They constitute a kind of model for them. Indeed, myth is one of the polyphonic voices found in the novel (see especially Whitmarsh 2008; Goldhill 2008): in Achilles Tatius, the ordalic judgments are a test for the virginity of Leucippe and the faithfulness of Melite, and thus the mythical story of Syrinx and Styx acts as a way of showing the limit between the truth and what is false. In another passage quoted in the following text, the myth of Alpheus and Arethusa plays this role among other non-mythological models found in nature. One of

Clitophon's love counselors advise him that, since Apollo himself was in love and pursued Daphne, he does not have to behave in a wiser manner than the god (1.5.1).⁵

Other mythological episodes play on specular imagery: in Heliodorus, a painting showing Perseus and Andromeda, described on an embroidered *tainia* (band or stretch?) with a hieroglyphic inscription, calls for decipherment by the Egyptian priest Calasiris (see Winkler 1982, 1985, on Heliodorus' and Apuleius' novels as posing the "question of reading," the *ainigmata* asking for the "interpretation of tales"). The painting will act as a proof of Charicleia's identity in Book 10, and it will be used as such for this very special task.

Let us recall briefly that, in Achilles Tatius, a painting showing Europa's rape opens the novel and creates the whole first-person narration; another painting shows the symmetrical images of Prometheus and Andromeda being delivered by Herakles and Perseus, respectively; a third painting brilliantly shows the bloody story of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela—the story was twice alluded to in the summary of *Leucippe and Clitophon* 1.8.4, quoted earlier: "Philomela's table" and "Procne's murder." Those images all need explanations and have a strong link to the narrated events. In the prologue to *Daphnis and Chloe*, a painting is described as representing the same events as the narrative (found children nurtured by animals), which creates a kind of challenge (Greek *antigrapsai*)⁶; we also read how the old Philetas tells his young protégés how he saw in his garden a winged youth who appears to be Eros playing at his games.⁷

Though it is not directly related to poetry, it is also necessary to mention briefly that the novelists sometimes put a "philosophy" or at least a theory of love, based mainly on Plato, into their characters' mouths: mostly in Achilles Tatius, the most rhetorical of the novels, where we find Clinias exposing the idea of the union at a distance (1.9.4) and the same Clinias theorizing on kissing (1.10.5); cf. also Clitophon 2.8.2. At 1.16–18, there occurs a long conversation between Clitophon and Satyros for Leucippe's edification, meant as a seduction device. Of course, the pragmatic use of this kind of discourse by the characters is in itself deeply antithetic to the Socratic and Platonic definitions of philosophy as a quest of truth without a practical aim. That is probably precisely why Clitophon and his interlocutors make us smile. This device is perhaps a remembrance of Socrates put on the stage by Aristophanes in the *Clouds* and of the *phrontisterion* where his father wants Pheidippides to learn the use of arguments. Longus' and Heliodorus' novels may be more deeply impregnated with Platonic ideas, but they do not express it with such devices as Achilles Tatius does, and thus it is more difficult to quote a particular passage. We shall meet up with this question again later.

Eros in Generic Evolution, or the Novel as an Echo Chamber for Literature

It has often been suggested that the characters in the novels act as incarnated forms of the connections between the author and the audience. These characters exist in a time when the *polis* no longer unifies citizens together, as was the case in the classical period, and individuals have become more important than the state (Rohde 1876, 15–18). Love became thus the refuge and hope for individuals, and the authors found in Greek poetry a treasure chest of the strongest erotic feelings and expressions available for them to reuse in their erotic tales. We will concentrate on the metaphorical expressions, but it is still useful to begin with the most conventional image of love that is found in the genre: a winged child armed with a bow and arrows. This conventional character is the master of the events in the *incipit* of Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, and Achilles Tatius (there in the painting showing Zeus as a bull, driven by this little child); it appears in *Daphnis and Chloe* in the tale by Philetas already mentioned. Heliodorus seems to avoid this conventional image, so common in Greek poetry that textual references may be omitted. However, he still uses it indirectly, quoting the visual arts and putting this wording in Theagenes' mouth: "Do you not know that painters give Love wings to symbolize the mercurial state of his victims?" (*Aeth.* 4.2.3). Greek art actually seems to have spread this image along with literature, not before the fifth century, if we follow Gantz' analysis (Gantz 1993, Chapter 1). This image may express in a convention recognized by everybody the "disruptive force" of Eros in Greek representations, to use Helen Morales' phrase (2008, 42).

Among the main poetical expressions of love, some metaphors of love have already been traced back from the novels to Sappho's poetry (Chalk [1960] and Carson [1986]; see also the whole of Greene 1996, and especially Lanata 1996 for Sappho's invention of an "amatory language").⁸ The best-known piece of poetry by Sappho, thanks to [Longinus'] *Peri Hypsous*, is probably fr. 31 LP. The inventor of the notion of *Sublime* defined the paradoxes of love in Sappho's poem better than I could:

οὐ θαυμάζεις ὡς ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ τὴν ψυχὴν τὸ σῶμα, τὰς ἀκοὰς
τὴν γλῶσσαν, τὰς ὄψεις τὴν χροάν, πάνθ' ὡς ἀλλότρια
διοιχόμενα ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ καθ' ὑπεναντιώσεις ἅμα ψύχεται
καίεται, ἀλογιστεῖ φρονεῖ; ἥ γὰρ φοβεῖται ἥ παρ' ὀλίγον

τέθνηκεν ἵνα μὴ ἔν τι περὶ αὐτὴν πάθος φαίνεται, παθῶν δὲ σύνοδος; πάντα μὲν τοιαῦτα γίνεται περὶ τοὺς ἐρώντας, ἡ λήψις δ' ὡς ἔφην τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἡ εἰς ταὐτὸ συναίρεσις ἀπειργάσατο τὴν ἐξοχὴν. (*De Sublimitate* 10.3.1). (Do you not admire the way in which she brings everything together—mind and body, hearing and tongue, eyes and skin? She seems to have lost them all, and to be looking for them as though they were external to her. She is cold and hot, mad and sane, frightened and near death, all by turns. The result is that we see in her not a single emotion, but a complex of emotions. Lovers experience all this; Sappho's excellence, as I have said, lies in her adoption of the most striking details [translation from Russell and Winterbottom 1972, 472].)

All of the five Greek ideal novels show how the lovers feel at the same time both cold and hot, his or her skin changes its color, and he or she feels contradictory feelings and sensations that recall Sappho's expressions. The Sapphic expression "fire running under the skin" (fr. 31.10—Laird 2008 quotes this poem by Sappho as echoed in *Daphnis and Chloe* 1.17.4; 1.18.1; cf. Hunter 1983, 73–76) may have particularly inspired one of most famous metaphors of Love as *burning* the lovers, which is found very frequently in Greek poetry and prose after Sappho (for instance, *Anth. Gr.* 5.1.3; 5.50.2; 5.57.2; 5.89.5; 5.124.4; 5.124.5; 16.251.6, etc.).

Another frequent and commonplace metaphor is that of Love as War, already transferred by the Lyric Lesbians from the epics (Rissman 1983), thereafter better known through Latin poets, and particularly in Propertius 2.7 and several poems by Ovid as *militia amoris*. However, the Hellenistic epigrammatic tradition attests that the Greek authors in the Roman Empire did not need Roman models for this poetic device.⁹ We have found four instances in Chariton (5.4.1.2, 6.2.7.1, 6.9.6.2, 8.1.4.4), four in Achilles Tatius (4.7.4.3, 4.7.5.2, 6.10.6.1, 8.17.9.4), and three in Heliodorus (1.30.7.2, 4.17.3.4, 7.24.2.2); the clearest examples might be *Leucippe and Clitophon* 4.7.3–4:

στρατιώτης δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων μάχην οἶδεν εἰ ζήσεται; τοσαῦται τῶν θανάτων εἰσὶν ὁδοί. [...] ἐπὶ πόλεμον νῦν ἐξελεύσομαι βουκόλων· ἔνδον μου τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλλος πόλεμος κάθηται. στρατιώτης με πορθεῖ τόξον ἔχων, βέλος ἔχων. νενίκημαι, πεπλήρωμαι βελῶν· κάλεσον, ἄνθρωπε, ταχὺ τὸν ἰώμενον· ἐπείγει τὸ τραῦμα. ἄψω πῦρ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. (How can a soldier with a war on his hands have any idea of how long he will live? There are so many ways to die. [...] I am about to battle against the Rangers, but another battle is being waged in

my soul. The enemy within is besieging me with his bow, harassing me with arrows: I have lost the fight; I am bristling with his shafts. Call the doctor, sir, and quickly, my wounds demand immediate attention. [Note the coincidence in the passage of both themes of the soldier and the war as a continuous metaphor.])

Or, *Aeth.* 4.17.3:

ἔνοπλος κῶμος τὴν οἶκησιν τῆς Χαρικλείας κατελάμβανεν, ἑστρατήγει δὲ Θεαγένης τὸν ἐρωτικὸν τοῦτον πόλεμον εἰς λόχον ἀπὸ τῆς πομπῆς τοὺς ἐφήβους συντάξας. (... an armed band of revelers stormed Charikleia's house. The commander in this campaign of love was Theagenes, who had formed the young men of the procession into a squadron of soldiers.)

In both *Daphnis and Chloe* and *Leucippe and Clitophon*, we read parallel episodes where the youths take the occasion of a bee-sting or chirping cicada to kiss or touch the other as if it could help cure her or him (cf. Longus 1.25 and *Leucippe and Clitophon* 2.7). We have already suggested that both of those passages, as well as Longus 1.13, may come more or less straight from Hellenistic poetry, where can be found a series of *Anacreontea* referring to Eros stung by a bee, which was often imitated later in the French tradition by the poets of the “Pléiade” (Létoublon 1993, 154–155). Let us quote *Anacreontea* 35.1–9 and 10–18 in J.M. Edmonds’ translation (Cambridge, MA. 1961):

Once on a day, rose-leaves among,
Young Love did fail to see
A sleeping bee,
And in the hand was stung.
He shrieked, and running both and flying
Sped to fair Venus’ side
And “Mother” cried,

“Out, out, alas! I’m dying.
A little snake that goes with wings
And as a bee is known
‘to th’ simple clown,
Hath bit me.” ‘If such things,
His mother answered, “make you woe,
What then do you suppose
Can be the woes
Of them you harry so?”

In the novels, those devices for finding ways to touch one another may be called *ritual idioms* of the Lovers (Létoublon 1993, 154–155). Of

course, Daphnis is much more innocent and spontaneous in searching for the cicada in Chloe's breast than Clitophon using the bee that stung Clio as a device for receiving a kiss from Leucippe on his mouth, while she sings a magic formula. However, the same poetical source may be suspected, and in both cases the kiss receives a metaphorical interpretation as the occasion for love pouring through the mouth to the heart.

Still another frequent metaphor of love is that of "athletics and competition," which was known from Hellenistic times. It actually came from Homer and the athletic games evoked in both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Pindar and Simonides, while singing the athletic victories in PanHellenic games, highlighted the metaphoric potentialities of competition, since the poets themselves enter in their Odes in competition with the athletes they are supposed to sing about—and they were well paid for it, in a kind of "traffic of praise," as Kurke (1991; cf. Létoublon 2007) called it. In Hellenistic poetry, the athletic metaphor turned to symbolize love, particularly in the several poems in *Anthology* about Herakles: for all its ἀθλα, the hero underwent defeat in his fight against Love.

Λύσιππος, χαλκῷ τ' ἐγκατέμιξ' ὀδύνην;

ἄχθῃ γυμνωθεὶς ὅπλων σέο: τίς δὲ σ' ἔπερσεν;

‘ὁ πετρώεις, ὄντως εἰς βαρὺς ἀθλος, Ἔρως.’ (AP 16.103.4–6)
(Why did Lysippus mould thus with disjected visage and allow the bronze with pain? Thou art in distress, stripped of thy arms. Who was it that laid thee low? Winged Love, of a truth one of thy heavy labours [by Geminus, translated by Paton].)

ὅπλων γυμνὸν ἰδεῖν τὸν θρασὺν Ἡρακλέα.

Πάντα σ' Ἔρως ἀπέδυσσε. (Philippus, AP 16.104.5–6)

(Love has stripped thee of all, and it is not strange that, having made Zeus a swan, he deprived Heracles of his weapons [translated by W.R. Paton, note the parallel between γυμνωθεὶς ὅπλων and ὅπλων γυμνὸν, translated as *stripped* in both cases].)

This metaphor is met in its purest condensed form in Achilles Tatius, where Clitophon says to Satyros: δέδοικα μὴ ἄτολμος ὦν καὶ δειλὸς ἔρωτος ἀθλητῆς γένωμαι (“but I still have lingering doubts that, as Love's athlete, my nerve may fail, and I will falter in the contest,” *Leucippe and Clitophon* 2.4.4).

Two of our novels may have developed this metaphor on a large scale, so that they do not need to mention it in its conventional condensed form. It is quite evident in Chariton, where it is used in the opening of the novel: Chaireas is a young hero, much appreciated in the exercises of the *gymnasion* and *palaistra*. He meets Callirhoe in a public festival and procession, immediately falls in love (though he

formerly swore he never would), feels it as a wound (*trauma*), and several images show his sport companions and the *gymnasion* itself as deserted and in sorrow (1.1.5, 1.1.15) (Létoublon 2007, 332). Thus, the athletic competition appears as an image that enlightens the beginning of the erotic tale.

The metaphor is much more complicatedly developed in Heliodorus because of the composition of the narrative and its well-known beginning *in medias res*. The athletic competition does not occur in the opening of the novel, but it still opens the beginning of the youth's love for Charicleia: as Calasiris tells Cnemon in Book III, Theagenes met Charicleia during the Pythia in Delphi, where she was acting as Artemis' priestess. Theagenes wins the running competition against Ormenos, since he wanted to receive the price from Charicleia's hands. We see the opening of the metaphor in the end of Book 4, 4.1.1:

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ὁ μὲν Πυθίων ἀγὼν ἔληγεν ὁ δὲ τῶν νέων ἐπήκμαζεν ἀγωνοθετοῦντος, οἶμαι, καὶ βραβεύοντος Ἑρωτος καὶ δι' ἀθλητῶν δύο τούτων καὶ μόνων οὐς ἐξεύξατο μέγιστον ἀγώνων τὸν ἴδιον ἀποφῆναι φιλονεικήσαντος. Γίνεται γάρ τι τοιοῦτον· ἐθεώρει μὲν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἠθλοθέτουں δὲ οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες. (The following day was the last of the Pythian tournament, but for the young couple another tournament was still at its height, one presided over and refereed, it seems to me, by Love, who was determined to use these two contestants, in the only match he has arranged, to prove that his particular tournament is the greatest of all.)

And, we find it blooming as the love tale goes on in Book 4 in Theagenes' words: 4.2.3:

<<Καὶ τίς οὕτως>> εἶπεν <<ἰδεῖν καὶ πλησιάσαι Χαρικλεία μανικῶς ἐσπούδακεν ὥστ' ἐμὲ παραδραμεῖν; Τίνα δὲ οὕτως ἢ ὄψις ἐκείνης τάχα καὶ πτερῶσαι δύναται καὶ μετάρσιον ἐπισπάσασθαι; Οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι καὶ τὸν Ἑρωτα πετροῦσιν οἱ γράφοντες, τὸ εὐκίνητον τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεκρατημένων αἰνιττόμενοι; Εἰ δὲ δεῖ τι καὶ κόμπου προσεῖναι τοῖς εἰρημένοις, οὐδεὶς ἐς τὴν σήμερον ποσὶ με παρελθὼν ἐσεμύνατο.>> (Who is so insanely eager to see and be near Charikleia that he could outrun me? Is there anyone else to whom the mere sight of her can give wings and draw him to her without his touching the ground? Do you know that painters... [see above on the image of winged Love])

We will have to look again at the following description of Charikleia, who is also seen by Calasiris as an athlete, though she does not actually run like he does (4.3.3):

ἐνταῦθα οὔτε ἀτρεμεῖν ἔτι κατεῖχεν ἢ κόρη ἀλλ' ἐσφάδαζεν ἢ βάσις καὶ οἱ πόδες ἔσκαιρον ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τῆς ψυχῆς τῷ θεαγένει συνεξαίρομένης καὶ τὸν δρόμον συμπροθυμουμένης. (Now the maiden could stay still no longer: her feet began to skip and dance, as if, in my estimation, her soul were flying beside Theagenes and sharing his passion for the race.)

Heliiodorus still shows Theagenes in another athletic competition in Book 10, before the dénouement of the novel: he must win a competition with two savage animals, a horse and a bull, and thereafter against an Ethiopian giant; his strength and address appear so extraordinary that King Hydaspes recognizes his superiority (10.32.3–4):

Μιᾶς δὴ οὖν βοῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ γεγωνοτέρας ἢ τὸ πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀρθείσης, οὐδὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκαρτέρησεν ἀλλ' ἀνήλατό τε τοῦ θρόνου καὶ < <ὦ τῆς ἀνάγκης> > ἔλεγεν· < <οἶον ἄνδρα καταθύειν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου πρόκειται.> > (At this, with one voice, the people erupted into a clamor even more deafening than before. Even the king could not restrain himself: "O Destiny, what a man the law obliges us to sacrifice!")

It is clear that Heliiodorus shows those athletic exploits as a reality since they are actually accomplished by Theagenes. However, the fact that Charicleia also is sometimes called an athlete and, above all, the constant reflexive dimension of the narrative give those competition narratives a metaphorical echo: as Calasiris explicitly says, it is love that gives Theagenes wings and makes him a winner.

Until now, we analyzed well-known metaphors (fire, war, athleticism) that are found both in the novels and in poetry, which may lead to the conclusion that the novel found in poetic tradition an idiom and language that allowed it to be able to put in words the love adventures encountered by its young heroes. Other metaphors seem to occur more seldom, in novels as well as in poetry, but the similarities that can be proved may still make us confident that the authors of the most elaborate of the novels had a very good knowledge of the whole of Greek poetry.

Pirates and Piracy

When writing *Les lieux communs du roman* (Létoublon 1993), I felt that the frequency of the theme of piracy in Greek novels might account for a general impression that it was playing a metaphorical role. At that time, looking for proof, I found three examples, one in *Daphnis*

and *Chloe* and two in Achilles Tatius. We may now quote more instances:

Achilles Tatius 6.22: οὗτος γὰρ ὄντως γέγονέ μου ληστής...εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς τοιαῦτα ποιεῖτε, ἀληθινὸν τοῦτο πειρατήριον. (He [Sosthenes] is my principal despoiler. The rest were more moderate than you two; none of them was such a rapist. Look at what you are doing: you are the real pirates!)

7.5: δύο ἐξέφυγες ληστήρια, τὸ δὲ τῆς Μελίτης πεφόνευκέ σε πειρατήριον. (You escaped from two gangs of cutthroats, but Melite's pirates have killed you.)

8.5: ὅτι καὶ ἐν μέσοις λησταῖς ἔμεινε παρθένος καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἐνίκησε ληστήν, Θέρσανδρον λέγω, τὸν ἀναίσχυντον, τὸν βίαιον. (... that even in the midst of bandits she remained a virgin, and conquered that great bandit, I mean Thersandros the Shameless, Thersandros the Violent.)

8.17.3 : μὴ με νομίσης ληστήν εἶναι τινα καὶ κακοῦργον, ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰμι τῶν εὖ γεγενημένων, γένει Βυζάντιος, δεύτερος οὐδενός: ἔρω δέ με ληστείας ὑποκριτὴν πεποίηκε καὶ ταύτας ἐπὶ σοὶ πλέξαι τὰς τέχνας. (about the youth who raped Kalligone, in Sostratos' narrative) Lady, do not think me a common criminal or cutthroat, for I am nobly born, a Byzantine second to none. Eros had made me act the role of a robber and weave this plot against you.

Daphnis and Chloe 1.32 (after Daphnis escaped the pirates and the tempest): Εδόκει τὸ λουτρὸν εἶναι τῆς θαλάσσης φοβερώτερον ψυχὴν ἔτι παρὰ τοῖς λησταῖς μένειν, οἷα νέος καὶ ἄγροικος καὶ ἔτι ἀγνοῶν τὸ ἔρωτος ληστήριον. (The bath seemed more terrible than the sea. He thought he must have left his life behind with the pirates—for he was young and a country boy and still ignorant of the piracy of love.)

We may add *Chaireas and Callirhoe* 7.7: Νῦν ἀληθῶς αἰχμαλωτὸς εἰμι (“now I am actually a prisoner”) and refer to the analysis I published with N. Boullic. Let us note here briefly the frequency of remarks on the “truth” of the condition created by the metaphor, be it with ληστή or with πειρατ-: ὄντως, ἀληθινόν, ἀληθῶς—it appears again and again in the text, and precisely when it is not true, so that it stresses the metaphorical use of the piracy theme.

While looking for stronger evidence in favor of the initial idea, an advanced student suggested, and I eventually found, two poems in the *Greek Anthology*:

Τί κλαίεις, φρενοληστά; τί δ' ἄγρια τόξα καὶ ἰούς
ἔρριψας διφυῇ ταρσὸν ἀνείς πετερύγων;

ἦ ῥά γε καὶ σὲ Μυῖσκος ὁ δῦσμαχος ὄμμασιν αἴθει; (Meleager

12.144)

(Why weepest thou, O stealer of the wits? Why hast thou cast away thy savage bow and arrows, folding thy pair of outstretched wings? Doth Myiscus, ill to combat, burn thee, too, with his eyes? How hard it has been for thee to learn by suffering what evil thou wast wont to do of old!¹⁰)

And, 13.198 by Maecius:

Κλαίε δυσεγκρύκτως σφιγχθεὶς χέρας, ἄκριτε δαίμον,
κλαίε μάλα, στάζων ψυχοτακὴ δάκρυα,
σωφροσύνας ὑβρισταί, φρενοκλόπε, ληστὰ λογισμοῦ,
παντὸν πῦρ, ψυχᾶς τραῦμ' ἀόρατον, Ἔρωσ.
θνατοῖς μὲν λύσις ἐστὶ γόων ὁ σός, ἄκριτε, δεσμός. (AP 16.198.3)

(Weep, thou wrong-headed god, with thy hands made fast beyond escape; weep bitterly, letting fall soul-consuming tears, scorner of chastity, thief of the mind, robber of the reason, Love, thou winged fire, thou unseen wound in the soul. Thy bands, O wrong-headed boy, are to mortals a release from complaint; remain fast bound, sending thy prayers to the deaf winds and watch that torch that thou, eluding all vigilance, didst light in men's hearts, being quenched now by thy tears.¹¹)

The main thing is that Meleager was probably known by the novelists, more probably by Achilles Tatius, possibly by Longus. The singular evidence in Chariton might show he was less infused with Hellenistic epigrams than the other two. Though it was somehow unexpected, some metaphors even appear in Xenophon of Ephesus, for example 3.10.2: Τίς ἄρα ληστής οὕτως ἐρωτικός, ἵνα καὶ νεκρᾶς ἐπιθυμήσῃ σου ("What pirate, he exclaimed, is so much in love as to desire your corpse and even take your body away?"). We definitely did not meet the pirate metaphor in Heliodorus. However, as we shall show with the following case study, the magnetic stone, Heliodorus may have used metaphors without any formal occurrence of the words themselves.

As a provisional conclusion, we note that the pirates and robbers as metaphors in the novels seem to come from the libraries rather than from reality. As Bing, Rosenmeyer, and recently Cusset, in French, have attested, Greek poetic tradition was a "Well-Read" one, and imitation was a mark of distinction. The novel still more so since it incorporated the whole of Greek poetry, and theater too, as we will show in the following chapter (Chapter 22). The novels show how diverse and even contradictory love may be, and use several types of expressions for this diversity, specifically using metaphors for their poetical potentialities.

Magnetism of Love

Among the very rhetorical discourses held by one or the other of the male characters in *Leucippe and Clitophon*, the long passage in Book I already referred to was probably inspired from the Platonic dialogues on the same subject of love (*Symposion*, *Phaedrus*, *Alcibiades*). The fact that the narrative puts it in a *dialogue* between Clitophon and his servant Satyros stresses the parodic echo of Plato. Anyway, the dialogue initiated in 1.16 develops the following subjects as arguments in favor of love:

- Peacock plumage
- Birds, vegetation, and *even stones* (1.17.1: ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχει πτερόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐρπετῶν καὶ φυτῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ δοκῶ μοι, καὶ λίθων [“Since he too has wings, his influence on them (birds) is no surprise—but say rather, even by reptiles and plants, and if you ask my opinion, even by the stones.”])
- Palm tree (1.17.3–5)
- Male river Alpheus and (female) spring Arethusa (1.18.1–2)
- Viper and moray (1.18.3–5).

The example of the stones (1.17.2) as subject to love is consciously paradoxical: stones are usually seen as metals that are the paradigmatic instance of insensibility and inflexibility (for Homeric Greek and later, see Létoublon-Montanari 2004), but the dialectical rhetorics of Satyros show them as moved by love. The plural use of λίθων is occupied by the singular λίθος in the following sentence:

ἐρᾷ γοῦν ἡ Μαγνησία λίθος τοῦ σιδήρου· κἂν μόνον ἴδῃ καὶ θίγῃ, πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰλκυσεν, ὥσπερ ἐρωτικὸν ἔνδον ἔχουσα πῦρ. καὶ μὴ τι τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐρώσης λίθου καὶ ἐρωμένου σιδήρου φίλημα (There is a stone of Magnetia that has a strong desire for iron. If she but sees and barely touches a piece of iron, she draws it to herself, as if by the power of an erotic fire within. This is a marvelous kiss between erotogenic stone and erotopathic iron.)

Thus, the Magnetic stone is supposed to prove that even the stones “feel” the effects of love. The history of this metaphor is not easy to trace. Two passages in Plato may give us the first key to an interpretation. Of course, only the second passage may imply that it is a poetic device. Once more, a metaphor is used that is in no case drawn from pragmatic experience of the characters, but from a long story, probably scientific at the beginning: some stones draw iron to themselves—as science may prove, it occurs because they entail a certain proportion of iron—and this fact, known from early times, gave birth to realistic accounts on some properties seen in the nature, as in a passage of Plato, *Timaeus* 80c:

Καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑδάτων πάντα ρεύματα, ἔτι δὲ τὰ τῶν κεραυνῶν πτώματα καὶ τὰ θαυμαζόμενα ἠλέκτρων περὶ τῆς ἔλξεως καὶ τῶν Ἡρακλείων λίθων, πάντων τούτων ὅλη καὶ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδενὶ ποτε, τὸ δὲ κενὸν εἶναι μηδὲν περιωθεῖν τε αὐτὰ ταῦτα εἰς ἄλληλα, τὸ τε διακρινόμενα καὶ συγκρινόμενα πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν διαμειβόμενα ἔδραν ἕκαστα ἰέναι πάντα, τούτοις τοῖς παθήμασιν πρὸς ἄλληλα συμπλεχθεῖσιν τεθαυματουργημένα τῷ κατὰ τρόπον ζητοῦντι φανήσεται. (Moreover, as to the flowing of water, the fall of the thunderbolt, and the marvels that are observed about the attraction of amber and the Heracleian stones, in none of these cases is there any attraction; but he who investigates rightly will find that such wonderful phenomena are attributable to the combination of certain conditions—the non-existence of a vacuum, the fact that objects push one another round, and that they change places, passing severally into their proper positions as they are divided or combined. [online translation, Elpenor website])

The second passage is in the *Ion* 533c–534:

Καὶ ὁρῶ, ὦ Ἴων, καὶ ἔρχομαί γέ σοι ἀποφανόμενος ὃ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο εἶναι. ἔστι γὰρ τοῦτο τέχνη μὲν οὐκ ὄν παρὰ σοὶ περὶ Ὀμήρου εὖ λέγειν, ὃ νυν δὴ ἔλεγον, θεία δὲ δύναμις ἢ σε κινεῖ, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ λίθῳ ἦν Εὐρυπιδῆς μὲν Μαγνήτιν ὠνόμασεν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ Ἡρακλείαν. Καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ λίθος οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς τοὺς δακτυλίους ἄγει τοὺς σιδηροὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δύναμιν ἐντίθησι τοῖς δακτυλίοις ὥστ' αὐτὴ δύνασθαι ταῦτ' οὗτο ποιεῖν ὅπερ ἡ λίθος, ἄλλους ἄγειν δακτυλίους, ὥστ' ἐνίοτε ὀρμαθὸς μακρὸς πάνυ σιδηρίων καὶ δακτυλίων ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἡρτῆται· πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς λίθου ἡ δύναμις ἀνήρτηται. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡ Μοῦσα ἐνθέους μὲν ποιεῖ αὐτή, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἐνθέων τούτων ἄλλων ἐνθουσιαζόντων ὀρμαθὸς ἐξαρτᾶται. πάντες γὰρ οἱ τε τῶν ἐπῶν ποιηταὶ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ οὐκ ἐκ τέχνης ἀλλ' ἐνθεοὶ ὄντες καὶ κατεχόμενοι πάντα ταῦτα τὰ καλὰ λέγουσι ποιήματα, καὶ οἱ μελοποιοὶ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ὡσαύτως, ὥσπερ οἱ κορυβαντιῶντες οὐκ ἔμφρονες ὄντες ὀρχοῦνται, οὕτω καὶ οἱ μελοποιοὶ οὐκ ἔμφρονες ὄντες τὰ καλὰ μέλη ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν ἐμβῶσιν εἰς τὴν ἁρμονίαν καὶ εἰς τὸν ρυθμόν, βακχεύουσι καὶ κατεχόμενοι, ὥσπερ αἱ βάκχαι ἀρύονται ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν μέλι καὶ γάλα κατεχόμεναι, ἔμφρονες δὲ οὔσαι οὐ, καὶ τῶν μελοποιῶν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦτο ἐργάζεται, ὅπερ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι. λέγουσι γὰρ δήπουθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ ποιηταὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ κρηνῶν μελιρρῦτων ἐκ Μουσῶν κήπων τινῶν καὶ ναπῶν δρεπόμενοι τὰ μέλη ἡμῖν φέρουσιν ὥσπερ αἱ μέλιτται, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτω πετόμενοι καὶ ἀληθῆ λέγουσι. (SOCRATES: I perceive, Ion; and I will proceed

to explain to you what I imagine to be the reason of this. The gift which you possess of speaking excellently about Homer is not an art, but, as I was just saying, an inspiration; there is a divinity moving you, like that contained in the stone which Euripides calls a magnet, but which is commonly known as the stone of Heraclea. This stone not only attracts iron rings, but also imparts to them a similar power of attracting other rings; and sometimes you may see a number of pieces of iron and rings suspended from one another so as to form quite a long chain: and all of them derive their power of suspension from the original stone. In like manner, the Muse first of all inspires men herself; and from these inspired persons a chain of other persons is suspended, who take the inspiration. For all good poets, epic as well as lyric, compose their beautiful poems not by art, but because they are inspired and possessed. And as the Corybantian revelers when they dance are not in their right mind, so the lyric poets are not in their right mind when they are composing their beautiful strains: but when falling under the power of music and metre, they are inspired and possessed; like Bacchic maidens who draw milk and honey from the rivers when they are under the influence of Dionysus but not when they are in their right mind. And the soul of the lyric poet does the same, as they themselves say; for they tell us that they bring songs from honeyed fountains, culling them out of the gardens and dells of the Muses; they, like the bees, winging their way from flower to flower. And this is true. [online translation, Elpenor website])

The Magnetic stone is known by several Greek names (*Magnesia*, *Magnetis*, but also *Herakleia*, *Lydian*, etc.), which does not make the task easy. I researched the TLG with this plurality in mind, but I do not pretend it is a complete analysis.

The second passage in Plato's *Ion* refers itself to Euripides, with two of those denominations, thus considered synonyms: this fragment (567.2 Nauck) mentioned a "divine power" (θεῖα δὲ δύναμις) which might reveal the deepest layer of meaning for the metaphorical use of this stone. Other tragic fragments may also be mentioned (Aesch. fr. 326a, Soph. fr. 800.1) where the erotic meaning is more or less clear.

The metaphor in Plato's *Ion* aims to define how poetic inspiration works, drawn up to sublime heights by an invisible strength and power, which acts like the Magnetic attraction. It is not a metaphor for human love. Unhappily, we do not possess any context for the tragic fragments. However, it does not seem too audacious to suppose that the metaphor could account for an attempt at defining love and passions, that eternal element in tragic plots. At least one epigrammatic poem in the *Greek Anthology* attests this:

Εἰ δ' εἰδὼν, ὧ ξεῖνε, πυριφλέκτοισι πόθοισιν
Οὐκ ἐδάμης, πάντως ἢ θεὸς ἢ λίθος εἷ. (AP 12.151)

(Stranger, if you sawest somewhere among the boys one whose bloom was most lovely, undoubtedly thou sawest Apollodotus. And if, having seen him, thou wast not overcome by burning fiery desire, of a surety thou art either a god or a stone.)

And, also the following:

Μάγνης Ἡράκλειτος, ἐμοῖ πόθος, οὔτι σίδηρον
Πέτρῳ, πνεῦμα δ' ἐμόν κάλλει ἐφελκόμενος. (AP 12.152)
(Heraclitus, my beloved, is a Magnet, not attracting iron by stone, but my spirit with his beauty.)

Those metaphors—on piracy as well as magnetism—meet in a novel written by an author who is well-read, but not erudite enough to know how he could mask or cover his literacy, as Achilles Tatius appears in my opinion. We suppose Heliodorus had an equivalent knowledge of literature as Achilles Tatius or Longus, but he was more subtle and able to express this type of metaphorical images directly through his narrative and the events his characters endured, without needing to use such theoretical discourses about love such as those of Clitophon and Satyros, nor such episodes as Daphnis escaping the danger of piracy and comparing it to that of love, which he feels a stronger *épreuve* than the real pirates. In the *Aethiopica*, the metaphor of piracy is not formally developed, but the two competing gangs who appear in the opening scene of the novel along with the sun shining over the sea and Egyptian coast might be one of the devices suggesting it. Later, the revelation of the chief of the brigands Thyamis as a priest, Calasiris' son, and his replaying of the fight fought by the enemy brothers under the Theban wall might be another one.

The metaphor of magnetism is not formally attested in the text. I nevertheless think it explains the mutual, “divine” attraction felt by Theagenes and Charicleia. Note their first encounter as narrated by Calasiris (3.5.4):

καὶ ὅτι θεῖον ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ συγγενὲς ἄνωθεν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιστούμεθα: ὁμοῦ τε γὰρ ἀλλήλους ἐώρων οἱ νέοι ἥρων, ὥσπερ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκ πρώτης ἐντεύξεως τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπιγνώσης καὶ πρὸς τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν οἰκεῖον προσδραμούσης. (And in that instant, it was revealed to us, Knemon, that the soul is something divine, and partakes in the nature of heaven. For at the moment when they set eyes on one another, the young pair fell in love as if the soul recognized its kin at the very first encounter and sped to meet that which was worthily its own.)

The Platonic tone is self-evident, and the words may be compared

to several passages in the *Phaedrus*, the *Symposium*, and the *Alcibiades*. The “divine” mediation between the souls echoes the *Symposium*’s famous image of two halves of the same egg looking for each other, coined by Aristophanes, and the metaphysical view held by Diotima, although people often quote Aristophanes’ image as if it were Plato’s very view. If we take into account the magnetic metaphor also met in Plato’s œuvre, it can be said that love is a first instance of the divine attraction similar to the magnetic one, which is seen in natural phenomena. The *Ion* goes further and uses the metaphor for the still higher theme of poetic inspiration.

In the *Aethiopica*, too, the strange impression of a text expressing more than what the words themselves mean might be explained by the extraordinary cultural density of the text: Heliodorus seems to have read and devoured the whole of Greek literature, with the result that he may allude to many other texts at once without any overbearing eruditeness. A similar feeling of a metaphor present without being explicitly expressed is found in Apuleius in the tale of Cupid and Psyche, which is also visibly inspired by the same Platonic echoes as in the *Aethiopica* (see, especially, *Met.* 5.21–23), though Psyche and Eros eventually fail in the worldly, material plane.¹²

Greek love poetry, from Sappho to the Hellenistic epigrams, was an important part of the literary *paideia* that the novelists possessed and sometimes displayed through several allusions, which we probably did not explore fully. Some parallels between Achilles Tatius and Longus particularly lead toward this hypothesis. In Heliodorus, actual quotations seem somehow “deleted,” but the deep impregnation of this poetical culture, mixed with a Platonician or neo-Platonic inspiration, gives his novel an intense poetical atmosphere.

Notes

1 We know from other ancient sources that Eriphyle’s necklace was first Harmonia’s: this object, owned by several women in the course of time, seems to have been a bad omen for people around it; the passage entails two allusions to the myth of Philomela and Prokne, one to the myth of Bellerophon (Sthenoboe was the hero’s stepmother, who tried to seduce him, and denounced him to his father), and one to Agamemnon’s adulterous mother Aerope. The whole series deals with women’s crimes and punishments.

2 We cannot deal at large in this limited space with the main problem of the evolution of Greek literature and birth of the genres. For a recent approach of the problem, see Bowie 2008; on “reading the novel through genre,” see Goldhill 2008, 196–199, who explores the limits of the genre and concludes against Nimis’

definition of the novel as “anti-generic” (199 n. 40).

3 The passage is quoted in Laird 2008, 205: “Clitophon is using this cod-philosophising as a strategy to seduce Leucippe.”

4 On those *Aitia*, see Philippides 1980–1981, who shows they are not “digressive,” but follow the coherence and progression of the plot. He stressed the importance of Phatta’s tale and the presence of Pitys in it and in the whole.

5 See Létoublon 1993, 164. It is interesting to note that mythological paradigms are not invoked as a whole until the end: Daphne’s metamorphosis as a way for escaping the god’s rape should induce Clitophon to be careful.

6 On the *paragone*, thus called after an Italian word to be traced back to the Renaissance—between the arts—see the famous sentence attributed to Simonides in classical Greek, kept by Plutarch (*Mor. De glor. Athen.* 346.F 5) and others, and the critical work Fumaroli 1996.

7 On Philetas as a literary character, see Di Marco 2000: for Di Marco, he is not the Philetas mentioned in Theocritus, but rather a *nome parlante* fitting for a *praeceptor amoris* (26) deriving from Theocritean Lycidas. Furthermore, Di Marco defends the thesis of the allusions to Virgil’s *Bucolics* with some convincing textual arguments, which we cannot reproduce here in detail.

8 After a chapter called *Symbolon*, where she emphasizes the role of metaphor (73–74) and paradox, Carson 1986 writes four chapters on the Greek novel before coming back to Sappho’s, Aeschylus’, and Bellerophon’s “Folded Meanings.”

9 See in the *Greek Anth.* 5.293, 7.448.2–3, 449.1–3, Πραταλίδα παίδειον Ἐρωσ πόθον...:

μοῦσα χόρους, Ἄρης ἐγγυάλιξε μάχαν.

Πῶς οὐκ εὐαίων ὁ Λυκάστιος, ὃς καὶ ἔρωτι / ἄρχει..., etc.

10 *The Greek Anthology with an English translation* by W.R. Paton, Vol. 4, Cambridge MA, 1956.

11 *Anthologia Graeca*, H. Beckby, ed., 16.198.3. Translation W.R. Paton, Cambridge MA, 1960 (*The Greek Anthology* V, 1960). The following epigram, 199, by Crinagoras, shows analog devices, beginning with καὶ κλαίει καὶ στέναζε, but does not imitate the φρενοληστὰ of Meleager, twice recalled in Maecius’ poem.

12 Similar Platonic echoes may be seen in Achilles Tatius and even in Xenophon Ephesius, which seems to imply that the theory of Love was not especially learned. It is possible that some of the novelists did not know the Platonic texts, but only summaries available for a schooling use, as, for instance, Alcinoos’ *Didaskalikos* (Whittaker and Louis 1990, § 23 on *philia* and *eros*).

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We suggest, apart from the “Big Five Novels,” many pieces of Greek poetry: we left Homer aside here (see Létoublon 2008b), to focus mainly on the analogies with love poetry: Lyrics, Epigrams, Anacreontea (cf. the *Greek Anthology*).

In secondary literature, see the fascinating review *Ancient Narrative* and its valuable supplements that succeeded the *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel*, and several collective works published by well-known specialists such as Harrison, Morgan, Paschalis, Tatum, Schmeling, Panayotakis *et al.*, Stoneman, and Swain.

A special mention is made for *The Cambridge Companion to the Ancient Novel* edited by Timothy Whitmarsh (2008) (especially Morgan-Harrison’s “Intertextuality,” Bowie’s “Literary Milieux,” Goldhill’s “Genre,” and Morales’ “The History of Sexuality”). Apart from this collective contribution, I was particularly impressed for the present study by Chalk’s 1960 “Eros and the Lesbian Pastoral of Longus” (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 80: 32–61). See especially Fusillo’s (1989) *Il romanzo Greco: polifonia ed eros* and his 1990 “Il testo nel testo”; Konstan’s (2008) “The Active Reader and the Ancient Novel”; and Winkler’s 1990 *The Invention of Desire: the Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece*.

CHAPTER 22

“Respect these Breasts and Pity Me”

Greek Novel and Theater

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Theater and novel seem to be two genres *a priori* opposed to each another in Greek literature, and perhaps elsewhere: characters incarnated by actors in roles on one side under the audience’ eyes vs. characters represented (in each meaning of the word) by one or several narrators on the other.¹ The novel seems at first sight to renew the narrative tradition coming from the epics, as if it were a kind of bourgeois epic. Homer’s presence appears in Chariton, Achilles Tatius, and Heliodorus through several devices such as Homeric problems and quotations; the latter explicitly mentions that Theagenes is an offspring from Achilles, whereas Charicleia comes from Perseus and Andromeda’s union. However, as several specialists also have noted, the links between the novel and theater, comedy as well as tragedy, are very strong, and maybe still stronger than with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. As far as terminology is concerned, for all the success of the term *intertextuality* due as it seems to Kristeva, we stress the term *allusion* as coming from the Italian tradition (Alaux and Létoublon 1998, 145–147; cf. Morgan and Harrison 2008; Conte 1986); Chapter 21, this volume.

In both *Chaereas and Callirhoe* and the *Aethiopica* are found quotations or allusions to the same passage in *Iliad* 22.84 where Hecuba shows her breast to her son Hector, asking him for pity. This allusion may appear to be a symbol of the continuity of Greek literature, from Homer to the Roman empire. More specifically, this Homeric passage was already alluded to in the Aeschylean *Oresteia* and Euripides’ *Orestes*, when Clytemnestra imitates Hecuba’s gesture

for her son Orestes (*Choeph.* 895),² so that novelists may sometimes seem to think of Aeschylus rather than Homer. The *Iliad* is also subtly recalled in Euripides' *Hecuba*, where the queen's daughter Polyxena, before being sacrificed on Achilles' tomb, reveals her own breast and asks her murderer to strike her with the sword in her breast.³ It is important to note that the mother shows her son the "breast he was nurtured with," whereas the daughter, as a virgin, shows herself highly overstepping in this gesture. Tradition wholly refers to Homer's characterization of the Trojan tragic queen rather than Agamemnon's unfaithful wife. The main feature to stress is that theatricality does not begin with the invention of the tragic stage in Athens, but may actually be considered as already existing in the melodramatic position of Hecuba addressing her son from the walls of Troy, which contrasts with the scene that has Hector alone below at the foot of the city doors engaged in a discussion with himself before fighting with Achilles. Hecuba's gesture of revealing her breast is by itself melodramatic, as the painting tradition attests.⁴ Thus, Clytemnestra as well as Polyxena, Chaereas' mother (Char. 3.5. "Respect these breasts and pity me"), and the male character Aristippes, who utters, "My child, stay your hand a while! Have pity on your father! Have mercy on the grey head that raised you" in the *Aethiopika* 1.12.3, have Hecuba's and Hector's relations in mind.

We have suggested elsewhere (Alaux and Létoublon 1998) that, when the novel alludes to theater plays, it obeys two rules or laws: *condensation* and *avoidance*. Several œuvres or myths are alluded to at the same time, thus condensed in one and the same passage. On the other hand, particularly when the novel recalls a tragedy, it has to avoid too close an imitation that could dangerously approach the tragic end: for all the kinds of hindrance that the protagonists meet on their way, the novel must go on and the heroes pursue their travel, or their life through seasons in Lesbos for Daphnis and Chloe. We meet several instances of those laws' applications in the novel corpus.

Here, we focus on the relations between the novel and theater from the more visible and exterior aspects to the deeper ones, i.e. from language and material objects to paradoxically invisible phenomena that occur in the hearts.

Theater in Words

Several texts show an extensive use of theatrical vocabulary. As early as 1894, this phenomenon was studied by Walden, who took into account the frequency in the novels of Chariton, Achilles Tatius, and

Heliodoros of such words as *drama*, *theatron*, *skene*, and the lexical family of *trag*-. By qualifying the acts they accomplish as *dramata*, the novelists may not simply allude to their “pathetic” nature (Rohde 1876, 450), but to their real derivation from the theatrical realm. In fact, not only is the term “drama” used by the narrator to generically designate the main story (Ach. Tat. 1.3.3.), or a sub-story (Hel. 2.23.5; Ach. Tat. 8.15.4), but the characters themselves seem to resort to this term when their adventures take the form of a show that their readers could watch in the theater. For example, Thyamis and Petosiris stage a *drama* (Hel. 7.6.4.) that recalls the fratricidal duel between Eteocles and Polynices. Chaereas invites Clitophon to stick to his instructions and not “to spoil the *drama*” (Ach. Tat. 1.10.7) of Leucippe’s seduction, probably referring to a cliché largely spread by the New Comedy and mimes. The vast presence of theatrical terms in the novels testifies that the theater permeates the plot of the novels with a great number of scenes and episodes, which are sometimes intentionally unveiled by the novelists when they want to point to, according to the circumstances, the tragic or comic nature of the story. A word like *drama* could be used in common everyday life as an idiom, but *tragodeo*, *tragikos*, and *skenographeo* are not likely to occur so often in common Greek language. The metaphorical use of this vocabulary is thus surely guaranteed. As Walden (1894, 2) noticed, the theater terminology implies a metaphorical use that may come from “before them in the theater of their own day”; the metaphorical use of the word *drama*, referring either to the whole thread or to a series of events by a protagonist, occurs three times in Chariton, 13 in Heliodoros, and 18 in Achilles Tatius. We show below that the lexical face of the novel language constitutes an index pointing to a deeper, less visible aspect: the metaphor of theater might reveal a fundamental way of seeing human life under the Roman imperial power.

Romanesque Thread and Theater Plot: the Ideal Novels and New Comedy

In Aristophanes’ plays, one could state that comedy as a genre is a parody of the tragic, a way of removing the political conflicts while transposing them in a ridiculous (*Knights*) or utopic (*Lys.*, *Eccl.*, *Thesm.*) manner, and thus it appears as a form of *catharsis* (cf. Carrière

1979 on the *carnavalesque* aspects of Aristophanes). Aristophanes does not seem as strongly present in the novels as Aeschylus and Euripides, but the fact that, in Achilles Tatius, a character in the trial opposing Clitophon, Leucippe, and Melite to Thersander imitates Aristophanes explicitly (*Leuc. and Clit.* 8.9; see Brethes 2006) indicates the importance of the comedies for the novelist. However, the evidence of strong links to the so-called New Comedy is more frequently met. Menander and his Latin followers had based their comedies on family life as opposed to an external world populated by robbers, soldiers, and pirates who are all eager to kidnap young girls (and sometimes boys). This genre provided writers with some models of familial dramas, already turned to bourgeois plots: Chariton's and Xenophon's plots clearly show this familial core, as well as many details in the other ideal novels. We can include the narrative of *Daphnis and Chloe* from the finding of the children in Book 1 (Hunter 1983, 23–26; Morgan 2004, 150–154), to their progressive discovering of love, to their eventual recognition by their actual parents, and their marriage in Book 4, after the recognition of Daphnis first and then of Chloe. The parallel between Charicleia as a child abandoned soon after birth by her mother, both of the pastoral foundlings nurtured by animal mothers, and their respective *symbola*, is striking. One of the most visible features linking the novels to New Comedy may be called failure of matrimonial strategy: Clitophon's father in Achilles Tatius wants his son to marry his half-sister Calligone; Heliodorus shows how the adoptive father of Charicleia as well as her actual father later want her to marry the young man they chose for her. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, the adoptive parents show such intentions for the foundlings, and after their recognition, the actual parents will do so too. The interest for the reader consists in how the will of the young characters will overcome those strategies.

In several cases, individual characters seem to come directly from New Comedy and Theophrastus' *Characters*: for example, in *Daphnis and Chloe*, Gnathon represents the type of the parasite; Satyros in *Leucippe and Clitophon*, the *servus callidus* (Satyros evokes e.g. Syros, Sostratos' slave in *Dis exapaton* by Menander); in the *Aethiopica*, Knemon's name also comes from the same source.

Fathers and Sons

The relationship between the protagonist and their parents is often problematic, as in the comedies of Menander, Plautus, and Terence, as Konstan has brilliantly analyzed (cf. Konstan 1987, 1994; cf. also Crismani 1997). In Chariton's novel, Chaereas is torn between the love

for Callirhoe, which urges him to sail away from Syracuse, and the affection for his parents, who beseech him not to leave them, echoing a famous Homeric passage (as seen above). In the *Ephesiaca*, Anthia's and Habrocomes' parents, when they see their children touched by lovesickness, ask the oracle of Colophon for advice, and the god's answer prompts the decision to marry them, without a detailed conflict (1.6.2–7.1). Clitophon, Achilles Tatius' protagonist, has to face a still more serious problem: as in the fragmentary *Georgos* of Menander (5–22), the father of the protagonist has already arranged his marriage to his stepsister.⁵ In Achilles Tatius' case, comedy is echoed not only by a generic reprise of the situation, but also in the rhetorical figures. For example, the metaphor entailed in the verb *makhomai* (to fight) is present also in the monologue by which Clitophon tries to describe his interior conflict: the authority and respect toward his father urges him to obey to him, but Eros is a powerful judge who threatens to burn him with his fire-arrows (1.11.3). In Longus, a conflict between children and parents is central when Lamon first proves Daphnis' high ascendance through showing the tokens found with the baby, while Chloe did not yet appear as valuable a wife for him (4.20–30).

The Central Place of Love

The resemblance between the standard plot of New Comedy and the novel is striking, as Canfora (1987) noticed. In both genres, two youngsters of astonishing beauty have to undergo a series of adventures and dangers before they can get married. However, the novels move away from New Comedy by introducing a mutual and at-first-glance love between the two protagonists (cf. Rousset 1981; Létoublon 1993, 137–140; Konstan 1994). Because Achilles Tatius puts the whole Love narrative in Clitophon's mouth, the birth of love between Clitophon and Leucippe does not appear mutual and instantaneous, as it does in the other novels, but Clitophon alone falls in love at first glance, whereas he has to find out ways for seducing Leucippe, which will be difficult and sometimes frankly comic (partly because of his own awkwardness, which contributes to making him an “anti-hero,” according to Brethes 1999). Thus, Achilles Tatius skillfully inserts in his novel the cliché of the love approach, which was used widely in New Comedy. For instance, to escape detection by Konops (his name means “Mosquito,” a character bringing to mind the *durus ianitor* of New Comedy), Satyros tells him an interesting Aesopic fable on the lion and the mosquito; to get to the room of Leucippe, Clitophon resorts to his *servus callidus* Satyros. Clitophon's attempt to

have sexual intercourse with Leucippe is prevented by the intervention of her mother, who had been awakened in the middle of the night by a macabre premonitory dream that echoes the one dreamt by Sostratos' mother in Menander's *Dyskolos* (406–417). Longus' novel is in some respects atypical because the two children are gradually initiated to Eros, but it does take up the themes of the "foundling" (a key element in Heliodorus' novel, but only for Charicleia) and the recognition, two classical features of New Comedy.

A Happy Dénouement Recalling New Comedy

The peripeties the two protagonists are involved in are multiplied in space and length and are finally paid off by a marriage and/or a banquet in which both of the families take part—in the novel, the whole city may sometimes be involved. Unlike in New Comedy, in the ancient novel the problem of the different social classes seems to be marginal and limited to Longus' novel: Daphnis happens to be recognized first, and his family does not accept Chloe as a fitting fiancée until she also has wealthy parents. On the other hand, the concern with the legitimacy of love and the importance of virginity occurs both in New Comedy and in the novels (cf. Crismani 1997, 77). In a fragment of the Menandrian comedy *Sikyonos* (361–374), a father expresses his joy after finding out that his daughter is alive and has not lost her virginity. Likewise, the concern with the virginity of the heroine is central in the end of Achilles Tatius' plot: the crowd rejoices when Leucippe succeeds in the test of the cave of Syrinx (8.14.1–2), proving that she is still a *parthenos*. Heliodorus' novel ends with a virginity test that concerns both Theagenes and Charicleia, and ironically, since they are pure, they are fitting offerings to be sacrificed. Other features appear to evoke tragedy rather than comedy, though they could be seen in New Comedy as a parody of tragedies.

Oimoi ego

As already said in the earlier remark on theater-lexical tools occurring in the novels, the main characters in the novels often see themselves as tragic heroes or heroines. Nevertheless, the narrator remains always the leader of the play. He knows how to cut the tragic thread at the moment where it could surpass the limit: for example, when the hero or heroine feels the situation as being so desperate that death only seems possible for her or him, an unforeseen event or unexpected

friend interposes, who prevents suicide and causes progress in the plot and new peripeties. It happens even in the unsophisticated *Ephesiaca*: thus, Habrocomes exclaims “ὦ κακοδαίμονες, ἔφησεν, ἡμεῖς” (2.1.2), and Anthia echoes “φεῦ τῶν κακῶν, ἔφη” (2.1.5); again, Anthia “ὦ πάντα ἄδικος ἐγώ, φησί, καὶ πονηρά,” “οἴμοι φησὶ τῶν κακῶν” (4.6.6), οἴμοι τῶν κακῶν λέγουσα (5.8.7), Habrocomes “φεῦ, ἔφη, τῶν κακῶν” (5.10.4). They develop their laments into tragic monologues (Habrocomes: 2.1.2, Anthia: 5.4.11), topically decide to die as soon as possible (2.1.6 ἀποθνήσκωμεν), and accuse their fatal beauty for all their unhappiness (2.1.3: ὦ τῆς ἀκαίρου πρὸς ἑκατέρυς εὐμορφίαν; 5.5.5: ὦ κάλλος ἐπίβουλόν, λέγουσα, ὦ δυστυχῆς εὐμορφία, 5.7.2: ὦ κάλλος δικαίως ὕβρισμένον). Without quoting the whole passage, we may put forward a statement: the more sophisticated the novel, the more brilliantly those laments will be introduced and develop, but they follow the same schematic model borrowed from the classical tragedies (Pletcher 1998, 21, saw that, when Charicleia “kept on ‘tragedizing’, she was not only lamenting tragically, but she was also quoting from Euripides’ *Hecuba* 349: τί γὰρ με δεῖ ζῆν”). The repetition of the *topoi* sometimes produces a comical effect. It is difficult to decide if the novelist wanted his audience to laugh or at least to smile. Nevertheless, the frequency of Clitophon’s attempts to kill himself after each apparent death of his beloved (five times, if our sum is right) leads us to think of a parodic feature (cf. Létoublon 2006).

Theater Tools in the Novel Plot

In several cases, the novel characters meet theater actors with their apparatus (clothes, sceneries, tricks), and those tools are sometimes used by the main characters as a disguise (Heliodorus 6.11: Charicleia and Kalasiris disguise themselves as beggars and joke about the resultant effect; see Fusillo 1990, 41), whereas they may entrap them in other ones. In Achilles Tatius’ novel, the theatrical tools are actually on the scene: Satyros retrospectively tells that Menelaus and he pretended to perform the sacrifice using a blade-retractable sword that had once belonged to a declaimer of Homer who bravely died fighting against robbers (3.20.4–7). Leucippe had endured a fake sacrifice with bloody entrails filling a fake stomach hidden under garments (3.21.1–2).

The role of disguise may even be noted in the *Ephesiaca*, where Thelxinoe happened to wear a man’s clothes for her escape from Sparta with Aigialeus, as the latter tells Habrocomes (*Eph.* 5.1.7), and Anthia lies twice about her identity (4.3.6 and 5.5.4). In Achilles

Tatius, as usually more brilliantly, it is Clitophon who flies from Thersander's house disguised as a woman, with Melite's robe (6.1.2). Fusillo (1990) evokes for this passage the tradition of Achilles hidden among Lykomedes' daughters. In Heliodorus, Theagenes and Anthia, prisoners in the powerful Arsake's luxurious house, pretend they are brother and sister.

Delaying Tactics

Like on the stage, a common feature in the novel shows a frequent effect of delay in the characters meeting one another. It is particularly striking in the *Ephesiaca* because of the extreme plans of the novel. Habrocomes nearly constantly arrives in the very place where he could have found Anthia one day or some days before, but he realizes that she just left when he arrives there. The device is also present, in a less parodied way, in *Chaereas and Callirhoe*: as soon as Chaereas, because of unjustified jealousy, kicks Callirhoe's belly, the whole narrative will rely on symmetries and delays in their search; the empty graves each of them builds for keeping the other one's memory is the best symbol of this. Another example is Chaereas' letter telling her "I'm living!," read by Callirhoe's husband who faints with the very words used in the *Iliad* for describing the heroes' death, but will act later to avoid a meeting of his rival and his wife (cf. Létoublon 2003).

Apparent Death

A well-known motif in Greek novels is that of the apparent death of the heroine (see Bowie 1996, 101, among many references to the so-called *Scheintod*), which occurs in Achilles Tatius several times, and leads Clitophon to wish for death for himself. In Heliodorus, Thisbe's dying instead of Charicleia may appear as a variant of the motif—at least Theagenes believes she actually died. A more specific motif occurs both in the *Ephesiaca* and *Chaereas and Callirhoe* in a strikingly parallel: Anthia and Callirhoe both fall into a kind of catalepsy resembling death (Char. 1.8–9; cp. *Eph.* 3.5.9–8.3). In both cases, the apparent death lasts so long that they are mourned for and buried with rich funerary offerings. Robbers who see the funerals plan to steal the tomb, and in both cases, when they find the dead woman living, they first believe they are meeting a ghost. The reason of Anthia's catalepsy is a poison she drank because she wanted to die, while Callirhoe was stricken by the jealous Chaereas. The plot progression in both stories is very similar, although Chariton's style

makes his novel much more interesting. The details in both the texts are similarly dramatically told, as if they came from the same model, maybe a play seen on a stage.

Actors and Audience

Theater consists in a show incarnated on a stage by actors before an audience viewing them. In the novel, we meet some actors and their tricks, as discussed in the preceding text, but we never follow an actual play staged. However, as said in the beginning of this chapter, novelists make extensive use of the technical vocabulary of theater: as Walden has already shown, those words are taken as metaphors. The actors met by the protagonists became themselves heroes of miniature novels, taken in a tempest or an attack by pirates. Thus, the genres seem to mix themselves, or at least exchange some of their specific characteristics.

Among the metaphorical uses of the novel, we thus sometimes find actors in their profession; we also meet some occasional audiences for an unforeseen spectacle, which seems to happen several times in Heliodorus. Alaux and Létoublon (1998) suggest that the fight between Thyamis and Petosiris, the two sons of the Egyptian priest Kalasiris, was seen by the whole audience as a revival of Kastor and Polynice's fight at Thebes. Moreover, a large number of details in the narrative show a strong dramatic character: at the end of the novel, the sacrifice of both Theagenes and Charicleia (intended by King Hydaspes for the Ethiopian Sun and Moon gods); Charicleia's attempt to get her father to recognize her; the already mentioned race of Theagenes on a horse and a bull and his fight against a giant; Charicleia's request to wait for Persinna (who is called the instigator or playwright of the show); the intervention of Sisimithres (the leader of the Gymnosophistes); and the painting of Andromeda being delivered by Perseus that is brought out to the public space under the eyes of the crowd in order to prove Charicleia's ascendance through her resemblance with the heroine on the painting. However, we want to emphasize particularly the episode of the first sight and love between Theagenes and Charicleia that happened in the large stadium of Delphi under the attentive look of Kalasiris, who even tells Knemon that "the whole of Greece was there, looking at them." The narrative puts under our very eyes a splendid PanHellenic feast, recalling the best of *epinikia* from the time of Pindar and Simonides.

Thus, the vocabulary of theater in the novel invites the readership to "see" some episodes as plays inserted in the novel, be it by the author or by a secondary character who stages a scene for the other

ones, and produces thus a strong presence in the novel (which was called *enargeia*) (Auerbach's *Mimesis* may still be referred to, though we do not agree with the analysis of the recognition scene with Eurykleia in *Odyssey* 19). Among the uses of the word *theater*, in Heliodorus, let us stress an interesting description of a ring that Charicleia owned as a *symbolon*. On the ring, a stone had been incised, and the brilliant *ekphrasis* shows a pastoral world represented as a *poimenikon theatron*:

A young boy was shepherding his sheep, standing on the vantage point of a low rock, using a transverse flute to direct his flock as it grazed, while the sheep seemed to pasture obediently in time to the pipe's melody. One might have said that their backs hung heavy with golden fleeces; this was no beauty for art devising, for art had merely highlighted on their backs the natural blush of the amethyst. Also depicted were lambs, gamboling in innocent joy, a whole troop of them scampering up the rock, while others cavorted and frolicked in rings around their shepherd, so that the rock where he sat seemed like a kind of bucolic theater; others again, reveling in the sunshine of the amethyst's brilliance, jumped and skipped, scarcely touching the surface of the rock. The oldest and boldest of them presented the illusion of wanting to leap out through the setting of the stone but of being prevented from doing so by the jeweler's art, which had set the collect of the ring like a fence of gold to enclose both them and the rock.

This piece of Heliodorus' art may induce us to hypothesize that Longus' pastoral was not inspired uniquely by Theocritean poetic tradition, but that some theater plays existed that had staged shepherds and their pastoral and musical loves. Likewise, in an episode in *Daphnis and Chloe*, after the tale told by Lamon, Philetas plays music on the pipe he sent his son Tityros to retrieve, and both young protagonists mime the erotic pursuit by the goat-footed god of the nymph called Syrinx, until she wishes to escape and disappears among the reeds; in his anger, the disappointed god cuts the reeds, and then transforms his anger by playing music out of the instrument he thus invented. This episode in *Daphnis and Chloe* leads us to reevaluate the relationship of theater and myth, but the *ekphrasis* in Heliodorus suggests that theater might be linked to poetry at the very origin of pastoral narrative. The point we want to make here is that, in the novel, characters may sometimes become either actors or spectators of a scene on an improvised stage. Thus, on Charicleia's ring, the stone and the sheep are turned into a theater with actors.

Theater and Myth Meet in the Novel

I have examined elsewhere (Létoublon 2013) in more detail the four or five myths in *Daphnis and Chloe* (Phatta, Pitys, Syrinx, Eros in Philetas' garden, and Echo), stressing their paradigmatic use. In the other novels, I find other more literary ways of alluding to both myth and theater. Three of the main myths of Greek theater find a particular development in the novels, particularly in the *Aethiopika*: Phaedra and Hippolytus, the *Oresteia*, and Oedipus and his family. Phaedra was known mainly from Euripides, the *Oresteia* from Aeschylus and the two *Electras* by both Sophocles and Euripides, and Oedipus from both Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* and *Phoenician Women*. Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* and *Oedipus at Colonus* are also possible sources for the character of Kalasiris. When Theagenes and Charicleia eventually meet in Ethiopia, they are supposed to be sacrificed to the goddess Artemis, which reminds us of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis* since she is actually King Hydaspes' daughter (who does not know it, however). When Theagenes, whom she often calls her brother, is promised to be sacrificed to the same goddess, *Iphigenia in Tauris* is also recalled. Besides, this tragedy could be alluded to by the sophisticated reprise in the macabre scene of the false sacrifice of Leucippe (Ach. Tat. 3.15; cf. Mignogna 1997).

In the *Aethiopica*, Theagenes has to ride on both a horse and a bull, jumping from one to the other in a very striking race in which his life is in danger—this scene alludes to several well-known pieces of epic (the horse race in *Il.* 23) and theater (Hippolytus' death entangled in his reins in Euripides' eponymous tragedy, but also in Sophocles' *Electra* the fiction of Orestes' death in a horse race told by himself in order to deceive Clytemnestra and Aegisthus). In Achilles' novel, the episode of Callicles' fatal horse fall (1.12), announced by a messenger with typical tragic features, has a clear correspondence with Euripides' *Hippolytus*, as Degl'Innocenti Pierini has exhaustively shown (cf. Degl'Innocenti Pierini 2003).

Phaedra and Hippolytus appear in Heliodorus' novel through "Knemon's novel" mainly,⁶ and also through Theagenes' relation to Arsake and her servant. The character of Thisbe stands at the intersection of Theagenes and Charicleia's story and Knemon's novella: she dies as a substitute for Charicleia since her killer Thyamis believes in the shadow of the cave that Thisbe is Charicleia; a writing tablet will be found on her corpse, which resumes a part of Knemon's novella; and her story is still unknown as well by the reader than by Knemon himself. This tablet relates her also to Euripides' Phaedra.

The novels remind us of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*: Knemon's father accusing his son of forgetting a son's duty is a straight parody of Hecuba with Hector and Clytemnestra with Orestes in the *Choephoroi*. Once more, it appears difficult to decide whether the writers intended the readership to recognize the source alluded and to laugh or at least smile at the subtlety of those allusions when recognizing such references.

Theater in the Mind

In another set of cases, the novelists seem to invent a kind of dialogue held by the main character between himself and Eros or in himself alone: thus, in *D&C*, Daphnis speaks with himself, looking for plausible reasons he could invent for seeing Chloe during winter:

He screwed up his courage to make some excuse and push his way through the doors: and he asked himself what was the most convincing thing he could say. "I've come to get a light for a fire."—"But didn't you have neighbors two hundred yards away?" "I've come to ask for some bread."—"But your bag's full of food." "I need some wine."—"But it was only the other day you had the grape harvest."

"A wolf chased me."—"And where are the wolf's footprints?"

"I came to hunt the birds."—"Well, you've caught them: why don't you go away?"

"I want to see Chloe."—"Who'd admit that to a young girl's father and mother?" Stumbling against obstacles on every side, he said to himself: "All of these remarks sound suspicious. It'll be better to say nothing. I'll see Chloe in the spring, since it doesn't seem fated for me to see her in the winter" (3.6.2–4, trans. Gill in Reardon).

In Achilles Tatius, Clitophon looks also for a way of entering in closer contact with Leucippe, and he finds help from his servant Satyros:

Satyros went outside, and, left to myself, I took his advice to heart, I tried to whip up my courage to face the maiden. "How long will you keep silent, sissy boy? What use is a spineless soldier in the service of a virile god? Are you waiting for her to make the first move?"

Then I answered myself: "Come to your sense, you fool. Aim your love shafts at the proper target. You have another softly maiden in your own family: desire *her*, gaze at *her*; marriage with her is in your power."

I thought I had convinced myself, but the voice of Eros replied from deep down in my heart: “Such insubordination! So, you would take up the sides with arrows and fire? If you dodge my arrows, you won’t evade my fire. And even if you douse that with your high-minded self-control, I will catch up with you on my wings.” (2.5)

In Chariton 2.11, we read a similar monologue by Callirhoe who thinks Chaereas dead, discovers she is pregnant, while awakening wealthy Dionysios’ passion; she is lying on her bed with Chaereas’ portrait on her belly, and she thinks of deliberating with herself: there are three voting persons about her suicide—her husband, thought to be dead; the child she is bearing; and herself. The result of the vote is two against one—her own vote actually. Thus, the majority wants her to live, in a parody of Greek democratic habits in the classical period, long passed away.

This kind of theater, neither comic nor tragic, seems to happen in life itself. It may be related to the idea that the world is a stage. In fact, as it has been said before, stage-terms massively permeate the vocabulary of the ancient novel, whose characters often qualify the vicissitudes they undergo as *dramata*. Different reasons can be given for the substantial presence of stage-terms in the novels. In the Hellenistic era, theater had profoundly changed due to the spectacles of mimes and pantomimes (Walden 1894), and, as Perry puts it, “the great tide of drama, that is to say fondness for the spectacle of men and women in action with all its excitements, peripeties, personal emotions, and character displays, had long since overflowed the dike of the stage, which had once contained it, and now was pouring into all the literary forms where narrative could be anywise employed.”⁷ In addition, it is perhaps worth considering that, in the Imperial Age, the association between life and theater-play enjoyed great success among the Stoic and Cynic philosophers (see Curtius 1953; Dodds 1965; Trédé 2002), by whom the novelists may have been influenced. The metaphor owed its celebrity to Plato who, in the *Laws*, compared the human being to a puppet moved by his passions and having his only chance of salvation in holding on to the “golden string” of reason (644d–e–645a). Plato’s condemnation of the actors was very harsh since they are capable of imitating and propagating any behavior and value, including those opposed to the good Constitution of the City, the only and authentic reflection of the Good (see, e.g. Catoni 2008, 275 ff.). A turning point probably was the Hellenistic era when the Cynics and the Stoics put forward the idea that living like an actor could be a virtue, given his capacity of adjusting himself to the changing and unpredictable circumstances of life.⁸ This idea was taken up by such authors as Lucian (see, e.g. *Nekyomantia* 16) and

Marcus Aurelius (7.3), and their representation of the human condition seems to be shared by the novelists who were living at the same time. The idea that the *Tyche* presides over human lives is repeatedly stressed by the characters of the ancient novels (Hld. 5.6.3; Ach. Tat. 1.3.3, Char. 4.4.2), who lay curses on the playwright of their lives (Hld. 5.6.3), narrate their vicissitudes qualifying them as *dramata* (Hld. 2.29.4; 6.8.5; Ach. Tat. 8.15.4; 6.3.1; 8.5.2), and try to persuade themselves that it is inevitable to play their roles till the end (Ach. Tat. 6.16.6). However important philosophical reflection was for the novelists, the metaphor of the human being as a puppet was deeply rooted in their works and destined to continue and increase its success in the following centuries (Curtius 1953). Indeed, the lexicon used by the protagonists confirms the close relationship they perceived between novel and theater and gives the impression that characters have freshly come out of a play and therefore feel the necessity to break the scenic illusion.⁹

Notes

1 The most common case seems that of one narrator who may be the author—Chariton for *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, Xenophon for the *Ephesiaca*, Longus for *Daphnis and Chloe*; the *Aethiopica* show the case of a plurality of narrators beside the author (Heliodorus), such as Calasiris and Knemon; cf. Morgan 2004.

2 Cp. Hom. *Il.* 22.83–5: Ἐκτορ, τέκνον ἐμόν, τάδε δ' αἶδεο καὶ μ' ἐλέησον / αὐτήν, εἴ ποτέ τοι λαθικήδεα μαζὸν ἐπέσχον / τῶν μνήσαι; Aesch. *Choeph.* 895: Ἐπίσχε, ὦ παῖ, τόνδε δ' αἶδεσαι, τέκνον, / μαστόν; Eur. *Or.* 527: ὅτ' ἐξέβαλλε μαστὸν ἱκετεύουσά σε / μήτηρ; Eur. *El.* 117: ἔδειξε μαστὸν ἰὲν φοναίσιν; Char. *Chaer. and Call.* 3.5. 6.4 quotes *Il.*: τέκνον, ἔφη, τάδε δ' αἶδεο καὶ μ' ἐλέησον / αὐτήν, εἴ ποτέ τοι λαθικήδεα μαζὸν ἐπέσχον; Hld. *Eth.* 1.12.3. καὶ, ὦ τέκνον, ἐπίσχε μικρὸν, ἔλεγεν, οἴκτειρον τὸν γεννήσαντα φείσαι πολλῶν αἰ' σε ἔθρεψαν. We emphasize both the words literally echoed in this passage (ἐπίσχε in Aeschylus and Heliodorus; αἶδεο καὶ μ' ἐλέησον from the *Iliad* in αἶδεσαι in Aeschylus, more prosaic οἴκτειρον in Heliodorus; μαζὸν in Homer, μαστόν in Aeschylus and Euripides) and the changes brought by every author: the origin of the Aeschylean ἐπίσχε may be found in Hecuba's Homeric ἐπέσχον: the mother who provided her breast in the earlier text uses the same word for asking her child to stop his murdering hand. The most visible change in Heliodorus is from the mother to a father, which implies the absence of the breast and the comical effect of the white hair that nourished the child.

3 Eur. *Hec.* 560–1: μαστούς τ' ἔδειξε στέρνα θ' ὡς ἀγαλματος /

κάλλιστα (Talthybios' narrative of Polyxena's death); 564–5 Ἰδοῦ, τόδ' εἰ μὲν στέρνον ... / παῖειν προθυμῇ, παῖσον (he reports Polyxena's last words). This gesture and words are anticipated by Polyxena's allusion to her mother's breast in v. 424: ὦ στέρνα μαστοῖ θ', οἷ μ' ἐθρέψατ' ἡδέως.

4 This tradition actually refers to Polyxena rather than Hecuba: for example, Panfilo Nuvone, *Le sacrifice de Polyxène*, 1531, private collection; Giovanni Francesco Romanelli (1610–1662), *Le sacrifice de Polyxène*, New York, MOMA; Giambattista Pittoni (about 1733–1735) painted Polyxena going forth to Achilles' tomb (Louvre) and the sacrifice (Munich), but Polyxena is seen from behind, as a way for avoiding the representation of a virgin's breast.

5 Sometimes, as in this case, comedy is echoed not only by the allusion to a scene, but also by the reprise of the same metaphor. Both Clitophon (Ach. Tat. 1.11.3) and the protagonist of the *Georgos* have to choose whether to obey their father or Eros, who threatens them with fire arrows. This interior struggle is expressed by the verb μάχομαι. On stepmothers in Greek literature, see Watson 1995.

6 The parallel between Knemon and Hippolytus on the one hand, and between Demainete, his father's wife, and Phaedra on the other, is very close. Instead of dying like Hippolytus, Knemon fled from Athens to Egypt. Demainete left an inscribed tablet like Phaedra. The trial narrated appears as the result of the avoided tragedy.

7 Perry 1967, 146. According to Perry 1967, 140, “the novel is drama in a new quantitative dimension, not different in the nature of its substance and purpose from stage-drama, whose limits it transcends, but multiplied in respect to the number or length of its acts and capable of indefinite extension.”

8 Rohde already thought that the collective values of the city had disappeared in Greek culture under the Roman empire, giving way for expressing the individual through the synthesis of the novels. For recent accounts of this remark, see Goldhill 2000 and 2001.

9 Some cases of possible passage from the novel to theatre or vice versa are attested. Lucian reports that a Ninus (*Pseudologistes* 25) and a Parthenope (*De Saltatione* 2.54), namesake of the protagonist of the fragmentary novel *Metiochus and Partenope*, were characters of pantomimes; Persius (1.134) mentions a Callirhoe as the protagonist of a mime. A mime featuring a Leucippe is attested by Pap. Ber. Inv.13927: see Manteuffel 1929; Cunningham 1987; and Mignogna 1996.

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Apart from the “Big Five Novels,” see the main pieces of Greek theater alluded to in the novels: Aeschylus’ *Oresteia*; Sophocles’ *Suppliant Women*, the *Oedipus* plays, and *Electra*; Euripides’ *Phoenician Women*, *Orestes*, and *Hecuba*. Among secondary literature, see, particularly, *The Cambridge Companion to the Ancient Novel*, edited by Timothy Whitmarsh (2008; especially Morgan-Harrison’s “Intertextuality,” Bowie’s “Literary Milieux,” Goldhill’s “Genre,” and Morales’ “The History of Sexuality”). Apart from this collection, see also Alaux and Létoublon (1998); Anderson’s (1982) *Eros Sophistes: Ancient Novelists at Play*; Carrière’s (1979) *Le carnaval et la politique*; and Cueva’s (2004) *The Myths of Fiction: Studies in the Canonical Greek Novels*. See also Walden’s (1894) “Stage terms in Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*.” For the relationship between play with theatrical situations and dialogues in the novel as a testimony of polyphony, see Bakhtin’s œuvre and the third *Ancient Narrative* supplement, which is devoted to this relation.

CHAPTER 23

Poems in Petronius' *Satyrica*

Aldo Setaioli

Though verse may occasionally be found in other ancient novels (e.g. Apul. *Met.* 4.33; 9.8), and quotations from Homer that are linguistically integrated into the text often appear in Chariton, the *Satyrica* is unique in ancient fiction in that no less than 30 poems (including the Virgilian *cento* at 132.11) appear in the preserved parts alone. There are then at least as many poems that have been transmitted as fragments under the name of Petronius, mainly in the *Anthologia Latina*. Though these are anything but devoid of interest and have been rightly revalued (e.g. by Courtney 1991, 46–75, and Sommariva 2004), after a long neglect largely due to mistrust in their Petronian authenticity, we may confidently assume that the lack of context makes their full appreciation impossible. The poems transmitted together with the prose by Petronius' direct tradition are in fact an integral part of the novel (cf. Barnes 1971, 6–7; Connors 1998, 1, 4; Yeh 2007, 57) and acquire full meaning and import only in relationship to the prose frame in which they appear. On the one hand, literary nods and allusions often interpenetrate both the poem and the surrounding prose; and on the other, as we shall see, several of the poems that can be attributed to Encolpius define and demarcate a level distinct from that of the prose narrative, but inseparable from it, in that prose and verse alternate in expressing the moods of the character, as he goes through his multifarious adventures, or of the narrator, as he reports and recalls his past vicissitudes later in time. It can be added that these verse pieces tend to pour into the recognized mold of literary convention the often incongruous situations described in the prose, and to extract their universal implications (cf. Connors 1998, 2, 9, 50), and it may be said that they have an “organizing” function (Yeh 2007, 57). There are, besides, some poems which are even syntactically connected with the prose context. One is the poem recited by Tryphaena at 108.14,¹ which contains a *verbum dicendi* in

the first line, functioning as the main clause of a sentence begun in the preceding prose narrative (“*quis furor*” *exclamat* “*pacem convertit in arma?*” significantly quoted by Isidorus, *Orig.* 2.21.19 in this form: *quis furor, o cives, pacem convertit in arma?*; cf. Lucan. 1.8). Two others, 128.6 (Setaioli 1999b, 399–412; Yeh 2007, 87–88) and 136.6 (Setaioli 2004b), are often considered to be incomplete, but in reality both are the *parabole* of similes whose *antapodosis* rounding off the sentence is contained in the prose. Not unlike Isidorus with the poem at 108.14, the excerptor of the *Florilegia* tradition has changed the first line of 128.6, reported by him without the prose context, to make the poem syntactically self-standing (*veluti cum* has been changed to *si quando*). Even the *cento* at 132.11 functions as the main clause of a sentence begun in the prose. So, as far as we can see, all the poems in the *Satyrica* are complete, with the single exception of the two lines at 15.9.

Ernout, at the end of his edition, gives a list of nine different meters employed in the poems, including the fragments (Barnes 1971, 317, rightly remarks that “the variety of metres lends corresponding variety in the types of literary caricature and amusement available to the author”). Hexameters and elegiac couplets are by far the most common, but hendecasyllables are also well represented, and two other types are remarkable: the sotadeans used by a *cinaedus* in a solo performance at 23.3 and again by Encolpius at 132.8, and also the peculiar arrangement of two hexameters and one pentameter employed by Trimalchio in his epigram at 34.10 and then attempted again (unsuccessfully, as it seems) at 55.3. (For both poems in sotadeans, 23.3 and 132, cf. Setaioli 2003; Yeh 2007, 104, 525–531.)

Petronius’ poems have been especially investigated by Heinz Stubbe (1933, mostly the *Troiae halosis* and the *Bellum Civile*), E.J. Barnes (1971), Edward Courtney (1991), Catherine Connors (1998), and, lately, by Wei-Jong Yeh,² in a bulky book that addresses especially the problem of the nature of the *Satyrica*’s prosimetric mixture and—exhaustively—Petronius’ metrical technique. Concerning the former problem, we should at least remember that the recent publication of papyri containing scraps of ancient fiction with verse inserted in the prose has cast some doubt on the former classification of the *Satyrica* as a Menippean satire, a literary genre in which both verse and prose were employed (the connection of the *Satyrica* with Menippean satire was roundly denied by Astbury 1977, and recently strongly upheld by Yeh 2007, 20, 37–40; see also Baldwin’s contribution in this collection). One of these fragments, the so-called *Iolaus* (*P.Oxy.* 3010), appears to contain a lewd narrative, quite different from the Greek novels of idealized love that have come down to us, and it also features a speech in sotadeans uttered by a

gallus, i.e. a character not too different from Petronius' *cinaedus* reciting sotadeans at 23.3. Another narrative fragment containing verse inserted in the prose has since been published (the so-called *Tinouphis*), and this too seems to differ from the Greek novels previously known. Though both these papyri go back to a time later than Petronius, it is not impossible that a type of satiric narrative featuring roguish characters and employing both verse and prose preexisted the *Satyrিকা*; but our evidence is too meager to admit of any unqualified statement about the generic affiliation of Petronius' novel.

Surely there is a connection between the verse and the literary affinities displayed—and almost flaunted—in every page of the *Satyrিকা*, almost invariably in the form of parody and desecration. This is true for all the poetic forms appearing in the novel, but it is particularly evident in the use of sotadeans. Each of the two poems is a specimen of the two types of poetry attested for Sotades of Maroneia: song performed by the *cinaedi* and obscene parody of epic. The sotadeans at 23.3 are indeed recited by a *cinaedus*, and those at 132.8 cast Encolpius and his treacherous *mentula* in the roles of Achilles and Agamemnon in *Iliad* 1: as in Homer, after a frustrated attempt to exact bloody vengeance, the indignant hero is content with hurling verbal abuse at the culprit. As often, the parodic mood overflows into the prose and reaches the climax with the *cento* (132.11) obscenely desecrating two of Virgil's loftiest figures: Euryalus and Dido. These (132.8 and 132.11) are two of the very few poems that are functional to the narrative, carrying it forward, rather than pausing to reflect on the situation sketched in the prose.

Some of the *Satyrিকা*'s verse does in fact contain programmatic references to the author's literary attitude. The scholars who see a hint at the novel's closeness to the mime in the second part of the poem at 80.9 (v. 5 *grex agit in scaena mimum*; cf. Connors 1998, 13–14) are probably right—with no need to split the eight lines of the poem into two parts of four lines each, as there are clear structural links uniting the two parts,³ and the poem is given as a whole in the manuscript tradition, with the two parts first separated by Pithou in his second edition of 1578 (followed, among others, by Buecheler and Müller). In view of this, assuming that the last four lines were added to those that precede by an excerptor who saw the closeness and similarity of two different poems is a clear case of begging the question (cf. Slater 1990, 160; Buecheler 1862, 95, already believed that these verses “ex alio loco inlati sunt”).

Several other such programmatic references have been seen in other poems and passages, including such unlikely details as the pastry Priapus at 60.4, the pebble in fr. 40.8 M., and the parrot in fr. 45 M.,⁴ but, strangely enough, many scholars refuse to recognize them

where, in my opinion, they are most evident. At 132.12, Encolpius feigns shame for having addressed his recalcitrant *mentula*, but immediately following this (132.13–14) he adduces the examples of common people cursing their aching limbs (those who complain about their belly remind us of Trimalchio at 57.2) and of epic and tragic heroes addressing parts of their own body (Ulysses is explicitly mentioned, Sophocles’ Oedipus is clearly alluded to), and finally breaks into verse (132.15)⁵ to vindicate his *novae simplicitatis opus* and the smiling *gratia* candidly portraying matters of sex as opposed to the supercilious hypocrisy of his censors, who are also targeted in the following prose sentence. The stage illusion is undoubtedly broken here. Encolpius is alone: he would not need to justify his outburst, as there has been no witness, and nobody is there to listen anyway. However, Encolpius—and Petronius behind him⁶—is addressing his readers; the whole context (prose and verse) lucidly lays bare the main components of the work (*opus*; and cf. the genitive of quality, comparable to 4.5 *schedium Lucilianae humilitatis*, where a literary composition is surely referred to): “realism,” literary parody, freedom to treat themes like sex, excluded from so-called “high” literature, sincerity joined with urbanity of expression, and—this is probably the deeper meaning of the final hint at Epicurus—art aiming at pleasure alone, with no pretense of usefulness. The poem was certainly understood as a literary program by Martial, as made clear by the introductory epistle to the first book of his *Epigrams*. Verbal parallels are clear and numerous (cf. Setaioli 1997, 154–155, and also other passages of Martial).

All the poems not attributable to Encolpius, the narrating voice, must of course be actually recited by some other character in order to be reported in the narrative (although, as we have seen, the poem recited by Tryphaena at 108.14 contains a *verbum dicendi* belonging in the narrator’s report, so that its nature of authorial elaboration with no claim to actual mimesis is exposed). This poem, however, is a clear parody of epic speeches, as shown by the multiple allusions in the verse itself and in the whole context, as well as by the formula signaling the end of Tryphaena’s speech, which clearly hints at those employed in epic (of the type *haec ubi dicta dedit*) and temporarily keeps the metric pattern even in the ensuing prose through the solemn rhythm produced by the first half of a totally spondaic hexameter: *haec ut turbato clamore mulier effudit* (109.1).

One single poem is also recited by Quartilla (18.6: a generalizing conclusion of a speech begun in prose) (cf. Barnes 1971, 277–278; Yeh 2007, 505–506), Oenothea (132.14), and the *cinaedus* (23.3, discussed earlier). The poem at 14.2 (Setaioli 1998a; Yeh 2007, 507–508) is commonly thought to be recited by Ascyltos, but this is based on an

editorial transposition with no support in the tradition. In the mangled text we possess, it surely makes more sense if uttered by Ascyrtos, but it might equally well be a reflection by Encolpius. Ascyrtos never speaks in verse anywhere else in the *Satyrice*.

The one poem recited by the rhetor Agamemnon (Setaioli 2002–2003; Yeh 2007, 409–412, 511–516) is very important, in that, in connection with the preceding prose, it presents an educational program which must be assessed against the background of what we know of contemporary literary culture. This poem is made up of two parts in different meters (choliambics and hexameters) clearly connected with each other (another single poem in two different meters is probably 109.9–10: elegiac couplets and hendecasyllables: see the following text). The first part treats the moral requirements to become a successful orator; the second the studies necessary to attain the goal. The two parts are clearly connected by the strongly stressed *sed* opening the section in hexameters, marking the transition from the part in choliambics, cast in the negative form through the mention of the vices the future orator must be free from, to the positive program of literary studies. The poem is not, very probably, the *schedium Lucilianae humilitatis* (4.5), which must refer to a poem previously recited, possibly by Encolpius. Agamemnon introduces it by stating that he too (*et ipse*; 4.5) will express his literary ideas in verse (*carmine*), lest Encolpius should think that he (Agamemnon) did not appreciate (*improbasse*; notice the past tense) the “improvisation in Lucilius’ simple style,” i.e. the *schedium*, which, as a consequence, cannot be the poem he has not yet recited.

Agamemnon’s questionable morals, as well as his intention and capability to carry out the program he proposes, are immaterial when the program itself is analyzed and evaluated. There are ideas clearly paralleled in contemporary or roughly contemporary rhetoric, sometimes with striking verbal similarities (the clearest parallels are perhaps to be found in Quintilian, e.g. 10.5.14–16; cf. Setaioli 2002–2003, 271). Like Eumolpus, and like the author of the *Peri hypsous*, Agamemnon advocates the harmonization of inspired utterance (13–14 *mittat habenas / liber*; cf. 118.6 [Eumolpus] *praecipitandus est liber spiritus ... furentis animi vaticinatio*; *de subl.* 13.2, 15.4, 32.1, 32.4) and painstaking literary training (21–22 *flumine largo / plenus* and 4.3 *lectione severa irrigarentur*; cf. 118.3 [Eumolpus] *ingenti flumine litterarum inundata*; 118.6 *plenus litteris*; *de subl.* 13.2–3). It is, of course, impossible to ascertain whether Petronius approved or disapproved of this program and whether he judged it appropriate or not appropriate to the situation and needs of Roman culture at the time; but it must be realized that what is presented here are ideas that had full right of citizenship in the contemporary debate. The frequent

attempts to pass off Agamemnon's educational program as risible and absurd in itself are therefore unjustified.

The assessment of Eumolpus and his poetry is even more complex. Eumolpus is an important character in what survives of the *Satyricon*, and a professional poet. We have just sketched some of his theoretical ideas; he makes further statements in close connection with his most ambitious poetic essay, the *Bellum Civile*. Like Agamemnon's, Eumolpus' morals too are questionable at best; but in my opinion it would be a misunderstanding if we believed, as some scholars do, that he uses poetry as a means to other ends. Quite the opposite: he is a compulsive poet who cannot give up what he believes to be his calling, even though he has long since realized that it offers no practical benefits. No doubt, he is a swindler and a rogue; he will wear the mask of the philosopher to seduce the youth of Pergamum, but poetry for him is never role-playing; the "mime" he stages at Croton is only metaphorically literary; and, in the shipwreck, he turns to poetry not to seek a *famosa mors*, like Horace's *vesanus poeta* (AP 455–469) (he has not *planned* to die), but to face death in his real and true capacity—as a poet, as Giton and Encolpius face it as lovers.

How is this to be reconciled with the actual samples of poetry with which Eumolpus regales the reader in the course of the narrative? And how does Petronius judge them? The first poem recited by Eumolpus (83.10; cf. Setaioli 1998b, 221–226; Connors 1998, 63–64; Habermehl 2006, 84–88; Yeh 2007, 394–399) is in the form of a *priamel* listing different lifestyles, like Horace's first—and introductory—ode; but, unlike Horace, Eumolpus' choice of a life devoted to poetry has to face a social situation in which all lifestyles are really reduced to one: all activities are pursued with the quest for money as the only goal; all *bioi* have become a universal *philochrē matos bios*. Poetry is different from all other activities in that it does not afford practical rewards. Eumolpus obviously resents this; still, poetry is and will remain his choice. Just as Horace's first ode, the poem may be regarded as a sort of introduction to the poetry Eumolpus will produce in the novel, or rather to his whole way of being and acting. The omnipotence of money is, of course, one of the main themes of the *Satyricon*, and appears in several poems too (e.g. Stöcker 1969, 146–151), but it is also a prominent feature in Eumolpus' most ambitious poetical essay, the *Bellum Civile* (119.41–55). The other two short poems he recites are impromptu compositions; but the first one, 93.2, which, like 83.10, continues a speech begun in prose, and contains a tirade against the craze for the exotic, also features a theme that not only appears in the verse recited by Trimalchio at 55.6, but again presents very close parallels with the beginning of the *Bellum Civile*.⁷ The second, 109.9–10 (cf. Setaioli 2006a; Yeh 2007, 516–521; Landolfi

forthcoming), is a *paignion* on Encolpius' and Giton's temporary baldness. Like the poem in Chapter 5, it appears to be made up of two parts, the first one in elegiacs, the second in hendecasyllables. According to several scholars, however, these are two separate poems, perhaps originally separated by a prose interlude suppressed by the excerptor. Hence, for example, Habermehl (2006, 471–479) and Barnes (1971, 242–253) believe the hendecasyllables to be directed at Giton and the elegiacs to describe Eumolpus' own baldness. Yeh (2007) and Landolfi (forthcoming) consider 109.9–10 as one poem.

As a professional poet, Eumolpus produces the two ostensibly very ambitious poetic pieces in the novel: the *Troiae halosis* (89) and the *Bellum Civile* (119–124.1).⁸ The recitation of the first one is greeted with a throwing of stones by some accidental listeners (90.1). This might be taken as a covert judgment passed by the author; but the contemporary public, as portrayed in the *Satyrice*, hates poetry, be it good or bad (90.2–3; 93.3),⁹ and Eumolpus has a point when he considers that his poetic calling marginalizes him in contemporary society (84). This is humorously offset through the fleeting appearance of the one character who fervidly admires Eumolpus: Bargates (96.4–7). Also, we should not forget that the *Troiae halosis* is presented as an *impromptu ekphrasis* of a painting (89 *conabor opus versibus pandere*) and the *Bellum Civile* as an unfinished and unperfected poem (115.4; 118.6—and the last line of the poem does appear like a stopgap).

The *Troiae halosis*—the title is curiously reminiscent of the *Halosis Ilii* reportedly sung by Nero during the fire of Rome: Suet. *Nero* 38.2, though in Petronius it is referred to the painting, not to the poem—is often taken to be a parody of Senecan tragedy (denied, e.g. by Barnes 1971, 92–94, and Yeh 2007, 486–487, though the latter [422–434] stresses the poem's metric affinity with Seneca's tragic trimeter), as it is written in tragic meter (iambic trimeters), and it does somehow resemble the reports of “messengers” common in tragedy—the ekphrastic pretext is in fact totally forgotten; the poem is developed as the report of different moments and scenes by an eyewitness, indeed by a Trojan: there are verbs in the first-person plural (11, 35), and even the apostrophe *o patria* (11). But of course, the description, and indeed the readers' expectations, could hardly prescind from Virgil's narrative in *Aeneid* 210—though with the meaningful shift of attitude we shall presently try to sketch.

The other extensive poetic essay, the *Bellum Civile*, is introduced by Eumolpus with clear references to Lucan: when he says (118.6) that historical epic cannot dispense with the traditional mythological machinery, he surely has the *Pharsalia* in mind, a poem that had done away with mythological gods. Indeed, Eumolpus' poem covers the same subject as Lucan's first book, and there are clear reminiscences

of the *Pharsalia*, including parts that had not been published by Lucan in his lifetime (e.g. 294 ~ Lucan. 7.473, 8.33–34). Given Eumolpus' attitude (at 118.5, he calls Virgil Rome's national poet: *Romanus Vergilius*), the reader expects him to stick to Virgilian expressive modes, and in a way he is not disappointed. There are of course numerous Virgilian reminiscences (cf. e.g. Barnes 1971, 143), although Eumolpus' hexameter may be less close to Virgil's than has been routinely assumed.¹¹ And, at 123.229–237, Eumolpus recasts a simile borrowed from Lucan (1.498–509) into a typically Virgilian mold (*parabole* introduced by *ac velut[i] ... cum*, with *ac* and *velut* reinforcing each other: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.626 ff.; 4.402 ff.; 6.707 ff.), which is also found in Statius (*Theb.* 5.599 ff.; 7.436 ff.) and Silius (4.302 ff.), but never in Lucan. This formal detail is already a token of the natural evolution of the supposedly traditional, Virgilian branch of Roman epic.

The divine figures of the *Bellum Civile*, such as *Fortuna* or *Discordia*, are personified allegories more reminiscent of Statius than of Virgil. And in both the *Bellum Civile* and the *Troiae halosis*, we witness an almost morbidly sinister transfiguration of Virgilian elements to fit a dark and hopeless overall picture: for example, the figure of Laocoon in the *Troiae halosis*, where no redeeming hope for the future is in view, and some pointed reversals of Virgilian descriptions in the *Bellum Civile* (e.g. 119.53 ~ Verg. *Aen.* 6.673, 124.253 *ac maerens lacera Concordia palla* ~ *Aen.* 8.702 *et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla*; 124.272 *extulit ad superos Stygium caput* ~ *Aen.* 1.127 *summa placidum caput extulit unda*).

Ever since Seneca the Elder (*Contr.* 1, *praef.* 6–7), Roman writers had the feeling of living in an age of epigones. Some, like Lucan, tried to open new paths; some, like Eumolpus and his rightful heirs Statius and Silius, refused to follow them, and though they did attempt some interesting experiments (such as the fusion of epic and tragedy or the “expressionist” exasperation of the received patterns), their poetry was bound to be caught in a dead-end road.

In conclusion, though we will never know what Petronius thought of Lucan's epic and the alternative approach represented by Eumolpus, we should be aware that, as in the case of Agamemnon's ideas on rhetoric, he presents us with a position that had full right of citizenship in the contemporary debate, and actually gained the upper hand in the following generation. Eumolpus surely represents a recognized cultural trend; the correspondence of the judgment he passes on an historical epic with no mythological machinery (118.6: *quod longe melius historici faciunt*) with the evaluation of Lucan as an historian rather than a poet that obtained down to the end of antiquity and beyond (Serv., *ad Aen.* 1.382 *Lucanus ... in numero poetarum esse*

non meruit, quia videtur historiam composuisse, non poema, almost literally repeated by Isid. orig. 8.7.10; *Lucan. comm. Bern.* 1.1 *Lucanus dicitur a plerisque non esse in numero poetarum, quia omnino historiam sequitur*; Iordanes, *Get.* 5.43 *Lucano plus historico quam poeta testante*; cf. already Mart. 14.194) cannot certainly be coincidental.

Another character in the novel is portrayed as customarily composing poetry: the rich but ignorant Trimalchio. He epitomizes a social phenomenon exposed by Horace (*Epist.* 2.1.117: *scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim*). For the former slave, this is a way to assert his social success. Interestingly enough, not all of Trimalchio's poetry that is recited in the novel is actually reported (41.6; neither is Trimalchio's recital of mime at 35.6; similarly, only the first line of the recitation by Habinnas' slave is reported 68.4; but it is immediately followed by Encolpius' expression of disgust 68.5), but only a few specimens recited by himself, obviously sufficient to show how bad a poet he is. The two "epigrams" at 34.10 and 55.3 (cf. Setaioli 2004a; Yeh 2007, 95–98, 521–524) contain the whole, very commonplace "philosophy" of the author: enjoyment—especially food and drink—is the only remedy against death and misfortune. The first one has been obviously prepared beforehand and is introduced with a careful stage direction: 100-year-old wine, a prose speech opening with the same word as the poem (*eheu*) and containing its most conspicuous one (*homuncio*), the silver skeleton. The meter (two hexameters followed by a pentameter) is typical of uncultured literary production (it is commonly used in funerary inscriptions), and, with Trimalchio's failure to keep the correct grammar (*sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet Orcus*, instead of *abstulerit*), it neatly characterizes his pretentious ignorance. The second epigram (55.3) is composed at the moment, after the fall of an acrobat, which could have hardly been planned in advance (Yeh 2007, 96, cf. 97–98, 521–524, implausibly thinks that the acrobat's fall has been planned beforehand, and even less plausibly that 34.10 and 55.3 really constitute one single poem). Trimalchio asks for writing material, but cannot concentrate for too long and comes out with three metrically very defective lines, a vain attempt to reproduce the meter of the previous poem. The third poem is recited by Trimalchio immediately after (55.6) and attributed by him to Publilius Syrus. These lines are probably by Petronius,¹² but they too must aim to characterize Trimalchio. His pairing of Cicero and Publilius, which introduces the verse, is surely meant as a sign of his ignorance. That these lines intend to parody Seneca's use of quotations from Publilius in his moral writing (cf. Courtney 1991, 21) is surely possible, but it is hard to believe that the author has totally superimposed himself upon his character.

The poems that can be attributed to Encolpius are both the most

interesting and the most difficult to assess. He is the narrator, and does not need to utter his poems as an acting character in order to report them. Actually, aside from the prayer to Priapus at 133.3, no poem appears to be recited by the character Encolpius, including 126.18 (cf. Setaioli 1998b, 232–237; Connors 1998, 70); the words at 127.1 (*delectata risit tam blandum*) probably appear after a lacuna and are hardly the description of Circe’s reaction to Encolpius’ poem);¹³ and we are not sure whether the *schedium Lucilianae humilitatis* (4.5) was recited by him to Agamemnon, even though, as we saw, this appears to be possible. Poems by Encolpius appear at 79.8, 80.9, 126.18, 127.9, 128.6, 131.8, 132.8, 132.11 (Virgilian *cento*), 132.15, 133.3, 135.8, 136.6, 137.9, and 139.2. He is probably the author also of 82.5 (cf. Setaioli 1998b, 217–221; Habermehl 2006, 52–56), utterly lacking a context; 15.9 (two isolated lines, the only surely incomplete poem); and possibly also of 14.2, which, as we have seen, most editors attribute to Ascylos.

Two of these poems, 133.3 and 139.2 (Setaioli forthcoming), are crucial for the interpretation of the novel as a whole. In both, the central figure is the god Priapus. The first one is a prayer addressed to him by Encolpius after being affected by sexual impotence, modeled after well-known patterns of such invocations, and containing the confession of a “minor fault” (*culpaeque ignosce minori*; v. 11) as well as a declaration of innocence as far as such grievous faults as murder and sacrilege are concerned. The second is a list in the form of a *priamel* of heroes who were persecuted by some god, culminating with Encolpius himself, hounded, as he says, by the wrath of Priapus.

About 120 years ago, Elimar Klebs (1889) used 139.2 to support his theory that the wrath of Priapus was the *leitmotiv* granting unity not merely to the parts that came down to us, but to the novel as a whole, ever since its beginning (probably in the city of Massilia), and fulfilling the same function as the wrath of Poseidon in the *Odyssey*. Klebs’ theory enjoyed great success, and is accepted even today by several scholars, though the idea of Priapus’ wrath persecuting Encolpius from the very beginning hardly seems to be well founded. It is based on the notion that Encolpius’ impotence should be regarded as a *punishment*, whereas, in his prayer to Priapus, Encolpius himself sees it as a *fault*, even though a minor one, for which he must ask for the god’s forgiveness, as confirmed by his statement that this fault was committed with only one part of the body (133.3.9). It is also clear, despite the efforts of some scholars, that Encolpius was not impotent before his adventure with Circe (cf. 11.1, 24.7, 79.8, 129.1; in 20.2 and 23.5, Encolpius’ failures are due to exhaustion and disgust, respectively), and that he is not only saddened, but also surprised by his failure with her.

His declaration of innocence as far as murder and sacrilege are concerned, however, does not necessarily imply that he never committed these crimes. The confession of minor faults, while disclaiming more grievous ones, obeys a well-attested pattern of ancient prayers. Clearly, Encolpius is referring to the present situation, in which the fault to be forgiven is only his impotence with Circe, not any crime he may have committed in the past. In the preceding parts of the novel, we come across at least three passages (9.8 [Ascyrtos], 81.3, 130.1–2) that impel us to believe that Encolpius is really guilty of murder and sacrilege. The efforts of some scholars to consider these three passages as unreliable, and thus clear Encolpius of these crimes, are unconvincing; it is difficult to understand why Encolpius (as well as Ascyrtos) should always lie, and tell the truth only once—furthermore in his very prayer to Priapus, in which such a declaration of innocence was required by the accepted patterns of religious speech.

Besides, Encolpius does not come immediately, but rather slowly and gradually, to the conclusion of being persecuted by a god, like the mythological heroes of 139.2. At first, he thinks of magic (128.8; and still at 138.7), and even of psychological and pathological reasons (130.5; 7–8); but, whatever the cause, it is clear that impotence is an offence against the god of sex, Priapus, for which forgiveness must be asked. Finally, since nothing avails, be it magic, medicine, or prayer, Encolpius comes to the conclusion that he must be persecuted by that god, and that his impotence is not merely a fault, but also and primarily the effect of Priapus' wrath (139.2.7–8); and he sticks to this idea in the few more surviving pages (140.11, 140.12). In this whole episode, Encolpius' mind comes to be more and more dominated by Priapus—which means that the god plays an important role in this part of the story, but hardly warrants the attribution to him of such a central function from the very beginning of the novel.

Not rarely, Encolpius' poems are presented as his own reflections, which “universalize” the specific situation being narrated; however, neither do they all belong to this type, nor do they invariably define the moods of the acting character as opposed to the more detached attitude of the narrator at the moment he reports his past adventures. Some are mere descriptions: 131.8 (cf. Barnes 1971, 231; Connors 1998, 71–72); 135.8; in one case (132.8; cf. 132.11), the poem continues the narrative. It is clearly a fallacy to believe that the poems invariably represent the literary transfiguration through which reality is perceived by the naïve or “mythomaniac” character Encolpius—and that it is exposed every time as delusion by the older and more mature narrator in the prose. Sometimes the verse clearly reveals that the literary transfiguration continues in the narrator's present: the poem

at 136.6 (Setaioli 2004b) proves that the narrating voice still believes that the geese with which he has fought in the narrated adventure were like mythological monsters, as shown by the present tense (136.6.1–2 *tales Herculeae Stymphalidas arte coactas/ad caelum fugisse reor*). In reality, the moments in time defined by the poems are interchangeable: 126.18 and 139.2 appear to be the acting character's reflections, 80.9 and 137.9 the narrator's. At times, the narrator vividly relives in verse the emotions he experienced as a character: 79.8 (*qualis nox fuit illa, di deaeque*; Setaioli 2001b; Habermehl 2006, 7–10) clearly reflects the narrator's standpoint, as shown by the perfect tenses; but, in the prose, he has his sobering present violently break in upon his cherished past: *sine causa gratulor mihi*. In general, when verse and prose define two different moments, it is always the narrator—and of course Petronius behind him—who contrives this effect for artistic purposes; the two moments can never be separated, if we are not to miss the author's subtle play.

In the cycle of poems connected with Encolpius' adventure with Circe (126.18, 127.9; cf. Setaioli 1999a, 131.8, with 128.6, Setaioli 1999b, Yeh 2007, 87–88, in between), the first two poems hark back not merely to the *Odyssey*, but to an even greater extent to *Iliad* 14 (Zeus and Hera making love on Mount Ida), but with a pointed reversal of the sexual roles, made explicit in the prose context (cf. Setaioli 1999a, 254–257). The scene is transposed from nature to a garden (cf. also 131.8). The poems taken in and by themselves appear totally serious; Encolpius' impotence, narrated in the prose, forms the other panel of the diptych, which can only be understood and enjoyed as a whole.

In the Oenothea episode (Setaioli 2004b; Perutelli 1986; Winter 1992), while the prose consistently depicts a sordid reality, the four poems (including the first one, 134.12, recited by the priestess) register the changing moods of Encolpius and hark back to different literary models: Theocritus (134.12), Callimachus, and Ovid (135.8, in which Callimachus' *Hecale* is expressly quoted), epic (136.6). The fourth poem, 137.9 (Setaioli 2006b; Yeh 2007, 502–505) in elegiac couplets, whereas the previous ones are in hexameters, is a reflection on the omnipotence of money, prompted by the conclusion of the episode. The last two poems reflect the standpoint of the narrator; both contain a verb in the first person of the present tense (136.6.2 *reor*; 137.9.9 *multa loquor*), but they define two different attitudes: the continued literary transfiguration on the one hand, the disenchanting assessment of reality on the other: obviously, not even the sadder but wiser Encolpius has entirely lost his irremediable literary “idealism.”

Notes

1 cf. Setaioli 1998b, 226–232; Connors 1998, 76; Habermehl 2006, 452–458; Yeh 2007, 399–404. For reasons of space, I avoid detailed mention of the relevant bibliography as far as the single poems are concerned, and will refer to my papers covering most of them, in which it is systematically surveyed—though of course it is presupposed here too. I further refer to the bibliography on Petronius’ poems, quoted and discussed by Yeh 2007, and, for recent scholarship on Petronius in general, to Vannini 2007. See also Habermehl 2006, for the parts covered by his commentary.

2 Yeh 2007, whose conclusions, though ostensibly based on a thorough analysis of metrical technique, often appear to be far-fetched and hardly convincing. He dates the *Satyrica* under the reign of Domitian. Among the numerous papers concerned with Petronius’ poems, mention may be made of Beck 1973 and Sommariva 1996.

3 For 80.9, see Setaioli 2001a, with the literature quoted and discussed; also Yeh 2007, 107–108, who considers the verses as one poem, and Habermehl 2006, 24–32, who splits them in two. It should be emphasized that *nomen amicitiae* (v. 1) corresponds to *nomen divitis* (v. 6); *vultum* (v. 3) and *ora* (v. 4) correspond to *facies* (v. 8); and *vultum servatis* (v. 3) anticipates both the theatrical metaphor of vv. 5–8 and the emphasis that these final lines place on pretence and fictionality. In modern terms, we can say that the “hypocrisy” of false friendship, which is the subject of the first part of the poem, is explained and revealed, as it were, through an etymological association (*hypokritēs* is the Greek word for actor) by the description of theatrical pretense in the second.

4 I’m referring to Connors 1998, 30 pastry Priapus; 79–80 pebble; 47–49 parrot. She also sees programmatic references in Encolpius’ sotadeans (33) and, as already hinted, in the verse on the mime at 80.9 (13–14).

5 Setaioli 1997; 1998b, 237–239; 1999b, 412–415; Connors 1998, 72 n. 57: “clearly though it is best to read this poem within the frame of Encolpius’ character”; Yeh 2007, 553–556.

6 The scholars who admit that this poem does deal with expression, but limit it to the character Encolpius, fail to see that the latter’s wording of the story is identical to the text of the *Satyrica*, which is presented as a report by him. See, for example Barnes 1971, 254–274; he, like others, limits the *opus* alluded to by Encolpius to the single episode in which the poem appears. Connors 1998, 146 (“in Petronius’ novel, the narrating voice does not seem to consider anything off limits: as Encolpius says [132.15.4], ‘whatever people

do, my lucid tongue reports”) implicitly contradicts her former statement (cf. preceding note); it is in fact the “narrating voice” that creates the text of the novel.

7 For example, Petr. 93.2.3–5 *at albus anser / et pictis anas renovata pennis / plebeium sapit*; 10 *quicquid quaeritur, optimum videtur* ~ 119.7–8 *non vulgo nota placebant / gaudia, non usu plebeio trita voluptas*.

8 The problems raised by these two compositions are too complex to be properly addressed here. We shall treat them solely in their relations, *qua* poems, to the prose narrative as well as to the other verse parts of the novel. A clever simile proposed by Connors 1998, 100, should be kept in mind: the *Bellum Civile* is like a rat swallowed by a python; as a part of the *Satyrica*, it produces a very different impression from the one we would get if it were a free-standing piece. For the *Troiae halosis* and the *Bellum Civile*, see Yeh 2007, 116–188, 195–385, 423–470.

9 Encolpius himself seems at times to share this attitude (90.3; cf. 93.3), although he is consistently portrayed as compulsively associating his own adventures with those of literary heroes. The impression produced upon him by the *Bellum Civile* is expressed somehow ambiguously (124.2 *cum haec Eumolpus ingenti volubilitate verborum effudisset*; such *volubilitas* was disparagingly associated with the shallow verbosity often attributed to the contemporary Greeks: Plin., *Ep.* 5.20.4; Val. Max. 2.2.2). At 110.1 (*plura volebat proferre, credo, et ineptiora praeteritis*), Encolpius is simply reacting to Eumolpus’ *paignion*, making fun of his and Giton’s temporary baldness.

10 Stubbe 1933, 31–37, though conceding that Petronius (or rather Eumolpus) tries to emulate Virgil, strangely denies that he directly referred to the *Aeneid* (31: “es läßt sich jedenfalls deutlich zeigen, daß Petron den zu behandelnden Stoff sich nicht an einem ihm vorliegenden Aeneistext vergegenwärtigte”). Any details that come from different sources acquire special significance and relief only in relation with the Vergilian version.

11 Stubbe 1993, 103; Barnes 1971, 128; Connors 1998, 116 n. 47—all have stressed the closeness of Eumolpus’ hexameter to the Vergilian pattern. On the basis of a thorough metrical analysis, however, Yeh 2007, 259, concludes that the meter of the *Bellum Civile* differs both from Virgil’s and from Lucan’s. It rather shows archaizing leanings, and is close to Silius Italicus’ hexameter; Yeh 2007, 385, 575, etc.

12 Most recent scholarship agrees on this. For Barnes 1971, 54, the poem is neither a fragment nor an imitation of Publilius, but merely

aims to convey Trimalchio's impression of his poetry. Yeh 2007 is rather confused: on p. 102, he states that 55.6 cannot be by Trimalchio, since there are no metric faults, and on p. 422 attributes it to Publilius Syrus. However, at the end of the metrical analysis of the poem (pp. 471–485), he concludes that there are too many archaizing elements for an authentic specimen of Publilius' poetry. If I understand correctly, he thinks that Trimalchio wrongly attributes to Publilius verses written by somebody else (not by Petronius).

13 As believed, among others, by Beck 1973, 50, and Yeh 2007, 79. In the text as we have it, there is nothing to show that the poem is recited by Encolpius to Circe in the situation reported. Therefore, there must be at least one lacuna, either before the verse (possibly, but not necessarily, a passage stating that the poem is actually recited to Circe), or, more probably, after (a caption giving the reason for the lady's smile). In the tradition, the poem is actually preceded and followed by the indication of a lacuna.

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CHAPTER 24

Various Asses

Niall W. Slater

Since the Renaissance, we have known of at least three literary asses on the hoof in antiquity, with one more shadowy candidate lurking on the edge of the herd, and now a fifth making an appearance. The time seems right to consider whether we have the proper model for explaining such a growing herd—and how a different studbook might alter in particular the way we understand the most robust survivor of the group.

Two versions of the story of a man turned into an ass and then back again survive essentially intact: a one-book Greek version of the Ass (hereafter the *Onos*), passed down along with works of Lucian, though the scholarly consensus today is that its stylistic quality is not up to Lucian's own, and Apuleius' marvelous tale in 11 books that comes down to us under two titles, both as the *Metamorphoses* and *The Golden Ass*. The Byzantine patriarch Photius tells us that he read a much longer work in "several volumes" entitled the *Metamorphoseis*, by a "Loukios of Patrae" (clearly also the name of the principal character in that narrative), of which:

Οἱ δὲ γε πρῶ τοι αὐτοῦ δύο λόγοι μόνον οὐ μετεγράφησαν
Λουκίῳ ἐκ τοῦ Λουκιανοῦ λόγου ὃς ἐπιγράφεται 'Λοῦκῆς ἢ
Ὀνος' ἢ ἐκ τῶν Λουκίου λόγων Λουκιανῶ. Ἔοικε δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ
Λουκιανὸς μεταγράφοντι, ὅσον εἰκάζειν· τίς γὰρ χρόνῳ
πρεσβύτερος, οὐπω ἔχομεν γινῶναι. (The first two books were
transcribed almost exactly by Loukios from the work of Lucian
entitled "Loukis or the Ass," or by Lucian from the work of
Loukios. However, it seems more likely that it was Lucian who
did the transcribing, as far as one can guess, for we no longer can
know which of the two was older ... (Photius, *Codex* 129, text
and translation Mason)

With only Photius' summary to go on for this lost work, scholars have

long debated over how much of the text the patriarch actually read (despite his statement about “several volumes”), and how good his own sense for literary history was. With just three points of comparison, one of them lost except in summary, scholars have naturally gravitated toward a stemmatic model for understanding the relations of these narratives. The number of possible stemmata is quite limited, especially if we make a further assumption that is almost universal, although not regularly articulated, that Roman authors may be inspired by, adapt, or even copy from Greek authors, but the Greeks almost never repaid the compliment. Thus, the surviving *Onos* must either be the source for, or adapted from, the lost books of Loukios of Patrae’s *Metamorphoseis*, and, given the close correspondence in both narrative and even phrasing, Apuleius has used one of those Greek narratives for his inspiration. Hugh Mason (1994) has summed up centuries of debate on these questions in a magisterial study and laid out what now stands as the general consensus: both the surviving pseudo-Lucianic *Onos* and *The Golden Ass* depend on the lost *Metamorphoseis*.

Mason also makes two other points worth noting here at the outset. First, while the anonymous author of the *Onos* turns two books of a previous version into one of his own, the resulting narrative may not be very much shorter than the original: the present *Onos* is significantly longer than many comparable books of Greek prose (Mason 1994, 1693). Second, there is no evidence that the books following the first two in the lost *Metamorphoseis* were further adventures of the narrator in ass form, nor is it likely that the narrator Loukios of Patrae underwent metamorphoses into other forms to provide further stories. Rather, the remaining books might have been stories Loukios heard—or simply a collection of transformation tales. Some scholars since Salmasius in 1629 have wished to see these later stories as source material for Apuleius’ additions to the *Ass* narrative (Mason 1994, 1693), and there is an initial plausibility to the suggestion. For example, in Book 8.19–21 of *The Golden Ass*, following the dreadful death of Charite, her servants in the country decide to abandon their farm, taking Lucius with them. On their journey, they meet an old man who pleads for help in rescuing his grandson who has fallen into a pit. One of the escapees goes to help. When he fails to return, another goes to look for him and finds a giant snake devouring the first man’s body. Lucius concludes the snake was the old man who thus preyed on travelers. Such a horrific metamorphosis tale could originate in the lost books of the Greek *Metamorphoseis*, but by no means all or indeed very many of Apuleius’ narrative additions involve metamorphosis, and the general view now is that Apuleius invented or found other sources for the material that does not appear

in the *Onos*, most famously his 11th book.

It is worth making explicit one more implication of envisioning the lost Greek *Metamorphoseis* as a collection of various transformation tales, whether Loukios of Patrae played a role within the text of weaving those tales together or not. Its existence attests a market for such transformation tales, as well as ample material to gather from, and the Ass narrative, as the very first part of the collection, could be counted on as a good way to draw readers or hearers in.

One more shadow of an Ass has been lurking about since the fourteenth century, when Zanobi da Strada and Boccaccio both apparently saw and copied it from a now lost manuscript. This is the so-called *spurcum additamentum* or “dirty add-on,” a designation, one must admit, that prejudices the case every time it is used. All of our texts of *The Golden Ass* descend from a single manuscript from Monte Cassino, but now in Florence (F, Laur. 68.2: Reynolds 1983, 15–16). Zanobi da Strada wrote this passage in the margin of his copy from F at Book X, Chapter 21 of *The Golden Ass*, where Lucius narrates his sexual encounter in ass form with the libidinous matron. Some early scholars wanted to see these 81 words as a genuine lost bit of Apuleius’ original narrative (Robertson 1924, 31), though many found the description too pornographic for Apuleian taste, and there were oddities of vocabulary too (Mariotti 1956). In 1950, Antonio Mazzarino (1950, 43–58) suggested that it was rather a fragment of the Roman republican author Sisenna, known to have translated Aristides’ *Milesiaca*, and thus argued that both Aristides and Sisenna wrote versions of an Ass story. Eduard Fraenkel (1953; cf. Mariotti 1956, especially 246ff.) soon launched a powerful attack on the notion that the vocabulary of the passage could be Apuleian and offered a particularly compelling case that the apparent enumeration of the fingers by names not standard in Greek depends rather on a passage of Boethius about music and lyre strings. A consensus developed that the *spurcum additamentum* was a mediaeval forgery, a very learned one, given the veterinary details, but a forgery nonetheless.¹ Here matters rested until recently, when along with a defense of the passage’s place in Apuleius’ narrative, Ephraim Lytle (2003) offered an ingenious interpretation of those faulty Greek finger names as rather a rendition of musical sounds as the ass’ sexual enthusiasm rises. I give a standard version of the text with Zimmerman’s translation (2000), followed by Lytle’s version:²

(A1) (1) Et ercle orcium pigam perteretem Hyaci fragrantis et Chie rosacee lotionibus expiauit. (2) Ac dein digitis, hypate licanos mese paramese et nete, hastam mihi inguinis niuei spurci < ti > ei pluscule excoria < n > s emundauit. (3) Et cum ad

inguinis cephalum formosa mulier concitim ueniebat ab orbibus, ganniens ego et dentes ad Iouem eleuans Priapo < n > frequenti frictura porrixabam ipsoque pando et repando uentrem sepiuscule tactabam. (4) Ipsa quoque, inspiciens quod genius inter antheras exreuerat modicum illud morule, qua lustrum sterni mandauerat, anni sibi reuolutionem autumabat. ([A2] [1] And by Hercules, she cleansed the fine round pouch of my balls with perfumed wine and rosewater of Chios. [2] And then with her fingers, thumb, forefinger, middle finger, ring finger and little finger, she slightly skinned the shaft of my organ and cleaned it of its snow-white dirt. [3] And when she reached the top of my organ, the beautiful woman, rapidly coming there from my balls, I brayed and lifted my teeth to Jove, stretched out my Priapean member as a result of the frequent friction, and by moving it up and down I often touched the belly. [4] She too, observing what kind of genital had grown among her mixtures, affirmed that this small bit of delay, during which she had ordered our place of debauchery to be prepared, to her was the orbit of a year.)

(B1) Et, Hercule, orchium pygam perteretem hyacinthi fragrantis et Chiaie rosaceae lotionibus expurgavit [expiavit]. Dein, digitis, hypate lichanos mese paramese et nete, hastam mihi inguinis nivei spurci < ti > ei pluscule excorians emundavit. Et cum ad inguinis cephalum formosa mulier conatim veniebat ab orchibus, ganniens ego et dentes ad iovem elevans, priapo, frequenti frictura porrixabam, ipsoque pando et repando ventrem saepiuscule tractabam [tactabam]. Ipsa quoque, inspiciens quod genius inter anth. teneras excreverat, modicum morule qua lustrum sterni mandaverat anni sibi revolutionem autumabat. ([B2] And, by Hercules, she cleaned the hairless base of my balls with washes of fragrant hyacinth and Chiote roses. Then with her fingers—do re mi fa sol—she cleaned for me the shaft of my snow-white groin, scouring away much filth. And when this lovely woman was coming up from my balls to the end of my cock on her efforts, whinnying and lifting my teeth heavenward, I swelled with a hard-on from the constant rubbing and, with it growing out, and out some more, I caressed my belly with it repeatedly. Seeing what a member had grown in the midst of such sweet flowers, the modicum of delay in which she had instructed that the breeding stall be made ready seemed to her to have lasted as long as a year.)

The latest word on the subject, from Vincent Hunink (2006), points out some strains in Lytle's argument and once again rejects Apuleian authorship, without, however, insisting that this addition or forgery must specifically be as late as the eleventh or twelfth century.³

If we assume that only a medieval forger would be interested in creating the *spurcum additamentum*, it tells us nothing of the circulation of Ass narratives in antiquity; but if Lytle argues correctly that the Greek names designate musical tones rather than fingers, the argument that it must be post-Boethian is less certain. The passage could testify that someone, more likely a reader than Apuleius himself, had put into circulation either a fuller or indeed another narrative of the man turned into an ass. Even the existence of a post-Boethian addition witnesses readerly interest in, and active engagement with, the text.

Now a fifth Ass has appeared, and he threatens to upend the whole stemmatic model. The recent publication of a fragment of narrative on papyrus, P. Oxy. 4762, both enriches and re-orientates the picture. Short as it is, the new Greek fragment seems to show an ass narrative told in the third person (rather than the first person of both the *Onos* and *The Golden Ass*). Moreover, even these few lines demonstrate that the exposition could switch from prose to poetry in the course of the narrative, something again that neither surviving whole version does. If it is a piece of the lost *Metamorphoseis* of Loukios of Patrae, one possibility that its cautious editor Dirk Obbink (2006) mentions, the relation between the survivors and the lost model is suddenly much more complex—or the model itself is wrong.

Before we examine this brief and cryptic new fragment, it will help to compare some related passages from the *Onos* and *The Golden Ass*. As Mason points out, there are sentences in Apuleius that look to be almost a word-for-word translation of the Greek reflected in the *Onos*, but rarely for more than a sentence or two at a time. Apuleius certainly expands the narrative, but can abbreviate as well. Mason's model for how Apuleius worked, now widely accepted, is worth quoting in full (Mason 1994, 1693):

The presence in the “Golden Ass” of passages both of close translation and of varying degrees of free adaptation suggests that Apuleius composed his adaptation of the “Metamorphoseis” incident by incident, reading the Greek version of an episode before composing his own, retaining typical phrases of the Greek in his memory as he wrote, but not actually “translating” at a word-by-word level.

Moreover, according to Mason (1994, 1693–1694), Apuleius' reworking of the narrative shows his “greater interest in character and motivation” as well as “an attempt to provide psychological wholeness, at least to Lucius.”

Two shared points in the surviving narratives show the authors' varying approaches: the end of Lucius' time as a pack animal for the

priests of the Syrian goddess and his subsequent experiences with the unfortunate market gardener whom he unwittingly betrays to the Roman authorities. These incidents indeed show differences of psychological emphasis, but also some changes in narrative strategy. Apuleius does not just tell us more: he can change focalization as well.

Lucius' last adventure with the priests begins thus in *Onos* 41:

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤδη ὄρθρος ἦν, ἀράμενος τὴν θεὸν αὐθις ἀπῆειν ἅμα τοῖς ἀγύρταις καὶ ἀφικόμεθα εἰς κώμην ἄλλην μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, ἐν ἧ καὶ καινότερόν τι ἑτερατεύσαντο, τὴν θεὸν μὴ μείναι ἐν ἀνθρώπου οἰκίᾳ, τῆς δὲ παρ' ἐκείνοις μάλιστα τιμωμένης ἐπιχωρίου δαίμονος τὸν ναὸν οἰκῆσαι. (When it was now dawn, I took the goddess up again and left with the mountebanks. We reached another large and populous village, where they introduced a fresh monstrosity by insisting that the goddess should not stay in the house of a human but take up residence in the temple of the local goddess held in most honor among them. [text and translation by MacLeod 1961])

The parallel moment in *The Golden Ass* is sandwiched between two substantial apparent additions to the narrative. While the priests are staying at the villa of a patron, Lucius narrowly escapes a cook's treacherous attempt to kill him and substitute his leg for a stolen haunch of venison. The priests move on to a village, where almost immediately Lucius relates a story he has heard, the adultery tale of the tub. Sandwiched in between is this very brief account of their arrival:

nec paucis casulis atque castellis oberratis devertimus ad quempiam pagum urbis opulentae quondam, ut memorabant incolae, inter semirutata vestigia conditum et hospitio proximi stabuli recepti cognoscimus lepidam de adulterio cuiusdam pauperis fabulam... (GA 9.4) (After making stops at several small houses and walled estates, we halted at a village built among the half-ruined remains of a once-wealthy city, as the inhabitants informed us. We obtained lodgings at the nearest inn, and there were heard an amusing story about the cuckolding of a certain poor workman... [text and translation by Hanson unless otherwise noted])

The village in the *Onos* is "large and prosperous," that in *The Golden Ass* "built among the half-ruined remains of a once wealthy city." The change of course could be in keeping with Apuleius' interest in social and economic decay. Although the insertion of "The Tale of the Tub," one of the most famous in the novel and possessing a rich afterlife, masks the dissonance, this poverty is slightly problematic. Not only are the priests "fattened at public expense and stuffed with the many

profits of their soothsaying” (*munificentia publica saginati vaticinationisque crebris mercedibus suffarcinati*, 9.8.1), they subsequently make even more money from the villagers by means of their new all-purpose prophecy, a couplet suitable for any occasion, another Apuleian insertion. In fact, the only reason for abandoning their racket in this village is that they grow weary of explaining the prophecy for all and sundry and hit the road (GA 9.9.1).

Despite the problems of motivation, however, Apuleius has a surprise in store for his readers. Lucius is complaining about the terrible, waterlogged road conditions,⁴ when:

et ecce nobis repente de tergo manipulus armati supercurrit equitis, aegreque cohibita equorum curruli rabie, Philebum ceterosque comites eius involant avidi, colloque constricto et sacrilegos impurosque compellantes interdum pugnis obverberant, nec non manicis etiam cunctos coartant, et identidem urgenti sermone comprimunt promerent ocius aureum cantharum, promerent auctoramentum illud sui sceleris, quod simulatione sollemnium quae in operto factitaverant ab ipsis pulvinaribus matris deum clanculo furati, prorsus quasi possent tanti facinoris evadere supplicium tacita profectione, adhuc luce dubia pomerium pervaserint. nec defuit qui, manu super dorsum meum iniecta, in ipso deae quam gerebam gremio scrutatus repperiret atque incoram omnium aureum depromeret cantharum. nec isto saltem tam nefario scelere impuratissima illa capita confutari terroris potuere, sed mendoso risu cavillantes, “en” inquit “indignae rei scaevitatem! quam plerumque insontes periclitantur homines! propter unicum caliculum, quem deum mater sorori suae deae Syriae hospitale munus obtulit, ut noxios religionis antistites ad discrimen vocari capitis.” (GA 9.9.2–10.1) (Suddenly, we were overtaken by a group of armed riders. When they had with difficulty curbed their horses’ headlong speed, they savagely turned on Philebus and all his comrades, seized them by the throat, and, calling them filthy temple-robbers, began to beat them with their fists. Furthermore, they put handcuffs on them all and insistently demanded in menacing language that they produce at once the golden goblet, produce the wages of their crime, which they had surreptitiously abstracted from the very shrine of the Mother of the Gods, under the pretense of practicing secret ceremonies; then, as if they really thought they could escape punishment for such an outrage by leaving without a word, they had crossed the city limits in the grey light of dawn. One of them even went so far as to reach up over my back and feel around in the bosom of the goddess I was carrying. He found the gold goblet and pulled it out for everyone

to see. Yet, even in the face of such a sacrilegious crime, those horribly vile creatures could not be dismayed or frightened but pretended to laugh and make other jokes: “The perversity and injustice of it all! How often innocent men are accused of crime! Just because of one little cup, which the Mother of the Gods offered her sister the Syrian Goddess as a token of hospitality, high priests of holiness are being charged as if they were criminals and put in jeopardy of life and limb!”)

Essentially the same thing happens in the *Onos*, better motivated but narrated like a police report:

οἱ δὲ καὶ μάλα ἄσμενοι τὴν ξένην θεὸν ὑπεδέξαντο τῇ σφῶν αὐτῶν θεῷ συνοικίσαντες, ἡμῖν δὲ οἰκίαν ἀπέδειξαν ἀνθρώπων πενήτων. ἐνταῦθα συχνὰς ἡμέρας οἱ δεσπότες διατρίψαντες ἀπιέναι ἤθελον εἰς τὴν πλησίον πόλιν καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἀπῆτουν τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸ τέμενος παρελθόντες ἐκομίζοντο αὐτὴν καὶ θέντες ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ ἡλαυνον ἕξω. ἔτυχον δὲ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς εἰς τὸ τέμενος ἐκεῖνο παρελθόντες ἀνάθημα φιάλην χρυσὴν κλέψαντες, ἣν ὑπὸ τῇ θεῷ ἔφερον· οἱ δὲ κωμῆται αἰσθόμενοι τοῦτο εὐθὺς ἐδίωκον, εἰ τα ὡς πλησίον ἐγένοντο, καταπηδήσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων εἶχοντο αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ δυσσεβεῖς καὶ ἱεροσύλους ἐκάλουν καὶ ἀπῆτουν τὸ κλαπὲν ἀνάθημα, καὶ ἐρευνῶντες πάντα εὗρον αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τῆς θεοῦ. δῆσαντες οὖν τοὺς γυναικίας ἡγόν ὀπίσω καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐμβάλλουσι, τὴν δὲ θεὸν τὴν ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ κομιζομένην ἀράμενοι ναῷ ἄλλῳ ἔδωκαν, τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῇ πολίτιδι θεῷ πάλιν ἀπέδωκαν. (*Onos* 41) ([The villagers] were very glad to welcome the foreign goddess and gave her accommodation along with their own goddess, but assigned us to the house of some paupers. After they had spent many days there, my masters wished to leave for the nearby city and asked the goddess back from the local people. They entered the sacred precinct themselves, carried her out, put her on my back, and rode off. Now, when the impious fellows entered that precinct, they stole a golden bowl, a votive offering. This they carried off concealed in the person of the goddess. When the villagers discovered this, they gave immediate pursuit; then, upon drawing near, they leapt down from their horses and laid hold of the fellows in the road, calling them impious and sacrilegious, and demanding the return of the stolen offering. They searched everywhere and found it in the bosom of the goddess. They therefore tied up the effeminate fellows, dragged them off, and threw them into prison; they took the goddess whom I had carried and gave to another temple, while the golden vessel they gave back to their local goddess.)

Here, the narrator seems as annoyed as the priests themselves that, while the goddess is well cared for, they are dumped on an impoverished household. The Greek Lucius tells his readers about the theft immediately, carefully noting that the priests' only opportunity to steal the cup was when they were allowed in to reclaim their goddess. Although he too could choose to tell the story from a later perspective out of strict narrative order, Apuleius instead focalizes the story through Lucius, who cannot know immediately what the priests have done. This sets up a much more effective surprise on the road, when the priests are caught red-handed.⁵

In both narratives, Lucius is then sold to a mill. In the *Onos*, he simply becomes so thin from maltreatment that the owner sells him in turn to a market gardener. In *The Golden Ass*, the very complex narrative of the baker's wife intervenes, where an initially humorous but ultimately tragic tale of adultery and murder brings about the baker's death and the dissolution and auction of his estate.⁶ The end result, however, is the same: Lucius ends up in the possession of the gardener.

Yet, once again, the stories proceed differently to the gardener's violent encounter with a Roman soldier and its consequences. In Apuleius, another bizarre and tragic tale precedes this moment and determines the gardener's emotional state when confronting the soldier. The poor gardener has been invited to dinner with a man engaged in a property dispute with a rich neighbor. Monstrous prodigies at the dinner (including blood pouring from the ground) precede a messenger who reports that the host's three sons have all died in a brawl with the rich neighbor and his thugs, and the host then commits suicide. The gardener is therefore returning from the horrors of this banquet when he meets the Roman soldier on the road:

nam quidam procerus et, ut indicabat habitus atque habitudo, miles e legione, factus nobis obuius, superbo atque adroganti sermone percontatur, quorsum vacuum duceret asinum? at meus, adhuc maerore permixtus et alias Latini sermonis ignarus, tacitus praeteribat. nec miles ille familiarem cohibere quivit insolentiam, sed indignatus silentio eius ut convicio, viti, quam tenebat, obtundens eum dorso meo proturbat. tunc hortulanus subpublice respondit sermonis ignorantia se, quid ille diceret, scire non posse. ergo igitur Graece subiciens miles "ubi" inquit "ducis asinum istum?" respondit hortulanus petere se civitatem proximam. "sed mihi" inquit "opera eius opus est; nam de proximo castello sarcinas praesidis nostri cum ceteris iumentis debet advehere." et iniecta statim manu loro me, quo ducebar, arreptum incipit trahere. sed hortulanus prioris plagae vulnere

prolapsum capite sanguinem detergens rursus deprecatur civilius atque mansuetius versari commilitonem, idque per spes prosperas eius orabat adiurans. “nam et hic ipse” aiebat “iners asellus et nihilo minus mordax morboque detestabili caducus vix etiam paucos holerum maniculos de proximo hortulo solet anhelitu languido fatigatus subvehere, nedum ut rebus amplioribus idoneus videatur gerulus.”

40. sed ubi nullis precibus mitigari militem magisque in suam perniciem advertit efferari, iamque inversa vite de vastiore nodulo cerebrum suum diffindere, currit ad extrema subsidia simulansque sese ad commovendam miserationem genua eius velle contingere, summissus atque incurvatus, arreptis eius utrisque pedibus sublimem elatum terrae graviter applaudit, et statim qua pugnīs qua cubitis qua morsibus, etiam de via lapide correpto, totam faciem manusque eius et latera converberat. nec ille, ut primum humi supinatus est, vel repugnare vel omnino munire se potuit, sed plane identidem comminabatur, si surrexisset, sese concisurum eum machaera sua frustatim. quo sermone eius commonefactus hortulanus eripit ei spatham eaque longissime abiecta rursum saevioribus eum plagis adgreditur. nec ille prostratus et praeventus vulneribus ullum repperire saluti quiens subsidium, quod solum restabat, simulat sese mortuum.

tunc spatham illam secum asportans hortulanus inscenso me concito gradu recta festinat ad civitatem nec hortulum suum saltem curans invisere ad quempiam sibi devertit familiarem. (GA 9.39–40) (On the road, we encountered a tall man whose dress and manners marked him as a legionary. He inquired in a haughty and arrogant tone where my master was taking his empty ass. However, my master, who was still confused with grief and furthermore did not know Latin, walked right past him without a word. The soldier, unable to restrain his natural insolence, took offence at the gardener’s silence as if it were an insult and struck him with the vine-staff he was carrying, knocking him off my back. The gardener then humbly answered that he could not understand what the soldier said because he did not know the language. So the soldier responded in Greek. “Where,” he asked, “are you taking that ass of yours?” The gardener replied that he was heading for the next city. “Well, I need his services,” said the other. “He must carry our commanding officer’s baggage from the nearby fort with all the other pack-animals.” He immediately laid hands on me, took hold of my lead-rope, and started to drag me away. However, the gardener, wiping away the blood flowing from the wound on his head caused by the earlier blow, again pleaded with his “fellow-

soldier” to behave more civilly and mercifully, begging and abjuring him in the name of the soldier’s hopes for success. “Besides,” he added, “though this ass is a lazy beast, he is given to biting and has falling-fits from a terrible disease. He can scarcely even carry a few handfuls of vegetables from my garden nearby without getting tired and out of breath, so I think he would be still less a suitable porter for larger loads.”

40. When he perceived that the soldier was not softened by his appeals, but was becoming more wildly intent on destroying him and had now reversed his staff and was splitting his skull with the thicker end, he resorted to extreme measures. Pretending that he wished to touch the soldier’s knees to arouse his pity, he stooped down, bent over, grabbed both his feet, lifted him high in the air, and dashed him heavily to the ground. Then he began at once to pound him on the face and hands and sides with his fists, elbows, teeth, and even a rock grabbed from the road. Once the soldier had been thrown to the ground he was unable to fight back or even defend himself, but he kept threatening the gardener again and again that if he ever got his feet he would hack him to pieces with his cutlass. Warned by these words, the gardener snatched the soldier’s sword and threw it far away, and then returned to the attack with even more savage blows. The soldier, flat on the ground, hindered by his wounds, and unable to discover any other means to save his skin, did the only thing left and pretended to be dead.

Then, taking the sword with him, the gardener climbed on my back, and hurried straight to town at full speed. Without even bothering to look in at his own garden, he stopped at the house of one of his friends....)

The gardener is therefore “lost in grief” (*maerore permixtus*) as well as ignorant of Latin (*alias Latini sermonis ignarus*). It is Lucius who can read the soldier as a Roman legionary from his dress and manners (*habitus atque habitudo*).

In the *Onos*, the encounter has no particular background, and the gardener’s resistance seems a momentary outburst of complete rage:

44. καὶ ποτε ἐξιώντων ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν κῆπον ἐντυγχάνει ἀνὴρ γενναῖος στρατιώτου στολὴν ἡμφιεσμένος, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λαλεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῇ Ἰταλῶν φωνῇ καὶ ἤρετο τὸν κηπουρὸν ὅποι ἀπάγει τὸν ὄνον ἐμέ· ὁ δέ, οἶμαι, τῆς φωνῆς ἀνόητος ὢν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο· ὁ δὲ ὀργιζόμενος, ὡς ὑπερορώμενος, παίζει τῇ μάστιγι τὸν κηπουρὸν, κάκεινος συμπλέκεται αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ὑποσπᾶσας ἐκτείνει, καὶ κείμενον ἔπαιεν οὕτω καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ λίθῳ τῷ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ· ὁ δὲ

τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἀντεμάχετο καὶ ἠπέλκει, εἰ ἀνασταίη, ἀποκτενεῖν τῇ μαχαίρᾳ· ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου διδαχθεὶς, τὸ ἀκινδυνότατον, σπῆν τὴν μάχαιραν αὐτοῦ καὶ ῥίπτει πόρρω, εἶτα αὐθις ἐπαιε κείμενον. ὁ δὲ τὸ κακὸν ὁρῶν ἤδη ἀφόρητον ψεύδεται ὡς τεθνηκὼς ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς· ὁ δὲ δείσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς εἶχε κείμενον ἀπολείπει, τὴν δὲ μάχαιραν βαστάσας ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ἤλαυνεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

(One day, when we were leaving for the nursery, a gentleman in military uniform came up to us. First, he spoke to us in Latin and asked the gardener where he was taking his ass, namely, me. He, through ignorance of the language, I suppose, made no reply. The other got angry, taking this as an insult, and struck the gardener with his whip. The latter then grappled with him, tripped him up and laid him flat on the road, and then struck at him lying there with hands, feet, and a rock from the roadside. At first the soldier fought back and threatened to kill him with his sword if he got to his feet again. My master, so forewarned by the soldier himself, to be really on the safe side, drew the soldier's sword and flung it into the distance and then resumed beating his prostrate opponent, who, faced with an unbearable predicament, pretended to be dead from the beating. Scared by this, my master left him lying there as he was and, making me carry the sword, proceeded to the city.)

Whereas the Apuleian Lucius knows the gardener cannot speak Latin, here the *Onos* narrator only speculates (οἶμαι) on his owner's ignorance of the language. The Apuleian Lucius comments on the soldier's "natural insolence" (*familiarem ... insolentiam*), and the gardener replies "humbly" (*subplicue*). Apuleius has greatly developed both dialogue and characterization in the gardener's appeal for pity. Calling the soldier his *commilito* is a particularly nice touch. Where rhetoric fails, however, role-playing succeeds, and in a brilliantly Apuleian touch, the gardener converts supplication into a means of knocking the soldier off his feet, and then, quite reasonably in light of his threats, beating him so severely he can be left for dead.

The soldier survives in both versions, but the narratives play out differently. In the *Onos*:

ὁ δὲ στρατιώτης ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ποτε μόλις ἐξαναστάς, ὡς ἔφασαν, καρηβαρὼν ταῖς πληγαῖς ἤκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ ἐντυχὼν λέγει τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τοῦ κηπουροῦ· οἱ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐλθόντες μανθάνουσιν ἔνθα ἤμεν κεκρυμμένοι, καὶ παραλαμβάνουσι τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντας. (45)

(The soldier, having just managed to get himself up from the

road, so they reported, and with his head aching from the blows, had got to the city and, encountering his army mates, told them of the demented behavior of the nurseryman. They accompanied him and found where we were hidden and brought along the city authorities.)

The story moves very briskly, and it seems to require no effort to find the friend's house where the gardener and Lucius are hiding, nor does the narrator have much sympathy with the gardener's "demented" (ἁπόνοϊαν) violence.

The Apuleian version is not just richer in incident and characterization but also changes the focalization at key points:

At miles ille, ut postea didici, tandem velut emersus gravi crapula nutabundus tamen et tot plagarum dolore saucius baculoque se vix sustinens, civitatem adventat confususque de impotentia deque inertia sua quicquam ad quemquam referre popularium, sed tacitus iniuriam devorans quosdam commilitones nanctus is tantum clades enarrat suas. placuit ut ipse quidem contubernio se tantisper absconderet—nam praeter propriam contumeliam militaris etiam sacramenti genium ob amissam spatham verebatur—ipsi autem signis nostris enotatis investigationi vindictaeque sedulam darent operam. nec defuit vicinus perfidus, qui nos ilico occultari nuntiaret. tum commilitones accersitis magistratibus mentiuntur sese multi pretii vasculum argenteum praesidis in via perdidisse, idque hortulanum quendam repperisse nec velle restituere, sed apud familiarem quendam sibi delitescere. (GA 9.41)

(Now the soldier, as I later learned, finally arrived in town, looking as if he had just recovered from a terrible hangover but could just barely walk. He was weak from the pain of his numerous wounds, and barely able to support himself with his staff. He was too ashamed to tell any of the townspeople anything about his impotent incompetence, but swallowed the insult in silence. Only when he met some fellow-soldiers did he tell them the story of his disaster. They decided that he should hide out for a time in their quarters, since, besides his personal disgrace, the loss of his sword made him fear the protecting deity of his military oath. In the meantime, they would take note of our distinguishing marks and make a concerted effort to find us and get revenge. And, of course, there was a treacherous neighbor to inform them precisely where we were hiding. The soldiers then summoned the town magistrates and falsely alleged that they had a lost a valuable silver pitcher of their commander's along the road, and that a gardener had found it but refused to give back

and was hiding out at a friend's house.

Though the narrator does not specify how he later learned this part of the story, we see these details through the eyes of the local inhabitants, who interpret the soldier's painful walk of shame as the result of a hangover, and he dares not correct that view. Indeed, his fellow soldiers agree he had better not be seen or expose to man or god the impotent (*impotentia*) loss of his sword.

It not only takes a local informer to ferret out the fugitives but some ingenious role-playing on the part of the soldiers. Since they cannot admit to the loss of the soldier's sword, they make up the story of a lost silver pitcher to persuade the magistrates to institute a search. One wonders if Apuleius is playing a nice variation on the story of the gold cup and priests of the Syrian goddess. Note also that the friend hiding Lucius and the gardener in Apuleius is "not in the least terrified" (*nec ille tantillum conterritus*, 9.41) when the magistrates pound on his door and threaten him with capital punishment for hiding the fugitives, just as the priests cannot be frightened (*nec.. terroris potuere*, 9.10).

Both versions seem to end in the same way, with Lucius accidentally betraying his own and therefore the gardener's presence in the house. In the *Onos*, the gardener is simply hauled off to prison, and Lucius has no idea what happens to him:

τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τί μὲν ἔπαθεν ὁ κηπουρὸς ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης, οὐκ οἶδα (46) (What happened the next day to my master, the market gardener, I don't know...)

Apuleius' Lucius is not sure either but certainly expresses both more sympathy and more foreboding:

reperit productumque et oblatum magistratibus miserum hortulanum poenas scilicet capite pensurum in publicum deducunt carcerem... (GA 9.42) (they discovered the poor gardener, brought him out, handed him over to the magistrates, and took him off to the public jail, no doubt for execution...)

More is at work in these two treatments than just compression or expansion of narrative. Apuleius undoubtedly gives his version a certain theatrical panache, as the severely beaten gardener turns a gesture of supplication into an opportunity to upend his persecutor and take violent vengeance. The soldier's stratagem of playing dead is present in both versions, and one might argue this is the seed from which both the gardener's ploy and his fellow soldiers' later fiction about the lost pitcher grow, but there is certainly more sympathy in Apuleius for the gardener overall. The horrors of the banquet he has witnessed explain the gardener's absentmindedness on the road, and we readers share a certain Schadenfreude with the townsfolk as they

watch the apparently hung-over soldier limp home. Then we see them lie their way to a search warrant and haul the gardener off to likely execution. This adventure tale now bears more signs of being a critique of Roman imperial power.

Lucius' last big adventure is perhaps his best known and needs no more than the barest summary. In both versions, the soldier sells Lucius as confiscated property (in the *Onos* immediately, for 25 Attic drachmas: ὁ δὲ στρατιώτης πωλήσειν με ἔγνω, καὶ πιπράσκει με πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν Ἀττικῶν, 46; in Apuleius, after another intervening tragic narrative, for 11 denarii, but only after the soldier is ordered back to Rome, GA 10.13). Bought by two bakers, Lucius starts stealing their food, is discovered, and becomes a sideshow, only to attract the attention of a libidinous matrona who sees other uses for him. One small but perhaps significant difference is notable in the two narrators' views of themselves in this story. Both worry about injuring the matrona in their sexual encounters, and both make explicit, self-aware reference to the story of Pasiphaë. In the *Onos*, however, Lucius is concerned with justifying himself in the midst of their encounter and says:

ἀδεῶς λοιπὸν ὑπηρέτουν ἐννοούμενος ὡς οὐδὲν εἶην κακίων τοῦ τῆς Πασιφάης μοιχοῦ. (51) (I serviced her after that without restraint, thinking myself no worse than Pasiphaë's seducer.)

Apuleius puts the reference before the sexual description, and it becomes part of Lucius' diagnosis of the matrona's malady:

nec ullam vaesanae libidini medelam capiens ad instar asinariae Pasiphaae complexus meos ardentem expectabat. (GA 10.19) (She took no remedy for her insane passion but, like some asinine Pasiphaë, ardently yearned for my embraces.)

Whether the *Onos* narrator's cheeky self-justification strikes us as humorous or proof that he has the moral imagination of a beast of the field, the Apuleian Lucius sounds much more the traditional misogynist, thus showing that his is not in every respect the more interesting version.

We come at last to the newest addition to antiquity's various asses, a recently published papyrus fragment from Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. 4762; Obbink 2006). Just enough survives to show that it is a scene of a sexual encounter between woman and ass:7

“ὦ δὴ πᾶσι φανερόν, terribly.
 Ἀστράτη (or δάμει?) comes on me...
 ἴδὼν τὸν ἄνδρα [v.
 Why ever do you pick me?”,
 ἄσπεκτῶν ἀλ-
 the living ass, οὐτε συν-

as a bright she had rushed upon him; and
 pleading for herself says,
 “Eὐὲ, ἰς γὰρ καὶ μέγ-
 αλ’ ἄρ’ οὐκ ἔστιν. / μέ-
 νειτ’ ὀλίγον μὴ
 δὲν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνδράσι (ἐ)ῖν. (What then?”
 “Ἰστέον ὡς ἔστιν ἄλλ’ ἂν. (But what else?”
 “Ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον.”
 “Ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον...”

So much is tantalizingly unclear here. It seems to be narrative with inserted direct speech. It begins in direct speech, followed by narration or perhaps we should say stage direction as the woman kisses the ass. I have not been able to transcribe paragraphoi after the fourth and 12th lines here, which may indicate speaker change or metrical blocks. We should also note that the letters τὸ at the end of line 4 are by no means certain. The editor Obbink thinks it just possible that they might be the remnants of με, which would mean the quotation is embedded in another first-person narration, but third-person narration seems much more likely. Most intriguing is Peter Parsons’ suggestion that lines 9–12 could make a couplet in iambic trimeter with very slight corrections:

οὐαί, παχέια καὶ μεγάλη ‘στιν, ὡς δοκός.
 μένε, κατὰ μικρόν· μὴδ’ ὅλην ἔσω βάλης.

The phrase παχέια καὶ μεγάλη seems to be quoted from Aristophanes’ *Peace* 927.

This fragment seems sure to provide both entertainment and material for scholarly speculation for years to come. The mixture of verse with prose is reminiscent both of Petronius and a couple Greek narrative examples, most famously the Iolaus romance, once dubbed “A Greek Petronius” for just this feature (Parsons 1971; cf. Astbury 1977 [1999]), but it remains highly unusual. It might make us think of a scene from staged mime, and perhaps industrious emendation might yet yield a verse fragment from the woman’s first speech here.

Some kind of narration intervenes, nonetheless, so the scene appears to be reported. Obbink (2006) reconstructs it as a report on just two participants, the woman and the ass, but the punctuation of the translation he offers (in the preceding text) seems to suggest some back and forth between speakers at the end of the fragment, at the level of the narrating moment rather than within the scene. Is there a storyteller here who teases an audience eager for more details than are provided?

Perhaps my reader will feel teased, because I am not now going to produce a new reconstruction of this wonderful fragment or offer a

new interpretation per se. Rather, I want to use its existence and already noted unusual features to question the basis of how we have looked at the surviving ass narratives for the past few centuries. *P. Oxy.* 4762 is third century AD, thus later than either the *Onos* or *The Golden Ass*, but it could be a copy of an earlier text. Obbink considers the possibility that this is a fragment of the lost longer narrative Photios read and ascribed to “Loukios of Patrae.” If so, the form has almost certainly been changed from third-person narrative in the original to first person in both the *Onos* and *The Golden Ass*. Does that increase the likelihood that Apuleius worked with the surviving *Onos* text, and concomitantly decrease the likelihood that any other material in his text had its origins in the lost Loukios of Patrae? Regine May (2009), on the other hand, suggests the source might be the lost *Milesiaca* of Aristides; these lost *Milesian Tales* might have been strung together by a narrator, possibly even for an internal audience (one way to explain the plural addressees of ἰδῆτε in line 3). As such, it might be leveraged into the stemma as an ancestor of Loukios of Patrae.

Or should we begin to question the stemmatic model itself, at least to the extent that we expect one version of the ass narrative to descend primarily from one other, with variations seen as “contamination?” Recent work on the Alexander Romance, especially by Daniel Selden (2009), suggests that multiple narratives in different languages may indeed be related but not reducible to a stemma of direct descent. They form rather a textual network, where transmitters are free to rearrange and remake the stories for particular local audiences.

Are we, in the cliché of the moment, at a tipping point? Are four or five versions of an ass narrative yet enough to consider the narrative model of a textual network? Tales of wonder, of adventures and magical transformations clearly commanded a significant audience in the ancient world, and the story of a man transformed into an ass, with its potential for titillating sexual adventures as well, had an obvious appeal to various audiences, whether as a brief story or a massive novel.

If neither the author of the *Onos* nor Apuleius had a single model of the narrative before him, their choices in conceiving their tales become much more open. The former is not necessarily an epitomator, nor does the latter simply layer accretions onto an existing armature. Nor is the first-person focalization of the narrative an inherent part of the ass story. Ewen Bowie (private communication) has already independently suggested, in the course of arguing that the *Onos* is by Lucian, that he innovated by changing the story to first-person narrative. In a world of many possibilities, the form is a potentially

independent choice for authors in both the Greek and Latin traditions. Even the sexual element of the narratives can be given radically different emphasis. In the *Onos*, it functions to set up a final joke, creating a sense of an ending. In Apuleius, it helps motivate a radically new direction and different kind of ending.

If Apuleius, as a well-trained rhetorician and sophist, created his version within a network of narratives, his choices become even more interesting. He can exploit his narrator's limited perspective to create the surprise on the road where the priests are discovered to have stolen a gold cup from the Mother of the Gods, and then perhaps even create doubt on a second reading, when we as readers have seen in the case of the gardener how easy it is to fake an accusation.⁸ After enduring a succession of cruel masters and dreadful treatment, his Lucius, despite his Roman name and citizenship, can come to feel much more sympathy for the maltreated and oppressed gardener.

At the same time, his choice to name his narrator Lucius and follow a previously known succession of adventures becomes an interesting choice, not just an obvious one. Some of the Greek ideal novels take over and rework the well-known history of the Greek past, including conflict with the Persians, within their own narratives. In effect, they are extended prose versions of the rhetorician's *melete*, a display speech given in the character of a historical figure on a momentous occasion (Socrates before the Athenian jury or Themistocles advising the assembly on the Persian threat). Chaereas in Chariton can play a version of Alexander, successfully engineering the seizure of Tyre, but judiciously retreating to Sicily for a personal happy ending rather than a world empire.

Apuleius takes a character and situation (Lucius transformed into an ass) from a popular network of ass narratives, not because it is his only choice, but because it offers particular potential. He richly exploits the opportunity for his narrator, hidden in plain sight, both to see and to hear things he would otherwise never experience. He leads his narrator through a set of experiences that, even if not recognizable in detail as a specific *historia*, must have felt familiar to many in his audience who would know other ass narratives. The impact of the utterly different ending, whose significance we still debate so vigorously, must have been all the greater for that readerly horizon of expectation. Seeing how Apuleius chose to re-imagine Lucius' struggles can help us to see how he gave us the most golden of antiquity's various asses.

Notes

¹ My summary here relies on the superb account of Zimmerman

2000, Appendix II.

2 A is the text of Mazotti as quoted by Zimmerman 2000, with her translation; B is the text and translation of Lytle 2003.

3 Hunink 2006, followed by Gaisser 2008, 64–66. Zimmerman 2000, 439, seems to adopt the view of Mariotti 1956 that the “frankness and gusto with which the author [of the *spurcum additamentum*] treats his subject makes it impossible ... to date him before the twelfth century.” The absence of frankness and gusto in preceding centuries certainly seems a subjective judgment.

4 Where only a second reading might make us wonder why the priests were so anxious to set out right after bad weather.

5 There is a small discrepancy in the aftermath as well. In the *Onos*, the goblet goes back to the local goddess, not otherwise identified, while the image of the Syrian goddess is given to another temple (ναῖον ἄλλω ἔδωκαν). In Apuleius, both vessel and image go to the same temple of the mother of the gods (*apud fani donarium*, 9.10.3). Since the village in the *Onos* is wealthy and that in *The Golden Ass* poor, it may be logical that the latter might have only one temple; but one wonders if there was a further reason or explanation in the original source for why the two images of the goddesses ought not to be in the same temple.

6 It is a story so complex that Apuleius even teases us by having Lucius imagine, in a justly famous phrase, that his careful reader (*lector scrupulosus*, 9.30.1) might well ask how he could possibly know all this!

7 I give the text and translation of Obbink 2006, with the addition of “Look!” for the second-person plural ἴδητε (perhaps unintentionally omitted from the editor’s translation).

8 No one seems to worry that the soldiers never find the silver cup they claim was stolen, only Lucius and the gardener. Would it be so difficult, once the priests have skipped town with lots of money extracted by the all-purpose prophecy, for the fleeced villagers to conceive of a plan to plant the cup in the process of “finding” it? So Zimmerman 2007, 289–290 infers.

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Further Readings

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Winkler, J.J. 1985. *Auctor and Actor: A Narratological Reading of Apuleius' Golden Ass*. Berkeley: University of California Press. A landmark narratological study of Apuleius' work as "hermeneutic" entertainment, wherein first and subsequent readings of the work, noting the disjunction between Books I–X and Book XI, make the ultimate meaning undecidable. Richly rewarding as a whole, quite challenging to use in short excerpts.

CHAPTER 25

Greek Novel and Greek Archaic Literature

Giuseppe Zanetto

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are the primary models for all the Greek novelists. In the language of modern literary criticism, we would say that Homeric epos is a necessary hypotext for those fictional prose stories that Greek literature increasingly produces starting from the late Hellenistic period.

This is true in the first instance for the structure of the novel: a standard Greek novel is nothing else but a rewriting of the Odyssean plot. If we reduce the *Odyssey* to its nuclear core, the poem is the story of a man (Odysseus) who leaves his home and his family and fights for many years against misfortunes of every kind before coming back to his land and being reunited with his wife (Penelope). The *Odyssey* obeys a principle of circularity both spatial (from Ithaca to Ithaca) and temporal (Odysseus' house after the hero's return regains its ancient splendor, as it was before his departure). The ultimate meaning of the poem is concentrated in the long scene of Book 23, where "he" and "she" are finally together in their wedding bed, as they were every night in the good old days, and tell in turn what they have passed through: the past and retelling the past become conditions for a re-appropriation of self-identity.

Thus, we have a first point: the "compatibility" of the *Odyssey* with the standard contents of the Greek love novel. Like the *Odyssey*, a Greek love novel tells about two lovers who are separated by destiny and undergo a long sequence of misadventures: they travel by sea, face terrible dangers, and must resist the attempts of insidious seducers until they are reunited and can enjoy a happy life together. No wonder the *Odyssey* has been called "the first Greek novel," and Greek romance has been considered a kind of new epic, adapted to the habits of a post-literate society (Perry 1967, 44-54; Hägg 1983, 111;

Reardon 1991, 15–16). The question now is: does the new genre define itself by borrowing themes, patterns, and situations from Homeric epic, through a conscious process of imitation (or re-creation, as it would be tempting to call such an operation)? Or shall we think that the *Odyssey* and more generally the archaic epic embody an archetypal system of images and stories, which reemerges in the Greco-Roman Empire with still recognizable but yet different forms in response to new social and intellectual challenges?

Seeking an answer to this question would involve the controversial debate on the origin of the Greek novel, which has long been a central point in the scholarly discussion but has lost today most of its appeal. However, if we look at the literary texture of the novels and try to determine the nature and extent of the Homeric presence in them, the problem can be faced in other and probably more suitable terms. Let us consider the romance of Chariton of Aphrodisias, the novelist who is likely to be the oldest of the corpus (Tilg 2010, 36–79, after revisiting the evidence, agrees with a mid-first-century-AD dating) and whose work can be seen as the prototype of the new genre. The novel tells the story of a young charming lady who is abducted from her town (Syracuse, which is presented as the center of the Greek world) and from her husband and brought to East, where she is forced to marry another man; in Miletus and later in Babylon, Callirhoe becomes the object of a conflict between Chaereas and Dionysius (her first and second husbands, respectively), until Chaereas, after triumphing in the war against the Persians, recovers her and brings her back to Syracuse.

It is immediately clear from this simple summary that Callirhoe is conceived by the novelist as a second Helen and her adventures as a second *Iliad*. The intertextual play is piloted by a very consistent sequence of quotations from both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In fact, as scholars do not fail to notice (e.g. Robiano 2000), Chariton is the novelist who most often quotes Homeric passages, to such an extent that his discourse can be seen as the interplay between the main narration and a “second-level text,” which is insistently called to mind. The equation of Callirhoe to Helen is explicitly expressed by Dionysius at 2.6.1 (“I was hoping she was Aphrodite’s gift to me and was painting for myself a life happier than that of Menelaus, Spartan Helen’s husband—even Helen, I imagine, was not as beautiful as she is”)¹ and at 5.2.8 (“Menelaus could not keep Helen in security in virtuous Sparta. King though he was, a barbarian shepherd supplanted him; and there is many a Paris among the Persians”). The most telling passage, however, is 5.5.9: “So she entered the courtroom looking like Helen when the divine Homer describes her as appearing among the elders around Priam and Panthous and Thymoetes. Her appearance produced

stunned astonishment and silence; *everyone prayed to lie in bed beside her.*"

Here, Chariton is describing the reactions of the crowd to Callirhoe's appearance in the courtroom in Babylon; we have a sequence of two Homeric quotations. The first one is from *Iliad* 3.146 and refers to the scene in which Helen makes her appearance on the wall of Troy, in response to Priam's call, and provokes the astonished admiration of the elderly Trojans. The second quote is taken from *Odyssey* 1.366 (= 18.213) and describes the violent desire that Penelope arouses in her suitors when she enters the banquet hall after leaving her rooms. The comparison to Helen confirms the connotation of Callirhoe as a *femme fatale* whose fascination no man can resist; but the assimilation to Penelope, the proverbial faithful wife and the final target of Odysseus' peregrinations, suggests that the Iliadic story of the novel will have an Odyssean conclusion: this Helen is, after all, as virtuous as the most virtuous of women (Fusillo 1990, 41).

Another sequence of quotations points at the passionate friendship of Achilles and Patroclus, which is a basic theme of the *Iliad*. Already at the beginning of the story (1.4.6), Chariton comments on the reaction of Chaereas to the (false) news of Callirhoe's infidelity by quoting *Iliad* 18.22–24, the passage in which Achilles, on hearing of the death of Patroclus, loses his self-control ("a black cloud of grief covered him"), takes with his hands dark dust, and pours it over his head. The scene of Patroclus' soul appearing in Achilles' dream at *Iliad* 23.66–67 is evoked at 2.9.6, when Chaereas appears in Callirhoe's dream to suggest to her what to do: "All night long she pursued these thoughts; and as she did so, sleep stole over her momentarily, and a vision of Chaereas stood over her, *like to him in stature and fair looks and voice, and wearing just such clothes.*"

The same episode is alluded to at 4.1.3: trying to convince his wife to erect a tomb for the (supposed) dead Chaereas, Dionysius quotes *Iliad* 23.71 ("Bury me so that I may pass through the gates of Hades as soon as possible"). Achilles' grief for the death of his beloved friend is a paradigm also in the second part of the romance, when the lovers have ceased to mourn each the loss of the other: at 5.2.4, Chaereas, who has been forbidden by Mithridates to see Callirhoe, expresses his desperation by imitating Achilles' mourning gestures; at 5.10.9, Chaereas, who has misinterpreted the silence of Callirhoe in the courtroom as a sign of indifference toward him, decides to kill himself and claims that not even in Hades will he forget his beloved, repeating Achilles' promise to Patroclus at *Iliad* 22.389–390 ("Even if in Hades people forget the dead, even there I shall remember you, my dear").

In other words, the passionate love of the two protagonists, which seems to be the central interest of the novelist, is consistently

refocused on the archetypal *philia* between Achilles and Patroclus, exactly as the character of Callirhoe is developed through systematic allusions to the Homeric heroines Helen and Penelope. It is hardly plausible to explain this treatment of the epic tradition as a pure, literary game. The great presence of Homeric material, and particularly the massive introduction of poetic quotes into the connective tissue of the prose narrative, should rather be assigned to an artistic intention. "Homerizing" in such a spectacular manner can only mean that Chariton wishes to present himself as a new Homer. If Homer is the father of Greek literature, it makes sense that the inventor of a new literary form, which is expected to become the new epic, tries to legitimate his creation by evoking his authoritative ancestor.

The second novelist in the corpus, in a chronological sequence, is Xenophon of Ephesus (*pace* O'Sullivan 1995, who tries to date him before Chariton). Xenophon's relationship to Homer at first sight seems to be rather weak: scholars do not trace in the *Ephesiaca* any quotation of the Homeric epic (or of any other text of archaic and classical Greek literature), and this lack of interest in intertextuality is usually seen as a sign of Xenophon's scant literary knowledge. It is generally accepted opinion that this pre-sophisticated novel is a sort of narrative machinery: the novelist seems proud of his ability to control a complex and intricate story, where episodes succeed each other with breathless rapidity and mechanical rhythm, in a potentially endless sequence.

Nevertheless, a more accurate analysis of the *Ephesiaca* can lead to different conclusions. Allusions to the opening lines of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* can be detected in the first chapters of the novel. The motif of Achilles' rage ("rage," Greek *menis*, is the first word of *Iliad*'s first line) is echoed at 1.2.1, where it is said that "Eros was furious" at the arrogance of Habrocomes. To express Eros' fury, Xenophon employs the verb *menia*, whose etymological relation to *menis* is obvious. Thus, at the very beginning of the romance, we are told that the whole story of Habrocomes shall be interpreted as the consequence of the rage of Eros, exactly as, in the opening scene of the *Iliad*, the whole matter of the poem is presented as the consequence of Achilles' rage. A few paragraphs later, it becomes clear what the result of Eros' revenge will be. At 1.6.2, Apollo's oracle sings "But for them I see terrible sufferings (*deina pathē*) and toils that are endless": the sufferings that the two protagonists are going to experience immediately remind the reader of the many sorrows at sea that Odysseus suffered, as we are told at *Odyssey* 1.4 (*polla en pontō pathen algea*). And this Odyssean perspective is reinforced at 1.10.3, where the parents of Anthia and Habrocomes decide to let them depart for the promised journey,

leaving Ephesus for a while ("They were to see some other land and other cities, and palliate the effect of the divine oracle"): Odysseus too "has seen the cities of many people and has learned their ways" (*Odyssey* 1.3). In many other passages (e.g. 5.1.13; 5.14.1), the tortuous wanderings of the protagonists are defined by the verb *planaō*, which is almost equivalent to Homeric *plazomai*, the very mark for Odysseus' endless journey.

The Iliadic motif of rage as a starting point of the action and the Odyssean frame of the difficult return home inspire the literary program of Xenophon's novel. On the other hand, his treatment of the epic model is peculiar: he reuses Homeric material by deconstructing it and reassembling it into a new story line. A good example is the episode of Manto in Book 2. Manto, the daughter of the Tyrian pirate Apsirtus, is a perverse doublet of Homeric Nausicaa. Her portrait builds slowly, with details that increasingly reinforce her correspondence to the epic archetype (though refocused on the negative role of the rival): Manto, like Nausicaa, is ready for marriage (2.3.1); after falling in love with Habrocomes, she dares not speak with anyone of her family for fear of her father and decides to confess her love to Rhoda, a girl her own age (2.3.2–3); similarly, Nausicaa sees in a dream Athena, who appears to her in the shape of a girl of like age, and, speaking with her father, is ashamed to talk about marriage (*Odyssey* 6.22–23; 66–67). Although no explicit clue—no direct quotation, no mention of proper names—is offered to the reader, he is challenged to detect in the episode the hidden Homeric source.

In other words, while in Chariton's novel fragments of Homeric poetry are inserted into the narrative in order to activate an interplay between the two semiotic systems, in Xenophon's the same interplay is produced by a symmetrical balance of episodes. The story of Eudoxus, the Ephesian doctor who visits Anthia in Tarsus asking her to be accompanied home (3.4–6), is mirrored in the episode of Odysseus in Scheria: Anthia plays the role of the Phaeacian rulers and promises the doctor that she will take care of his *parapompē* (his transport home: the word is a quasi-citation of *Odyssey* 7.151 and 317). The encounter of Habrocomes with the old fisherman Aegialeus (5.1), who after hearing from him of his love for Anthia tells him his own story, has its model in *Odyssey* 14–15: from the pathetic narration of his friend, Habrocomes learns what real love is, just as Odysseus in the long talk with swineherd Eumaeus understands how faithful a good old servant can be.

Many other scenes could be analyzed, but let us consider more closely the character of the female protagonist. In the final section of the novel, there is a crescendo of situations that increasingly define

Anthia as a new Penelope (Tagliabue 2011). When Perilaus forces her to accept him as a husband, Anthia feigns to agree but asks for a delay (2.13.8); this stratagem is a variant of Penelope's famous ruse of weaving and unweaving the loom for Laertes (*Odyssey* 2.96–98). The name of the good robber who in Egypt takes care of the heroine and protects her from the rage of the dogs is Amphinomus (4.6; 5.2–4); the same name is shared by the good suitor who in Odysseus' palace shows his wisdom and his affability and is appreciated also by Penelope (*Odyssey* 16.397–398). In her dream in Tarentum, Anthia sees herself and Habrocomes lying together as in their old happy days (5.8.5); Penelope, too, dreams that she has slept with her man, as young as he was before his journey to Troy (*Odyssey* 20.88–89). Finally, when the two protagonists join together in Rhodes, their nightly conversation is modeled on the famous “wedding night” of *Odyssey* 23: in both texts, the two partners go to bed as the other characters are sleeping, and silence reigns over the house; both in the poem and in the novel, the lovers spend the whole night telling each other the long story of their sufferings. Here, the association of Anthia with Penelope is particularly emphasized: as Penelope insists on the violence of the suitors, who have been pressuring her to remarry (23.302–305), so Anthia tells Habrocomes the long list of her trials (5.14.2). The characterization of the heroine as a new Penelope fighting for her chastity seems to belong to the deepest level of Xenophon's artistic program; the whole novel can be read, then, as a quasi-allegorical rewriting of Homer's poem. We should not forget that Ephesus (the fatherland of Xenophon and the setting of the story) was, in Hellenistic times, a major center of Homeric tradition (West 2001, 142); literary sources trace in the Ephesian Artemision the signs of a heroic cult of Penelope as a symbol of conjugal fidelity. In this case, Xenophon's relationship to Homer would be a substantial one.

Leucippe and Clitophon was probably written in the second half of second century AD. The Greek love novel is, at this time, a well-established genre, with rules and conventions that have been defined by the work of a generation of writers. As a second-generation novelist, Achilles Tatius is not interested any more in keeping to the well-worn track; he is, on the contrary, attracted by the possibility of exploring new solutions. On the one side, *Leucippe and Clitophon* is a “standard” novel because it contains all the ingredients that define the new genre (lovers who are separated and reunited, travels and tribulations, rivalry and fidelity, unexpected events), but it is very often the distortion of the convention that gives the romance its special flavor. This can explain Achilles' attitude toward the ancient literary tradition and, in particular, toward Homeric poetry. For the novelists of the first generation, Homeric heritage is an

unquestionable point of reference: they “rewrite” Homer by reusing the raw material which is offered by the epic tradition. Achilles plays differently: in his novel, which is the product of an extended literary experimentation, he evokes the Greek literature of the past to underline his liberty to deviate from it. He reaches originality through and against the tradition (Reardon 1994, 81; Morales 2004, 65).

Achilles is, of course, a learned writer, perfectly aware that his implicit reader shares his sophisticated literary knowledge. He does not refuse to enrich his text with Homeric allusions, as at 5.13.1–2: “She really was beautiful; her skin you would have said was bathed in milk, and her cheeks the natural essence of rose. The gleam in her eye was unmistakably erotic.” Here, the novelist is describing the splendid beauty of Melite, the young Ephesian lady who has fallen in love with Clitophon. In the Greek text, we read that her eye *emarmairen marmarugēn Afrodision*, that is to say that Melite’s luminous glance inspires desire (which is by no means strange: in erotic literature, the eyes are the way in for love). However, the well-cultivated reader catches a dissimulated quotation of *Iliad* 3.397, where Helen recognizes Aphrodite from her “luminous eyes” (*ommata marmaironta*); so, by matching the text with its hypotext, he understands that the novelist suggests that Melite is not only a seductive woman, but really a new Aphrodite.

Other, more ingenuous, allusions to the *Iliad* are at 2.1.1, where the theme of Leucippe’s song is the fight between the boar and the lion (the simile of *Iliad* 16.823–826), and at 2.15.3, when the color of the Egyptian ox is compared to that of Thracian horses “whose praises have been sung by Homer” (*Iliad* 10.437). In other cases, however, Homeric discourses are put into the mouth of characters in order to produce a humoristic effect, due to the contrast between the authoritative tone of the quotations and the much more trivial contest in which the discussion develops. A good example is the long speech pronounced by Clinias, Clitophon’s cousin, in reaction to the bad news that his boyfriend Charicles has been promised in marriage by his father (1.8). To demonstrate the terrible evil that women are, he quotes Hesiod’s *Works and Days* 57–58 (the words that Zeus says when he is going to send on the earth Pandora, the first woman who will destroy men’s life); then, after a long enumeration of tragic heroines, he quotes *Iliad* 2.478, a line in which Agamemnon (slain by his perverse wife Clytemnestra) is compared to Zeus for his celestial beauty. Very close in tone is the passage in which the Egyptian Menelaus (the name is itself a Homeric mark), defending the superiority of homosexual love, quotes *Iliad* 20.234–235 and the abduction of Ganymede to support his argument that boys are more seductive than girls: “If you would like a poetic testimony to the

heavenly ascent of beauty, listen to Homer: *The gods caught up Ganymede to pour wine for Zeus because he was beautiful and they were glad to have him among them.* No woman has ever ascended to the heavens because of her beauty (2.36.3).”

Both Clinias and Menelaus quote old father Homer in dialogues not about poetry or philosophy but on sexuality: this does not mean that Achilles is mocking or parodying heroic values, but surely he is amusing himself and his readers with an unconventional use of poetry. There are two passages in the novel where this free attitude toward epic tradition becomes very clear. At the beginning of Book 6, Melite helps Clitophon escape from jail by giving him her clothes; as she has dressed him as herself, she says (6.1.3): “How much more lovely you have become in this dress. I once saw such an Achilles in a painting.” The reference is to the myth of Achilles in the island of Scyros: obeying his mother, who tried to protect him from being recruited for the Trojan war, the young hero lived at the court of King Lykomedes, dressed as a girl and hidden among the other girls of the family; but he revealed himself when, among the gifts offered by Odysseus to the king’s daughters, he chose a sword. The feminine image of Achilles is a kind of meta-literary mark: it points at an unheroic or even anti-heroic story—the “comic” romance written by an author named Achilles himself—which is more lovely than the “serious” novels where the male protagonists are often compared to the warrior Achilles of the Iliadic tradition (Morales 2004, 61).

The second passage is 3.20.4–7. Here, the author describes a trick sword with retractable blade, which is one of the props used by a professional stage actor to perform dramatic readings from the Homeric poems. The description insists on the fictitious and deceiving nature of the object, which seems to be a real weapon but, when someone tries to use it, reveals to be nothing more than pure illusion and appearance. Here, too, Homer symbolizes illusion and feebleness: but, in the following scene, the trick sword is used by Satyrus and Menelaus to deceive the robbers and save Leucippe: in the same way—this seems to be the hidden meaning of the episode—the creative power of the romance can revitalize the exhausted Homeric tradition.

In other words, Homeric values are turned upside down, and the new values of the novel are established in systematic contrast to them. An extreme example is 1.8.6, where Clinias, supporting his argument that women are born evil, claims: “The wedding of Penelope, chaste creature, was the death of how many suitors?” Distorting the Homeric message could not find a more provocative formulation: because of her chastity, the virtue for which she is universally known (and paradigmatic for the Greek novel heroines), Penelope turns out to be guilty in her suitors’ death. A paradox, of course, but a paradox that

shows how free Achilles is in scrutinizing and exploiting the texts of the past. This is probably the reason why he, alone among the Greek novelists, opens his intertextuality even to a “low” genre such as iambography. The verbal duel between the slaves Satyrus and Conops (2.21–22) contains a couple of Aesopic tales (the lion, the elephant, and the mosquito; the mosquito, the lion, and the spider): each tale is a veiled attack on the antagonist. Achilles here wants to evoke the aggressive use of the animal fable, which is a typical device of the archaic blame poetry: the most notable example is Archilochus’ iambic poem against Licambes, which is introduced by the fable of the eagle and the fox (Zanetto 2003, 326–327).

The romance of Heliodorus of Emesa owes a great deal of its originality to its being a hybridization of novel and epic. However, Homeric imitation is, in Heliodorus, much more elaborated and sophisticated than in the novelists of the first generation (the *Aethiopica* was written in third/fourth century AD; Morgan 1996, 417–421). It is a matter of a second-degree “Homericity,” so to say, which is filtered through a deep artistic self-consciousness.

The *Aethiopica* can be analyzed on three levels: the story, the narration, that is to say, how the story is “given” to the readers, and the literary message conveyed in the novel. The story is not so different from a “standard” plot of Greek love narrative: Theagenes and Charicleia are as beautiful and virtuous as the protagonists of such stories are expected to be; they travel from Greece to Egypt and then to Aethiopia, being several times separated and exposed to physical challenges and sexual assaults, until they are reunited; and, after passing the last trials, get married and start a long and happy conjugal life.

More interesting are the other two levels, where intertextuality plays a central role. As in the *Odyssey*—which is the obvious narratological model—the narration begins *in medias res*: the first scene describes the two protagonists lying on the Egyptian shore, surrounded by a chaotic mass of slain bodies; there has been a cruel fight, as the evidence of the carnage suggests, but the reader is in no condition to understand what happened, nor able to identify the characters, and his or her knowledge does not grow in the following episodes when a band of robbers come on the stage and take the two lovers prisoner. It is only at the end of Book 2 that, through the lengthy retrospective narration of the Egyptian priest Calasiris, we get the information we need: we are told that the boy and girl have fallen in love in Delphi, where Charicleia has been living for many years as a priestess of Artemis, and have fled from Delphi to reach Egypt and know there their final destination. At the end of Book 5, Calasiris’ narrative closes the circle: the internal narrator describes, from his

subjective point of view, the same massacre that has been shown to the reader's eye by the third-person narrator at the very beginning; flashback and main narrative merge together just at mid-point of the text. Heliodorus is, of course, perfectly aware that he is adopting the Odyssean device of the metadiegetic narrative. He even goes beyond Homer, by multiplying the role of the internal narrator (a first "Odysseus" is Cnemon, the young Athenian who in the Herdsmen's camp tells Theagenes and Charicleia the story of his life) and amplifying the metadiegetic technique (Calasiris' narrative embeds narrations of second- and even third-degree intra-narrators; Morgan 2004b).

The interplay with the *Odyssey* is clearly and repeatedly alluded to. As Cnemon asks Calasiris to tell his story, the old Egyptian says: "You are carrying me to Troy" (2.21.5): these are exactly the words with which Odysseus begins his retrospective narration to the Phaeacians (*Odyssey* 9.39). As they enter the house where Calasiris stays, Cnemon asks him again to speak, but the other answers that the first thing to do is to eat: "Homer knew how the belly subordinates everything to itself, and that is what he had in mind when, in that memorable passage, he called it accursed" (2.22.5). This is an allusion to *Odyssey* 7.215–218, when Odysseus asks the Phaeacians to allow him to eat, before he can answer their questions, because the belly has its rights. Other explicit Odyssean markers are the passages in which Calasiris suggests a break, because much of the night is passed and it is time to sleep (4.4.2; 5.1.3); this motif evokes *Odyssey* 11.328–332, where Odysseus interrupts his account and says that it is too late to go on telling stories.

However, the most spectacular Homeric focalizer is the scene in which Calasiris, during his stay in Zakynthos, sees in a dream Odysseus himself:

[...] as I slept, a vision of an old man appeared to me. Age had withered him almost to a skeleton, except that his cloak was hitched up to reveal a thigh that retained some vestige of the strength of his youth. He wore a leather helmet on his head, and his expression was one of cunning and many wiles; he was lame in one leg, as if from a wound of some kind. He stood by my bed and said, with a sinister smile: "You, my fine friend, are the only man who has ever treated us with such utter contempt. All others whose ships have passed by the island of Kephallenia have paid a visit to our home and deemed it a matter of importance to learn of my renown. You, on the other hand, have been so neglectful as to grant me not even the common courtesy of a salutation, despite my dwelling in the vicinity. But your omissions will be

visited on you very soon. [...] However, to the maiden you have with you, my wife sends greetings and wishes her joy, since she esteems chastity above all things.” (5.22.1–3)

This passage is a collage of Homeric allusions. The name of the old man is given only later, but many points in the description are clues that the reader is challenged to recognize: the advanced age refers to the disguise given to the hero by Athena (*Odyssey* 13.430–432), the strong thigh revealed by the cloak evokes *Odyssey* 18.67–68 (preparing for the wrestling with Iros, Odysseus exposes his large thighs), the lame leg alludes to the hunting scene on Parnasus (*Odyssey* 19.450: Odysseus is wounded in his knee by the boar), and the leather helmet is part of Odysseus’ armor in the nocturnal raid of *Iliad* 10 (Morgan 1994, 110). Being visited in dream by Odysseus, Calasiris is legitimated to play the role of narrator: he “becomes” in a sense Odysseus, the story-teller *par excellence*, and his narrative is equated to the famous account given by the hero to the Phaeacians.

Odysseus’ ghost tells of the sympathy which Penelope (“my wife”) feels toward Charicleia because of her chastity. Assimilation of the heroine to Penelope is a common pattern of the Greek novel, but Charicleia also shares some Odysseus’ traits. She is the chief character of the whole story, which is the report of *her* return home; in the long journey from Delphi to Meroe, it is she who is guided by supernatural forces to regain her natural position inside her family and her community: within the couple, she is the leader, while Theagenes plays a subordinate role. The final recognition of Charicleia through the ebony mark on her left arm (10.15.2) points at the scenes of *Odyssey* 19 and 24, when first Eurycleia and later Laertes recognize Odysseus by the scar on his knee (Fusillo 2006, 292).

On the other side, the *Odyssey* is not only the hypotext of the *Aethiopica* but also its meta-text. In a sort of dissertation inserted into his narrative, Calasiris comments on some Homeric passages about the gods’ behavior: he reveals that Homer was born in Egypt and had Hermes as his real father; his wisdom and his extraordinary knowledge of divine and human things can be explained by his Egyptian origin and his mysterious birth (3.12–14). This is a key passage for the interpretation of the novel. Calasiris is clearly “inventing” a Homer who is a double of himself: an Egyptian wise man, who knows the hidden meaning of the stories. The message is clear enough: the allegoric interpretation of the Homeric poetry—offered by the internal narrator—is a theoretical model which can be adopted also for the extra-diegetic level. Like Odysseus’ journey, Charicleia’s return home can be read as a metaphor of a philosophical and religious lesson, which is taught by the novelist (third Homer) to his readers.

At 3.6.3, Heliodorus echoes Sappho's famous poem on the full moon (fr. 34 L-P: "The stars about the beautiful moon vanish very soon, when she is full and shines on the earth"): like the full moon, Charicleia lights up all space around herself. This quasi-quotation can be a link to *Daphnis and Chloe*, the fifth novel of the extant corpus. It is not the latest, because it can be dated to the second/third century AD, but it is unique in being a pastoral rewriting of the romance. The main characters are two adolescents who live in the countryside of Lesbos, taking care of their sheep and goats: the novelist is interested in describing how they fall in love without knowing what love is, and how their self-consciousness progressively grows, until they get ready for marriage and for a new life. Longus pays his debt to the conventions by inserting situations which are required by the rules of the Greek romance (separation of the protagonists, pirates, rivals); but these stereotypes are reduced to the minimum, while the most vital aspect of the novel is the tension between the (apparent) candidness or even naivety of the story and the elaborated technique of the writing.

The literary texture of *Daphnis and Chloe* has been investigated by many scholars (e.g. Hunter 1983; Morgan 2004a; Pattoni 2005), who have shown that the novel is full with echoes of and allusions to archaic, classic, and Hellenistic Greek texts. This is in close relation with the episodic nature of the book: in contrast with the other romances, where the episodes are variations upon the pattern of separation and danger and the adventurous dimension gives a coherent continuity to the story, in *Daphnis and Chloe* (where the protagonists live together and their love is not exposed to real risks), the episodes live independently: each scene has its color and its sources. Homer is quite often echoed, mostly in passages where the epic touch makes a humoristic contrast with the rustic or urban context. At 2.17.3, the farmers who attack the Methymnaeans are compared to starlings or jackdaws: the simile that at *Iliad* 17.755 is used for the Achaeans who are fleeing before Hector. At 4.3.4, at the end of the party organized by Dionysophanes, a servant takes the tokens of Chloe's identity and carries them round from left to right, showing them to everyone: at *Iliad* 7.183–184, the same maneuver is performed by the herald, who wants to identify the winner of the draw.

In other cases, the epic imitation goes beyond the reuse of Homeric phrasing and suggests the borrowing of scenes and situations. A splendid example is the bath episode in Book 1. Chloe falls in love with Daphnis when she sees him washing himself in the Nymphs' spring: the model is *Odyssey* 6, when Nausicaa, watching Odysseus as he sits on the seashore after bathing in the river, realizes how

beautiful he is. Also, the story told to Daphnis by Lycaenium at 3.16 about the loss of one of her 20 geese is based on the dream that Penelope tells to the disguised Odysseus about her flock of geese being preyed upon by an eagle (*Odyssey* 19.535–540).

The other voice of archaic poetry that most often speaks in Longus' novel is Sappho's. Longus' predilection for Sappho, which is unique among the novelists of the corpus, can be explained by a geographical proximity (the fatherland of the poetess was Lesbos) and, more important, by a thematic affinity. The chief interest of Longus is reproducing the psychology of the lovers and describing their emotional reactions to the novelty of falling in love. This topic is very close to that symptomatology of love that inspires many of Sappho's poems. The indolence of Daphnis and Chloe in doing their duty (1.13.6; 1.17.4) echoes fr. 102 L-P; their violent physical symptoms (pounding heart, shivers, sweat, aphasia: 1.13–14; 1.17) correspond to the description of fr. 31 L-P. The whole episode of 3.33.4–34, when Daphnis climbs an apple tree to catch the topmost fruit and give it to Chloe, is the expansion of fr. 105a L-P, a wedding song where the bride who has kept intact her virginity is compared to the unplucked apple.

Note

- 1 All translations of Greek novels are from Reardon 1989. Other translations are mine.

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Further Readings

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on the Greek novel as a merger of previous genres.

Morgan, J. 2008. "Intertextuality." In *The Greek and Roman Novel*, edited by T. Whitmarsh. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Since a systematic and comprehensive investigation of intertextuality in the Greek novel is still lacking, this synthetic discussion is very useful.

Schmeling, G., ed. 1996. *The Novel in the Ancient World*. Leiden: Brill. Offers a general introduction to the ancient novel; the chapters on the single novelists give information also on their treatment of the literary sources.

CHAPTER 26

Ekphrasis in the Ancient Novel

Angela Holzmeister

Ekphrasis, vivid visualization through words, is a crucial part of the literary texture and ideological play of the ancient novels. *Ekphrasis* can be highly pleasurable, comprising the very *best* description, as the history of the trope attests from Achilles' shield in the *Iliad* to the Byzantine novel of Eustathius Macrembolites, which, modeled on the novels of Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus, almost entirely consists of *ekphrasis*. It can also be a source of frustration; many a reader, ancient and modern, will recognize the irritation of Libanius when he chided Bemarchius for going on and on about pillars and trellises (1.41). This chapter aims to look more closely at some of the pleasures and frustrations of reading *ekphrasis* in the ancient novel. The first section discusses definitions of *ekphrasis* and the usefulness of the accounts of the technique in the *Progymnasmata* for understanding *ekphrasis* in the ancient novel. The second section examines how *ekphrasis* constructs readers: erudite readers, narrativizing readers, complicit and acculturated readers. The third section advances a new argument, building on the works of Mikhail Bakhtin and Valentin Voloshinov: *ekphrasis*, in the more sophisticated works, actually functions as a character in and of itself. *Ekphrasis* is the "hero" of the ancient novel.

Ekphrasis in Theory and Practice

A definition of *ekphrasis* does not appear in any ancient text until the *Progymnasmata*, the handbooks written between the first and fifth centuries CE for students of rhetoric.¹ Nicolaus, writing his *Progymnasmata* in Constantinople in the fifth century, gives the following definition: "*ekphrasis* is a descriptive speech (*logos periēgēmatikos*) that leads the thing shown vividly (*enargōs*) before the

line of sight (*hūp' opsin*).” Drawing from his predecessors, Theon and Ps.-Hermogenes, Nicolaus provides the most extensive discussion of *ekphrasis* in his handbook, which includes a comprehensive list of possible ekphrastic subjects ranging from descriptions of people, places, and seasons to the making of arms, plants, and animals, and works of art.

Frustratingly, the handbooks’ authors never cite examples from the novelists’ texts. Instead, they take for paradigmatic models the works of older, canonical authors such as Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Demosthenes. Furthermore, the practical function of the *Progymnasmata*, as introductory guides for schoolboys, limits complex discussions of the ways rhetorical devices may be employed within a text in favor of laying out clearly delineated and simplistically defined rhetorical themes to be studied and reproduced in exercises. For example, Nicolaus draws an unambiguous distinction between *ekphrasis* and narration, stating that narration offers a plain exposition of events, while *ekphrasis* attempts to make the listeners into spectators.² If it is important to distinguish narration from ekphrastic description, then Nicolaus’ explanation allows little room for Longus’ novel, famously a book-length narrative *ekphrasis* compelled by the narrator’s desire to respond to a painting (*antigrapsai tē graphē*) he had seen in the grove of the nymphs, or the *ekphrasis* on the *Troiae halosis* that Petronius’ Eumolpus narrates to Encolpius in the picture gallery (89). The *ekphrasis* of Persinna’s band in Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica* (4.8) is similarly problematic in terms of Nicolaus’ guidelines. The physical description of the band, as an object embroidered with a royal Ethiopian script, conjures only an image of artfully arranged, unintelligible writing. Although the narrative of events embroidered on the band provided by Calasiris’ reading is not in itself a piece that transforms the listener into a spectator (that is, the reader does not “see” the images on the band any clearer), the narrative provides the illuminating elements required to gain meaning from the object. Therefore, the exposition of events becomes the elucidation of the enigmatic script written on the band by contributing the descriptive elaboration necessary to bring vividness and clarity to the ekphrastic moment.

The handbooks make no account for the way the description of Persinna’s band contributes plot information essential to the entire text, or how the *ekphraseis* of the band and the opening scene of the *Aethiopica* (1.1–3), where Egyptian bandits arrive at the shore of the Nile and come upon a tableau of wreckage, violence, and the figures of Chariclea and Theagenes, which they cannot decipher, illustrate the themes of cultural identity and reading images that run throughout the course of the novel (Perkins 1999). Equally removed from the

aims of the handbooks is an attempt to understand how the impact of *ekphrasis* may extend beyond a superficial description to give deeper insight to the psychology of characters in the text (see Cuypers 2010 on the development of Hellenistic rhetoric, especially 325: “Rhetoric never *retreated* into the schools ... practical education, and not contemplation, remained the context of its development”—original emphasis). Chariton, for example, employs such an ekphrastic moment in his novel, when Callirhoe, unable to decide in her waking hours if she should marry Dionysius and whether she should keep her unborn child, receives the answer in her dreams (2.9). The vision (*eikōn*) of Chaereas that appears in Callirhoe’s dream and his advice that she should raise their child serve as a manifestation of Callirhoe’s own desire to bear a child who will look like his father, return to his parents’ homeland, and find a way to rescue his mother. The *ekphrasis* not only serves to move the plot forward by communicating an action to Callirhoe that will keep her and her child alive, but it also reveals the psychological and emotional motivations at play in Callirhoe’s behavior.

While the *Progymnasmata* offer relatively little to the novels’ readers in terms of an interpretative understanding of *ekphrasis*, the basic information provided in the handbooks has become a crucial foundation for recent studies in novelistic *ekphrasis*. The trend in early-twentieth-century scholarship on the ancient novel identified works of art as the only possible subjects of *ekphrasis* (technically, the last category of *ekphrasis* added to the *Progymnasmata*).³ Therefore, only descriptions of paintings, jewelry, statues, and similar objects of the plastic arts were identified and analyzed as instances of *ekphrasis* in the novels (e.g. the paintings in the art gallery in Petronius 83–90, Calligone’s necklace in Achilles Tatius 2.11, Chariclea’s ring in Heliodorus 5.14, and the mythological statue grouping in Apuleius 2.4). Rohde (1914, 360), in his monumental study on the Greek novel, cites the *Progymnasmata* as an authoritative *source* for *ekphrasis*, but neglects to elaborate. Furthermore, Rohde’s false conception of novelistic *ekphrasis* as self-standing descriptions of art (similar to those found in the contemporaneous works of the Philostrati and Callistratus) inserted into the narrative of the text leads him to identify novelistic *ekphrasis* as solely a product of the rhetorical aims of Second Sophistic writers, isolating these ekphrastic moments from earlier traditions. This approach is continued by later scholars, who treat novelistic *ekphrasis* as a *topos* that is easily excisable from the text. For the greater part of the twentieth century, scholarship on the novel discussed how the novelists indiscriminately “embellish the narrative with the artifices that are proper to his trade ... and interlard [...] it with extracts from a copious book of commonplaces”

(Todd 1940, 22); how *ekphraseis* are rarely more than “irrelevant digressions intended to dazzle or entertain the reader” (Mittelstadt 1967, 753); and how the subject matter of these passages “is of less consequence than the word-working” (Perry 1967, 119). The limitation of possible ekphrastic subjects to works of art and subsequent isolation from the narrative as a whole discouraged discussions of *ekphrasis* as a dynamic and integral part of the text.

The resurgent interest in novelistic *ekphrasis* in the past 20 years can be credited, in part, to a re-engagement with more capacious ancient definitions offered by the *Progymnasmata*. Recent scholarly trends, led by Shadi Bartsch’s (1989) foundational *Decoding the Ancient Novel*, have embraced the wide-ranging possibility of ekphrastic subjects presented in the handbooks to make connections that allow for a greater appreciation of the novels’ artistry and textual dynamics. Ekphrastic moments are no longer regarded simply as a byproduct of the main narrative; rather, scholars now investigate the novels’ descriptive passages as meaningful moments intrinsically significant to the main narrative. Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon*, a novel whose preoccupation with the visual and excess of purple passages has prompted Helen Morales’ (2004, ix) apt characterization of the entire text as a “scopophilic’s paradise,” proves a fertile ground for exploring the form and function of *ekphrasis*. A striking example of the way the novel creates visual analogues in order to convey meaning can be found in the *ekphraseis* of Clitophon’s garden (1.15) and Leucippe’s face (1.19). The elaborate description of the garden is mirrored in the description of Leucippe’s appearance (her hair is like ivy, her cheeks have a rosy bloom, her eyes shimmer like violets). The analogy serves not only to emphasize Leucippe’s beauty, but also her ability to arouse Clitophon. The garden is a highly erotic space, whose appearance compels Clitophon to perceive the plants as amorously clinging to one another (1.15) and whose contents allow for Clitophon to wax sensual about the mating habits of plants and animals in an attempt to seduce Leucippe (1.16–1.18). Thus, Leucippe’s beauty arouses Clitophon in a similarly erotic way (see Morales 1995 and 2004, 184–199, for further discussion on visual analogues to Leucippe in Achilles Tatius’ novel). Here, *ekphrasis* operates by presenting to the reader images that are linked through their descriptive elements. While a casual reader may regard these descriptions as superfluous to the narrative or merely decorative, the alert reader is meant to attribute the meaning of these images to one another and to the story line, in order to gain a fuller understanding of the narrative direction and artistic dimensions of the text.

The inclusion of ekphrastic subjects that extend beyond the plastic arts also opens the door to understanding how *ekphraseis* may serve as

literary moments in which the novels' authors attempt to establish themselves within the poetic tradition. While Jas Elsner (2002, 2), observing a strong tradition of descriptions of works of art in ancient texts since Homer, rightly advises against an exclusive understanding of *ekphrasis* based *solely* on the handbooks, it is, nevertheless, crucial to widen the scope of ekphrastic subjects beyond works of art in order to understand how *ekphrasis* is employed and developed in the ancient novels. The authors of the *Progymnasmata* freely cite examples from Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Demosthenes, making no distinction in how these *ekphraseis* operate in different genres. Therefore, we can reason that, although the *Progymnasmata* as textbooks certainly established for their readers a tradition of *ekphrasis* as a tool of rhetoric through their examples, the writers were also relating a tradition they understood as pre-existing and engaged by both past and contemporary authors. For example, the identifying birthmark on Chariclea's arm in the *Aethiopica* (10.15) that recalls the scar on Odysseus' thigh in the *Odyssey* (19.385–475; Perkins 1999; Whitmarsh 1998), and the visual allusion linking Charicles' death in Achilles Tatius' novel (1.12) to that of Hippolytus in Euripides' play (1151–1242; Webb 2009, 179), are used in a knowing way by authors aware of a long and significant literary history from which they can draw in order to make and highlight thematic connections. And so, engaging in the allusory games of *ekphrasis* is part and parcel of being an educated (*pepaideuomenos*) reader.

Although the definitions of *ekphrasis* in the *Progymnasmata* provide little material to help in theorizing ekphrastic descriptions in the novels, they, nevertheless, provide a valuable insight to some contemporary (albeit rudimentary) views of the way *ekphrasis* is identified and defined on the most palpable level. The fact that the entries on *ekphrasis* in the *Progymnasmata* vary, and that the list of ekphrastic subjects increases from one handbook to the next, shows that *ekphrasis* has never been established to be a static and stable convention. Therefore, a capacious rather than purist approach to identifying the form and function of *ekphrasis* seems most appropriate: an understanding that holds its base in vivid description that brings clarity to the reader, but one whose precise functions are determined by the dynamics of the text.

Readers and Viewers

“Ekphrasis is designed to produce a viewing subject” (Goldhill 2001a, 2). The authors of the *Progymnasmata* count this quality of making the

things spoken nearly seen (σχεδὸν ὁραῖσθαι τὰ ἀπαγγελλόμενα [Theon, *Progyrnasmata* 119.31–32, ed. Patillon 1997, 69]), the ability to bring about sight from hearing (διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς σχεδὸν τὴν ὄψιν μηχανᾶσθαι [Ps.-Hermogenes, *Progyrnasmata* 10.49, ed. Rabe 1913, 23]), and to make listeners into spectators (πειρᾶται θεατὰς τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐργάζεσθαι [Nicolaus, *Progyrnasmata*, ed. Felton 1913, 68.]) foremost among the virtues of *ekphrasis*. Since the literary culture that produced most of the ancient novels, generally referred to as the “Second Sophistic” (see Goldhill 2001a, 14–15, and Whitmarsh 2001, 41–45, for the term “Second Sophistic” as denoting a literary and historical period), is characterized, in part, by its preoccupation with *paideia* (the knowledge of the literature and art of the past that represents the shared education and values of the cultural elite; see Goldhill 2001a; Stephens 2008; especially Whitmarsh 2001), the novel writers assume a reader with extensive cultural knowledge (on readership of the ancient novels, see Hunter 2008; Whitmarsh 2008; Stephens 1994; Bowie 1994; and Egger 1994). Consequently, the reader’s *paideia* serves an integral role in the construction of the viewing subject. *Ekphrasis*, then, in its capacity to turn a reader into a viewer, becomes a loaded site for the educated viewer (*pepaideuomenos theatēs*). The use of *ekphrasis* in the novels as visual symbolism challenges the reader’s *paideia* by involving the reader in hermeneutic games that, for the most educated and hyper-alert viewer of *ekphrasis*, yield the greatest interpretative reward.

Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe* is exemplary among the ancient novels in terms of its engagement with *paideia*—the novel simultaneously bestows *paideia* onto the reader through its story (*praef.*), while requiring a *pepaideuomenos* reader to discern the connection between the symbolic descriptions and the instructional aspirations of the text. The description of the luxurious garden park (*paradeisos*) on the master’s estate (4.2–3), which Zeitlin (1990, 445) proclaims “the grandest *ekphrasis* of them all,” synecdochically represents the novel’s themes of education and acculturation (Hunter 1983, 72–73; Whitmarsh 2001, 80–83, 100–103; especially Zeitlin 1990). This highly stylized and carefully cultivated estate park serves as a visual allegory for the social and sexual maturation of the novel’s main characters: Daphnis’ ability to arrange and tend the garden will prove to his master that he is ready for marriage to Chloe, while the park also serves as a site of violence to Chloe’s blossoming sexuality (Zeitlin 1990, 447). In particular, the paintings in the temple of Dionysus crowning the park symbolize Chloe’s future suffering (Winkler 1990, 118–124). The images in these paintings—Semele giving birth, Ariadne sleeping, Lycurgus fettered, and Pentheus ripped apart—reveal the sexual violence to women inherent to matrimony and

motherhood, compelling John Winkler's characterization of the temple as "a structure of recollected and institutionalized violence" (Winkler 1990, 123). The meaning conveyed through the *ekphrasis* of the *paradeisos* privileges the reader with information about the future experiences of the characters that they themselves cannot understand: no matter how far Chloe and Daphnis progress in their education, the sophisticated reader is always making interpretative (and thematic) connections paces ahead of them (Whitmarsh 2001, 102). The effect of this *ekphrasis*, then, affects the reading of the entire text: the hyper-alert reader, one expert in the meaning-laden allusions made by this description, is rewarded for his or her close reading, but also burdened by the knowledge of the future suffering that lies beyond the felicitous wedding celebration that ends the novel. Through the course of the novel, the (close) reader understands the prologue's claim that no one has or shall escape *eros* (οὐδεὶς ἔρωτα ἔφυγεν ἢ φεύξεται) as a promise, a threat, and finally, by the end of the novel, a statement of tacit resignation.

Daphnis' and Chloe's inability to perceive the symbolism that seems to saturate their surrounding environment is not uncommon in the ancient novels: often, characters do not immediately (or ever) comprehend the symbolic significance of images. While realism is an aim of *ekphrasis*, to present the ekphrastic subject in such a way so that the reader might believe they are truly viewing the image, ekphrastic descriptions represent carefully crafted moments filled with specifically chosen elements from which the reader (not the character) is meant to gain some understanding. For this reason, *ekphrasis* has become understood as a device that necessarily involves the reader as an active participant within the novel's process of meaning making.

Shadi Bartsch (1989, 37–39) proposes that descriptive passages in the novels contain visual clues intended to encourage the reader to a hyper-vigilance when encountering these passages in order to make connections to the narrative, especially those connections that escape the characters' ready understanding. In Achilles Tatius' novel, for example, the *ekphrasis* of the paintings of Andromeda and Prometheus (3.6–8) function proleptically, providing the (deciphering) reader with enough descriptive information to anticipate the (false) sacrifice and disembowelment of the novel's heroine (Bartsch 1989, 53–79). In this way, *ekphrasis* plays an architectural role within the text, as the descriptive moments serve as narrativistic signposts for the reader. Another literary moment representing this role of *ekphrasis* occurs in the description of the artwork on display in Byrrhaena's atrium in Apuleius' novel (2.4). In this scene, Lucius comes upon a statue group depicting the myth of Diana and Actaeon, a moment that forebodes Lucius' transformation compelled by his own voyeuristic

behavior (Heath 1982, 104–106; Winkler 1985, 168). While the second book of the *Metamorphoses* begins with Lucius acknowledging his sensitivity to his surroundings in Thessaly in light of the area's reputation as the seat of the magic arts (2.1), he, nevertheless, describes the works of art with no inkling of foresight. Therefore, the force of Byrrhaena's ambiguous words that end the *ekphrasis*—"everything you see is yours" (*tua sunt cuncta quae vides*)—are caught only by the reader who understands this moment as a forewarning.

A particularly provocative aspect of this episode in the *Metamorphoses* is the way *ekphrasis* functions not simply as a clarifying and illuminating trope for the reader, but also as a disruptive element that complicates reading. The presence of multiple second-person singular verbs in this passage draws the reader into the scene, as though she herself were present (Winkler 1985, 170). Furthermore, since the viewer must construct the narrative from the statue of the not-yet-nude Diana and the figure of Actaeon mid-metamorphosis, consequently, "the viewer provides the motive of voyeurism" (Paschalis 2002, 137). The reader is, thereby, implicated in the crime against the goddess. In a close examination of the physical dimensions of the artwork in this scene, Niall Slater (1998, 36–37) observes that Diana is not looking at Actaeon, but rather toward the viewer, setting her own punishing gaze against Lucius, and beyond him against the reader, whose gaze extends through Lucius'. Here, *ekphrasis* disrupts readership and creates a heightened awareness in the reader of her position as a viewing subject purposefully manipulated and integrated into the dynamics of the text.

In the *Satyricon*, Petronius both creates and satirizes the erudite reader. Just as satire calls upon a knowledgeable reader to mark the humor and transgressive steps taken by the author, Petronius' use of *ekphrasis* requires the corrective gaze of the sophisticated viewer for its satirical effect. Despite his scholarly pretensions, Encolpius is presented as an incompetent reader of images. Upon entering Trimalchio's house, Encolpius is first deceived by a painting of a guard dog (29.1; Veyne 1963; Slater 1987, 169–170; Plaza 2000, 95–97; Hales 2009, 165–167, discuss the *cave canem* painting), and shortly later has difficulty identifying paintings that depict events from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (29.9). In the art gallery scene (83.1–4), Encolpius once again fails to read images, as he, recently rejected by his boy lover Giton, is drawn to paintings depicting mythological pederastic relationships. His desire to view his own suffering in relation to these paintings leads him to misinterpret the mythological stories he sees, so that they represent happy pederastic relationships against other literary accounts (Courtney 2001, 134, and Rimell 2002, 61–62). This

desire also compels him to accept the pederast Eumolpus as an authority on art, which Elsner (2007, 191) identifies as really “a sublimation of his desire to learn more about the techniques of homosexual seduction from a self-proclaimed expert.” Eumolpus’ extemporaneous versification on a painted scene from the Trojan War (89) is a failure at reading images equal to Encolpius’. This *ekphrasis*, describing the capture of Troy, conveys no details about the physical painting from which Eumolpus draws his material, and merely serves to recast his own past erotic conquest of a Pergamene boy as an ancient military conquest (Dufallo 2007, 297). For both Encolpius and Eumolpus, their claims of *paideia* are betrayed by their self-serving art criticism, which relates nothing other than their own erotic desire. For the educated reader who sees these failures, Petronius’ use of *ekphrasis* raises challenging questions regarding what truth lies behind descriptions of artwork and the amount of subjectivity inherent in one’s viewing of images (Elsner 2007, 186–187, 196).

The question of subjectivity, however, extends beyond a single reader’s viewing and subsequent interpretation of images. *Ekphrasis* in the ancient novels also functions as a technology of identity (De Lauretis 1987), including cultural and gender identity.⁴ The use of *ekphrasis* as a device employed to expose culturally subjective influences on a reader’s perspective is found elsewhere in Second Sophistic literature. In his essay *Heracles*, Lucian comments on a cultural disparity in the representation of the god Heracles, whom the Celts portray as a graying old man adorned with exotic jewelry and piercings (1–3) (Bartsch 1989, 25–30). Lucian is at a loss with what to make of this depiction until he meets a Greek-speaking Celtic scholar, who explains that since the Celts attribute eloquence and wisdom to the god, Heracles is depicted in the portrait as an older, mature man (4–6). Lucian’s text highlights how cultural bias (fueled by ignorance) deprives the viewer of a fuller understanding of an image. The benefits, however, of a multi-cultural perspective are made clear in Lucian’s account, when, self-conscious of his own aging, he adopts the Celtic association of Heracleian vigor and old age (7). This is not to say that the essay does not convey some sentiments of Hellenic privilege and cultural intolerance, but it does show Lucian’s awareness of the different results offered by multiple cultural perspectives rather than a singular one.

The novels similarly address *ekphrasis* as a site of cultural implications, albeit more subtly than Lucian’s essay. In the *Aethiopica*, Heliodorus presents the act of reading images in a way that emphasizes the cultural specificity of a Hellenic *paideia* when making interpretations (Perkins 1999, 202–203). In this novel, lack of cultural knowledge results, at best, in a failure to gain meaning from an image,

and, at worst, tragic consequences for those involved. In the *ekphrasis* that opens the novel (1.1–3), the Egyptian bandits are unable to grasp any understanding for the scene of wreckage or the figures of Chariclea and Theagenes, and, therefore, must rely on their own (baseless) reasoning to make sense of what they see (Hardie 1998, 31). Later, Thyamis accidentally kills Thisbe (1.30–31), when in a darkened cave he mistakes her for Chariclea (only hearing a woman speaking Greek, a language he does not understand) (Perkins 1999, 205–206). In sharp contrast, Calasiris' wide-ranging knowledge allows him, although Egyptian born, to travel through foreign lands with relative ease and read artifacts from other cultures, such as Persinna's band (4.8). While it could be argued that the *ekphrasis* of Persinna's band provides a moment that privileges other (non-Greek) cultures (since a Greek, Charicles, is unable to decipher it), it is important to recognize that the band becomes the intellectual property of Hellenic *paideia* when its contents are translated into Greek through the ekphrastic description. The Greek reader is, thus, privileged with information that allows for a complete understanding of the ekphrastic moment not available to others.

In *Leucippe and Clitophon*, Achilles Tatius offers his reader a culturally bivalent perspective of reading images (Selden 1994, 50–51; Morales 2004, 37–48). The novel opens with an unnamed internal narrator's description of a painting of Europa (1.1). Clitophon, prompted by this narrator's exclamation on the power of Eros, recounts his own love story, beginning with a description of Leucippe, whom he likens to a painting he once saw of Selene on a bull (1.4). Morales (2004, 38–41), resisting teleological readings that would emend "Selene" to "Europa," and, thus, arguing for the *lectio difficilior*, argues (2004, 42) that this *ekphrasis* exposes an understanding of the hermeneutic instability of representations, as, in this scene, "viewing is established as a subjective activity, contingent upon the spectator's cultural frame of reference" (cf. 45–46 for a discussion of Lucian's *de Dea Syria* and the controversy over the ruling deity [Astarte-Selene-Europa] of the temple at Sidon). This dynamic of the Europa/Selene *ekphrasis* foregrounds the themes of reading, misreading, and re-reading that will play out through the course of the entire novel (Morales 2004, 48; also, Bartsch 1989, 48–55). More interestingly, the effect of this *ekphrasis*, followed by Clitophon's comment, is jarring to the reader, who, having just read a description of Europa and anticipating that it is to her that Leucippe will be analogized, is confronted with a moment that exposes "the multiple narrative possibilities of the sign" (Morales 2004, 48). While this *ekphrasis* provides a fascinating and reflective moment for the reader, bivalency (or polyvalency) may also be a potentially destabilizing feature of

ekphrasis. There is an implication that there are other readings of this (and other) image, and other explanations of this image not offered by the narrator. It calls into question the validity of any understanding gained from an image. It is this indeterminable quality of *ekphrasis* that will be the focus of the final section of this chapter.

***Ekphrasis* as Novelistic “Hero”**

Recent scholarship on ekphrastic episodes in the ancient novel treats *ekphrasis* as a locus for hermeneutic activity, reader deliberation, and cultural commentary. This capacity of *ekphrasis* is overlooked by Bakhtin (1981, 101–107; cf. Whitmarsh 2005), who dismisses the Greek novels as representing little more than an ossified narrative formula that deprives the text of any sense of contemporary relativity or complexity. As a result of the teleological goals of the plot, Bakhtin describes the novels’ characters as “deprived of any initiative” and “merely the physical subject[s] of the action” (1981, 105), thus falling short of his ideal novelistic “hero”—an ideal he finds perfectly exemplified in Dostoyevsky’s prototypical protagonist, who is primarily occupied with “the pure function of gaining consciousness of himself and the world” (1984, 50). The Bakhtinian “hero” stands in sharp contrast to other characters in the text who are defined and confined within the limits of the author’s design (1984, 52). Yet, I suggest that novelistic *ekphrasis* actually *does* fit Bakhtin’s terms for the “hero,” in the way that the novels present *ekphrasis* as subverting reader expectations, defying finalization, and resisting reification. This idea is bolstered by the work of Bakhtin’s contemporary, Valentin Voloshinov, whose own theory of the “hero” grants dialogic agency to any representation or referent within a text. By combining these two views of the “hero,” we can see that *ekphrasis*, as a site of self-consciousness and hermeneutic instability, becomes “heroic” in itself, adding a complexity to the novels that challenge Bakhtin’s criticisms.

Achilles Tatius never resolves the bivalent *ekphrasis* that opens his text, and this lack of resolution reveals, as Morales (2004, 48) argues, “multiple narrative possibilities.” The image, therefore, becomes a site of others’ identifications and interpretations, an image at which all others’ respective “field of vision” is pointed.⁵ This idea is not implied in the scene, but made clear through two different verbal declarations about the image: the internal narrator describes Europa, and Clitophon recognizes Selene. While the onlooker offers his account of the painting, the image (like Bakhtin’s “hero”) “eavesdrops on every word someone else says about [it], [it] looks at [itself], as it were, in

all the mirrors of other people's consciousnesses..." (Bakhtin 1984, 49). Here, we, the readers, serve as witnesses to the image's self-conscious deliberation, as we read the jarringly different identifications of the image we ourselves cannot resolve. The open-endedness of this image parallels the open-endedness of the novel: the ending of *Leucippe and Clitophon*, culminating in two marriages, does nothing to explain why we find Clitophon alone in Sidon at the novel's beginning. Morales (2004, 148) suggests that the ending "conforms to the narrative pattern of lack of closure," as images are constantly subject to re-interpretation and re-evaluation. Like Dostoyevsky, Achilles Tatius "leave[s] the final word to his hero," as the self-consciousness of the image survives "by its unfinalizability, by its unclosedness and its indeterminacy" (Bakhtin 1984, 53). The *ekphrasis*' self-consciousness exists through the reader's readings and re-readings, not as a reified object, but as something more complex—as a locus of (ever-renewed) discourse on the image itself and on the world.

Ekphrasis not only functions as the site of others' discourse, but also plays a role within that discourse. Voloshinov (1987, 103) expands on Bakhtin's idea of the "hero," arguing that any object of an utterance or gesture becomes a participant in the dialogue, while other listeners (to whom the utterance is not directly addressed) become witnesses to or allies in that dialogue. According to Voloshinov's theory (and clearly evidenced in Achilles Tatius' text), the internal narrator's exclamation is directed toward the painting itself (1.2), where Clitophon becomes the witness and ally to the narrator's sentiment when he, compelled by the exclamation, tells his own story. This idea of the image (and object of the utterance) as participant in the dialogue is most expressly realized in Chariton's novel, when Callirhoe must decide whether or not to keep her unborn baby with Chaereas in light of her proposed marriage to Dionysius (2.11). In this scene, Callirhoe places a picture of Chaereas on her belly and creates a dialogue between herself, her absent husband, and her unborn child, imagining how each would argue the situation. This act of envisioning an (imagistic) object as a novelistic participant is not uncommon, since images and *ekphraseis* often serve as surrogates for the characters, as in the preceding scene (see Morales 1995 and Hardie 1998 for discussions of *ekphraseis* as visual analogies for characters in the novels). Furthermore, depictions of characters in terms of artwork, such as Callirhoe described in terms of a statue,⁶ or Chariclea, who, in the opening tableau (1.7) and sacrifice scene (10.9), is "a walking *ekphrasis*" (Whitmarsh 2002, 111), blur the line between art and reality without diminishing the character's agency. *Ekphrasis* allows artworks to be afforded the agency of human characters, and with this comes a blurring of the

boundary between the source of an utterance and the utterance itself, thereby distributing agency almost indiscriminately through ekphrastic descriptions.

These observations about the capacity of novelistic *ekphrasis* to be the “hero” of the novel lead me to nuance Whitmarsh’s fascinating argument that observes an “ekphrastic contagion” spreading throughout Heliodorus’ novel: “the power of the visual icon to infect its surrounding discourse with ontological and perceptual uncertainty” (Whitmarsh 2002, 111). Whitmarsh suggests that *ekphraseis* of artworks, which exhibit some sense of “realism,” reflect a larger narrative theme of deception through appearance (cf. Winkler’s 1982 on narrative structure and the theme of deception in Heliodorus’ novel). The descriptions of the amethyst ring conjured by Calasiris to ransom Chariclea (5.14), and the novel’s opening scene that artistically poses Chariclea so that the approaching bandits are confused and wonder if they are gazing at a goddess, provide moments of “ontological self-consciousness” (Winkler’s 1982, 115). However, for Whitmarsh, the site of this self-consciousness lies not in the art, but in the “reality” of the text, as the mimetic attempt at realism causes an “ontological anxiety” that infects the rest of the text.

Whitmarsh’s argument offers a useful and provocative insight into the dynamics between the *ekphraseis* and narrative of the text, yet the “field of vision” he applies to the novel’s *ekphraseis* is limited by his exclusion of all other possible ekphrastic subjects other than works of art. If we were to consider other ekphrastic subjects, we might find that “ontological self-consciousness” is a characteristic of the *ekphraseis* themselves; and what we see in the ekphrastic descriptions in Heliodorus’ novel is an ability of artworks to *affect* as much as *infect*. For example, Heliodorus offers an extended vivid description of the siege of Syene (9.3–5) that serves as a strong visual companion to the *ekphrasis* of the amethyst ring: the occupants of Syene, walled into their city, flooded by the diverting of the Nile, race to the top of the mound to project their signal for help outward, just as the goats carved on the ring, restrained by a border of stone, climb the mound in an attempt to jump the boundary of the stone. There is no “ontological anxiety” in the siege of Syene (the siege is definitely happening), but the description of the siege as a visual companion to the amethyst ring serves to highlight the kinetic power and agency of artworks in the novel. Just as the ring functions protreptically, encouraging the ransom of Chariclea, and the artful opening scene stuns and inspires awe in the onlooking bandits, the kinetic dynamism of art culminates in the revelation that Chariclea’s appearance is the result of her mother gazing at a painting of Andromeda. In the course of the novel, we see how, as Whitmarsh asserts, “art assumes a

dynamic, kinetic role within the narrative.” However, this role functions not just to question the “reality” of the rest of the text, but also, and more radically, to assert itself as the most complex, dynamic *character* (or, in Bakhtinian terms, the “hero”) within the text.

Notes

- 1 In chronological order: Theon, *Progymnasmata* 118.6–120.11, ed. Patillon (1997); Ps.-Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata*, ed. Rabe (1913), 22–23; Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata*, ed. Rabe (1926), 46–47; Nicolaus, *Progymnasmata*, ed. Felton (1913), 67–71. See Kennedy (2003) for translation and notes. See Webb (2009) for most recent discussion on *ekphrasis* and the *Progymnasmata*.
- 2 Nicolaus, *Progymnasmata*, ed. Felton (1913), 68. Fowler 1991 offers an excellent discussion on narration and set-piece description (taking his examples from the *Aeneid*).
- 3 See Webb 1999 and Squire 2009, 120–146, for discussions on the history of the genre of *ekphrasis*, especially how modern literary studies on the relationship between literature and art influenced and shaped our understanding of ancient *ekphrasis*.
- 4 For discussions of gender dynamics in the novels’ descriptive passages, see Morales 1995; Morales 2004, 23–29, 152–226; and Elsom 1992. See Goldhill 2001b, 184–193, on the gendered gaze in other Second Sophistic literature.
- 5 Bakhtin 1984, 49: “Alongside and on the same plane with the self-consciousness of the hero, which has absorbed into itself the entire world of objects, there can be only another consciousness; alongside its field of vision, another field of vision; alongside its point of view on the world, another point of view on the world.”
- 6 Elsom 1992, 221–223, on Callirhoe as a statue, and Whitmarsh 2002, 116–119, on Chariclea as a statue. See Goldhill 2001b for extended discussion representations of women as *eikones* and the erotic gaze.

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PART IV

Themes and Topics

CHAPTER 27

Miscellanea Petroniana

A Petronian Enthusiast's Thoughts and Reviews

Barry Baldwin

1. Petronius in early Canada. On June 28, 1685, Louis-Armand, Baron de Lahontan (1666–1715), author of (English ed. 1703, text electronically available) *New Voyages to North America*, penned a letter from Montreal, containing this tidbit:

I cannot but be intraged at the impertinent zeal of the Curate of this city. This infernal fellow came one day to my lodgings, and finding the *Romance of the Adventures of Petronius* upon my table, he fell upon it with an unimaginable fury, and tore out almost all the leaves. This book I valued more than my life, because it was not castrated.

This appears to be the first mention of an unexpurgated *Satyricon* in Québec. Earlier, in 1611–1612, the Jesuit Pierre Briard's Latin account of his Canadian explorations contains the expression *asperitatem regionis*, which has been plausibly identified as a debt to *Satyricon* 99.3.1, *asperisque regionibus*, in terms of context as well as linguistic similarity.¹

2. "The Race is not to the Swift"—Ecclesiastes 9.11. Being unnoticed in the Bibliographies of Gaselee (1910) and Schmeling-Stuckey, beyond the remit of Stuckey's "Petronius the 'Ancient': His Reputation and Influence in Seventeenth Century England" (1972), and inadvertently omitted from my panoramic "Petronian Jottings" (*PSN* 23 [1993], 10–12), it is worth drawing attention to Jonathan Swift's *On Dreams: An Imitation of Petronius*, written in 1724 (text in Pat Rogers' edition, New Haven & London [1983], 270–271, plus 738

for notes). Swift's 38 lines are based on the 16 of Petronius' poem *Somnia quae mentes ludunt volitantibus umbris*, etc. After the first 10 lines, which stick fairly close to the original, Swift's version becomes progressively freer as he transforms the poem into a satirical comment on the politics and scandals of the day, with allusions to (e.g.) speculations by the South Sea directors and the tribulations of prominent churchman Francis Atterbury, plus the introduction of comical scavenger Tom Turdman. For more detailed analysis, cf. Denis Donoghue, *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge, 1969, 198–203), also Nora Crow Jaffe, *The Poet Swift* (Hanover, NH, 1977, 3–5).

3. The world hardly needed yet another Englishing of Petronius. Still, this one commands attention, being from the pen (or processor) of Frederic Raphael, classically trained novelist, essayist, and all-round man of letters. Except (thanks to television) *The Glittering Prizes* (London: A. Lane, 1976), I fancy Raphael is not as known in North America as he deserves to be, despite a Chicagoan birth and decades of screenwriting, from *Darling* (Julie Christie's launch pad) to Kubrick's daft *Eyes Wide Shut*. While orthodox in matters of author, date, and intent, the Introduction is vintage Raphael, coruscating with epigrams and provocations. He makes heavy weather over being kept away from Petronius by his Carthusian masters—in his words, "Outlawed territory" (compare the account of another companion classicist–novelist, Simon Raven, via his biography by Michael Barber, with much on the quirky Tacitean editor A.L. "Uncle" Irvine). Well, maybe at Charterhouse, but some schoolboys elsewhere must have had a taste of the Arbiter, otherwise the school editions of E.T. Sage (1929) and W.B. Sedgwick (1925; 1950) would have had no sales. These inevitably evoke horse-laughs for their quaint playing down of "smut," for example, Sage's "surround" for *circummingere* and Sedgwick's "consign to the dickens" for *laecasin dico*, but at least he left this latter in (though expunging Burmann's *catillum concatum*, which Martin Smith thought "possibly through fear of seeming guilty of bowdlerizing the text most commentators have welcomed a little uncritically.") Sedgwick, though, was a first-rate Petronian; for a just appreciation, see Robert Browning's (*CR* ns 1, 1951, 193–194) review of the second edition.

Raphael discloses a somewhat ambiguous relationship with the late John Sullivan, at one moment dubbing him "my old friend," at another praising his translation while insisting he hasn't read it—Raphael Loebed his way through, presumably via Warmington's revised version, for still another mockery of Sullivan for the term "scopomixy"—"Trust a classical scholar to find an obscure term for Peeping Tomfoolery," a bit rich coming from one who indulges in

such locutions as “depucele,” which will have students running for their dictionaries.

Raphael’s translation is in remorseless British demotic, a good deal of which will be beyond most North Americans, with some jarring intrusions, for example, cis-Atlanticisms “buck” and “stash,” and “tin” (= money), a British public school archaism, probably last used by Billy Bunter. The end product is tricky to judge. One simultaneously recognizes Petronius while seeming to read an original Raphael: is this praise or blame? One way of making up your mind is to read or re-read Peter Green’s (yet another Carthusian classicist–novelist—you name it) essay “Medium and Message Reconsidered: The Changing Functions of Classical Tradition,” in his marvelous collection *Classical Bearings* (1989, 256–270); another is to ponder Thoreau’s (*Walden*, Chapter 3) dictum: “Those who have not learned to read the ancient classics in the language in which they were written must have a very imperfect knowledge of the history of the human race, for it is remarkable that no transcription of them has ever been made into any modern tongue, unless our civilization itself may be regarded as such a transcript,” of which Green writes, “No more damning or total dismissal of all translations has ever been made.”

4. My public library’s electronic catalogue is a curious beast. I recently typed in the name Petronella Wyatt, seeking to find this British journalist’s memoirs. Instead, the site offered me the rubric Petronius, with one choice: *The Uncertain Hour*, by one Jesse Browner, billed as a New York writer and translator, with novels and multi-journalism on his c.v.

PSN 37 (2007) gave this a one-sentence notice: “This is a fictional account of Petronius and his novel.” Well, up to a point, Lord Copper. The book only makes a half-page appearance in the final pages. We learn that Petronius had been working on it during his last two years of life, untitled (so Browner evades the *Satyricon*/choice), “a satire I suppose you could call it ... it’s not dangerous, it’s private.” This in response to his interlocutor’s surprised “A book? You?”—this Arbiter then has no literary reputation. Petronius orders his work to be kept in a sealed amphora, not to be shown or even mentioned to anyone until Nero is dead—why not, if it is “not dangerous?”

Petronius is here talking to and ordering his protégé, the poet Martial no less, prominent throughout the novel as a louche, young poetaster on the make, forever bragging of his sexual prowess and flogging his epigrams, here pleased (“I like it”) to be informed that he is in his mentor’s novel disguised as Ascylltus, translated by him as “untroubled”—if only John Sullivan were here to review this....

This is not the suave, ironic man of letters from *Quo Vadis*?

Browner's Petronius is a borborological cocksman more concerned to arbitrate Nero's hedonisms than his poems. The novel divides between Petronius' theatrical banquet suicide (though the vein-cutting is done outside the *triclinium*) and flashbacks to his time as governor and general (much stress on his military abilities and popularity with the squaddies) in Bithynia. Both sections abound in lubricious scenes, somewhat in Henry Miller mode, between our hero and his blonde girl friend Melissa Silia (inspired, Browner says, from the Silia mentioned by Tacitus), acquired from her unsatisfactory and finally killed-in-action soldier husband. Unlike the faithful slave girl Eunice in *Quo Vadis?*, she will not die with him.

What with the goings-on between himself and Silia, his youthful memories of being deflowered by an older woman thoughtfully provided by his mother, and of fucking Messalina, attempted manual and oral stimulations by a 15-year-old slave girl Surisca—her name connecting with the pseudo-Virgilian *Copa* (we get a little authorship debate), recited at table as Petronius' favorite poem—there is little wonder that we find a Priapus statue in the garden of his Roman estate, the latter described in such terms as to put Trimalchio's mansion, nay, even Nero's Domus Aurea, to shame.

Some of his luxury items come from his great-grandfather's time as prefect of Egypt, and from his brother's time in Britain. Near the end, the latter, in one of the novel's best scenes, is revealed to be Petronius Turpilianus (step forward, Philip Corbett), now high in Nero's favor and not about to help his brother, briefly appears to confirm the death sentence and bid farewell in an exchange of frigid formalities worthy of C.P. Snow.

As a Seneca-phobe, my other favorite moment is the elaborately witty denunciation of that pseudo-Stoic's hypocrisies and Vicar of Bray trimmings by no less than his epistolary recipient Lucilius—not one for Anna Lydia Motto.

The novel's plan does not allow much scope for extraneous characters and events. Thus, the Fire gets but a single sentence, and no sign of Golden House or Christians in lion cafeterias. A very subfusc Nero appears near the end, briefly and to little effect, though his brooding off-stage presence as the signer of death warrants (shades of Stalin) works well enough. Blink twice, and you will miss the on-off epiphanies of Octavia, Lucan, and a surprisingly "rosy-cheeked" Tigellinus. Back at the ranch, we do get the ceremonial smashing of Petronius' fluorspar big dipper, but his sealed letter to Nero, though nicely tinged with dark predictions of the emperor's own fall, has not the Tacitus-endorsed catalogue of imperial boudoir frolics.

Browner employs modern demotic remorselessly in the characters'

thoughts and words. Thus, we have Petronius coming out with “It’s a load of crap,” and so forth. Always difficult, of course, to find the right key in an historical novel. We certainly don’t want Bulwer Lyttonisms mediated via Snoopy’s doghouse literary efforts. However, there is an uneasy clash between this technique and the rival prose used in his attempts to recreate the sights and sounds of the Roman world. Setting the bar high, Browner does not compare with *Quo Vadis?* or *I, Claudius*, or, at a notch or two lower, John Hersey’s *The Conspiracy* (1972).

One Christopher Stace is thanked for detecting historical inaccuracies, with the standard authorial shouldering of blame for any that remain. There are some eyebrow-raising moments: Poppaea did not die two years before Petronius; Tigellinus’ big party bash for Nero did not “make the Arbiter of Elegance obsolete at a single blow”; Vatinius was probably hunch-backed rather than club-footed, although Tacitus’ *corpore obtorto* is ambiguous and a pedic defect nicely suits an ex-cobbler; and Petronius’ last hour is set in December, whereas Kenneth Rose plausibly assigned it to May. One could pick other nits of detail, but this is after all a novel, and as Kingsley Amis (*The James Bond Dossier*) remarked of Ian Fleming’s capacity for error, “When he goes wrong I either don’t know or don’t notice or don’t care.” Suitable to its plot, the book can be read in a single sitting. How typical it is of Browner, I have no idea, having read nothing else by him. Basically, I thought it a good idea not always good in execution, hence for verdict fall back on *Punch*’s venerable “Curate’s Egg.”

5. Fraenkel and Petronius. In *Oxford Classics: Teaching and Learning 1800–2000*, (edited by the indefatigable Christopher Stray, 2007), Stephanie West (203–218) recalls reading Petronius in Fraenkel’s 1958–1959 Oxford class, where “we had a vivid sense of scholarship remorselessly advancing.” The great man, West observes, “had a very high regard for the elegant brevity and precision of Petronius’ style,” while, along with her classmates, rightly thinking he “pressed the theory” of his notorious phantom Carolingian interpolator “too hard”—an understatement to my way of thinking (see also the following section 11. “See You Later, Interpolator”).

West also remarks on the group’s suspicion that Fraenkel dispatched a postcard to Konrad Müller in Bern every Tuesday after their sessions—probably as well this was the pre-email era. On one occasion, set to translate *Satyricon* 102.15, West tried to duck out of rendering this long sentence by suggesting that the concluding relative clause *quod frequenter etiam non accersito ferrumine infigitur* was an interpolation. She expected ready concurrence, only to find Fraenkel demurring until the next morning when she received a note indicating a change of mind and the intention of forwarding the idea to Müller.

West subjoins in a footnote that the square brackets duly appeared in Müller's first edition, withdrawn (like so many others) in later ones. West, who likewise recanted, is given credit for this notion in John Sullivan's repertoire of proposed interpolations (1976) and Warmington's revised Loeb.

By way of a coda, West mentions that Fraenkel could transgress the bounds of rigid textual criticism with which most people identify him, telling how Petronius' allusion (17.7) to tertian ague "led to a fascinating disquisition on malaria and the ancient drainage system." A shame that this side of him (confirmed to me by his daughter Renata who lives here in Calgary) did not (save some hints in his *Horace*) find more public exposure.

6. "But among lesser men we find a certain Petronius and a certain Tigellinus in Rome, who were required to kill themselves, lulling death to sleep, so to speak, by their voluptuous preparations. They made death flow gently along, slipping it in amongst their usual wanton pastimes, between their girls and their drinking-companions, no mention of consolation, no mention of wills, no ambitious show of constancy, no talk of their condition in the life to come, but amidst games and festivities, jokes and common everyday conversation, music and love-poetry"—Montaigne, *Essays*, 3.9 ("On Vanity"), tr. M.A. Screech, Penguin (1991) 1113. Although he has obviously read Tacitus, *Annals* 16.18–20 (cf. my articles in *PSN* 31, 2001, 2–3, and 34, 2004, 3–4) and *Histories* 1.72, it is clear from his mode of reference that Montaigne had no inkling of any connection between this Petronius and the *Satyricon*, a work never cited or alluded to throughout the broodingnagian bulk of his *Essais*.

Montaigne has, though, made a point worth following up. The two *exitus* scenes both complement and contrast. Petronius (to borrow a phrase once applied to the egregious David Frost) rose without trace (*ignavia ad famam protulerat*) into Nero's favor, more *vitiorum imitatione* than the real thing, becoming *elegantiae arbiter*. Tigellinus, on the other hand, moved up fast (*velocius*), a genuine rascal (*foeda pueritia, impudica senecta*), reached the top by his wickednesses (*vitiis adeptus*), the emperor's (so to speak) arbiter of cruelty (*corrupto ad omne facinus Nerone*). Petronius dies his leisurely death, hosting a last supper for his smart literary friends, leaving no will, just the insulting letter inventorying Nero's boudoir antics. Tigellinus leaves the world in a similar though not similarly impressive (*deformis moras*) slow tempo, enjoying his last dallies with ladies of doubtful virtue at a fashionable spa before cutting his throat with a razor (*apud Sinuessanas aquas supremae necessitatis nuntio inter stupra concubinarum et oscula*)—apart from the razor's unkindest cut of all, I can think of worse ways of going out.

The unanswerable \$64,000 question: was Tigellinus' suicide a conscious emulation or parody of Petronius'? Yes or no, it is piquant (as Tacitus must have noticed, without saying so) that these two old court rivals, different in every other way, should have shared (*mutatis mutandis*) such melodramatic finales.

7. In *Spartacus Road*—a delicious blend of classical scholarship, travelogue, and memoir—Peter Stothard hopes (2010, 180–181) that the presumed library buried at Herculaneum might contain “unknown works by Nero’s ‘arbiter of taste,’ Petronius, who set near here his *Trimalchio’s Feast*, a literary masterpiece of exotic sexuality, cookery and cemetery architecture.” Don’t we all! Of course, one wonders how many books and articles might be refuted by such a discovery. It is not clear what Stothard means by “unknown works,” and there is not much “exotic sexuality” *chez* Trimalchio.

Musing over rival ancient philosophies, Stothard observes, “Petronius wrote that it was human fear that created the gods: *primus in orbe deos fecit timor*. Statius of Naples borrowed the same line and gave it to his giant boxer of the *Thebaid*, Capaneus. Giambattista Vico of Naples, 1700 years later, borrowed it again.” As Kenneth Rose (1971, 5) showed long ago, this is not a secure dating clue. Lactantius and Fulgentius may have been right to credit Petronius with authorship of the poem (Müller 1961, 28) that opens with these words. On the other hand, they may not; some take Lactantius to mean Petronius imitated Statius. Rose concludes that he was simply saying that Petronius wrote after Lucan, which (taking the *Bellum Civile* as satire on the *Pharsalia*) we knew anyway, albeit “contemporary with” would be more accurate than “after.”

This tag would have a long history, from its quotation in a Latin quatrain *Ad Atheos* in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, January 1735, 47 (cf. my *The Latin & Greek Poems of Samuel Johnson*, London, 1995, 171–172, for analysis) to its titular employment in a song by Asgaard Primus—lyrics and details on various websites.

8. Anthony Powell and Petronius again. In his journal entry for September 7, 1988, Powell wrote: “I re-read the *Satyricon*, also J.P. Sullivan’s book on Petronius. The translation of former by Paul Dinnidge is good and fluent. Sullivan, as a don, is rather worried as how to categorize the work, which does not accord with classical idea of satire.” This point is a perpetual stumbling block with critics in other areas too, who find difficulty in grasping that the world, realistically surveyed with even a minimum of irony (simply naturalistically, so far as that can ever be done), turns out to be a grotesque place, human beings even more so. After all, as Nietzsche points out, the Greeks knew that well. Decently translated, *The Satyricon* holds up amazingly well, especially Trimalchio, who, one

feels, could have been exactly like that as a Roman *nouveau riche*. Even the picaresque adventures are scarcely exaggerated.

“Dinnidge” is presumably a slip for “Dinnage,” whose translation (Spearman & Calder, London/The British Book Centre Inc., New York) appeared in 1953. It apparently earned a single review, mixed but generally favorable, by Edward L. Bassett, *CP* 49 (1954, 284–285). Dinnage is herein described as an amateur Latinist (doubtless a reason for the paucity of reviews, academic snobbery being what it is), criticized for his uncertain handling of the editions by Buecheler, Ernout, and Heraeus, but praised for his lively (if sometimes over-free) translations and refusal to bowdlerize.

As signaled in *PSN* 29 (1999), Costas Panayotakis published in that same year a revised annotated version of Dinnage (Wordsworth, Ware, Hertfordshire), an event unknown to (e.g.) Wikipedia’s list of English versions. I have never seen Dinnage’s translation. Sale copies of the 1953 original can be tracked down online. He appears not to have published anything else on Petronius: leastways, nothing by him is mentioned in Schmeling-Stuckey or Martin Smith’s *ANRW* bibliography.

A separate entry reads: “The Prince of Wales was attended by a Mr Richard Arbiter. Is the latter a modern version of Petronius Arbiter at Nero’s court, who will write a *Satyricon* of our day, then be threatened by the jealousy of another royal favourite, and will he then open a vein in his bath, while commending and criticising his servants?”

For further Powellian bonus, his parody of Cyril Connolly (himself an ardent fan of Petronius’ “rapidity of style, visual clarity, biting dialogue, intellectual fastidiousness”) concludes, “Looking around at our contemporaries, we must ponder the ambivalent lament attributed to Petronius, that disinherited Roman clubman: *Pueri mater amica optima est*—*Punch*, 1953, repr. *Miscellaneous Verdicts* (Chicago & London, 1990, 307).

Powell crystallized his Petronian points of view in a review (London, *Daily Telegraph*, 1968, repr. in *Under Review*, Heinemann, London, 1961; Univ. Chicago. 1994, 334–336). Too long to reproduce in full, hence just some saliciencies. Powell begins, “Certain books possess a magic not altogether explicable in merely critical terms. *The Satyricon* is one of these.” After three pages of discussing both Petronius and his arbiter Sullivan, he reaches the conclusion “Here, probably for the first time, is the pure imaginative vision of the novelist, directed towards the life around him that may have seemed grotesque enough, but was all the same accepted—and in many ways not all that different from our own day.” Powell inclines toward the *Ira Priapi* doctrine: disappointing for myself who seems alone in

disbelief. However, he makes one interesting observation that deserves reaction. Apropos of the usual view that Encolpius' impotence is a punishment, Powell suggests that "on the other hand, impotence and homosexuality would in themselves be displeasing to a god of fruitfulness, so that Encolpius may be punished for these as much as by them." Homosexuality is off the mark (cf. the *Priapea* poems), impotency perhaps not.

9. A.E. Housman and Petronius. I wrote on this in *PSN* 36 (2006); now, one aspect of this, the pun on *Liber* at *Sat.* 41.7, has been briefly treated by Darrell Sutton (in "An Informed and Unrivalled Critic," *The Housman Society Journal* 36 [2010] 123–124), describing and approving Housman's explanation. Sutton's accompanying remarks on Petronius describe his novel as "a craftily stitched tapestry of the rural dining habits of the Roman bourgeoisie," also commending his "drawing of word-pictures for the reader's imagination and amusement."

10. The Dating Game. In his "The *Satyrica* and the Greek Novel: Revisions and Some Open Questions" (2010), Jeffrey Henderson casts doubts on its Neronian date. I don't think it a case of Mumpsimus to be unconvinced, but he is evenhanded, makes some provocative points, and it does us no harm to rethink our positions.

Early on, Henderson makes the startling suggestion that Petronius "wrote other novels too, namely the *Albucia* and the *Euscion* attributed to him by Macrobius and Fulgentius." Has anyone else ever believed this? Henderson does not elaborate, either with argument or documentation. Both these proper names occur in that most unreliable of provenances, Fulgentius (Macrobius hardly comes into it; cf. my "Fulgentius and his Sources," *Traditio* 44 [1988] 37–57). If genuine, there is no reason why they could not come from lost sections of the *Satyrica*: *Albucia* is probably (such translators as Heseltine, Sullivan, Warmington agree, albeit the verb *subit* or *subet*, which she governs has many shades of meaning) a randy woman, *Euscios* a shady lawyer. If the lady is a fabrication, the *Albucilla* described by Tacitus (*Ann.* 6.47) as *multorum amoribus famosa* is the likeliest source of inspiration. Since (e.g.) Ernout, Heseltine, Müller, Warmington do not, I subjoin that *Euscios'* name is far from certain, as Bücheler's apparatus makes diffusely clear.

Confining another eye-catching remark to a footnote (490 n. 23)—shades of Gibbon—Henderson observes that a certain Greek writer of uncertain date, Dercyllus, also penned a *Satyrica*. True enough, but here irrelevant, since our informant Plutarch (?), *De Fluviiis* 10.2, makes it quite clear that this book was about Satyrs in general, and the flaying of Marsyas in particular. Henderson calls many Neronian references in Rose's inventory "derisory." As one who has (post-Rose)

played this game, I may or may not also have to put my hand up. In fairness to Rose, it should be stressed that he too characterizes these proposed allusions as “alleged” and “supposed”—no *Judaeus Apella* he.

In continuance of this, Henderson asserts “In fact it is noteworthy that Rose documents all of the *Satyrica*’s many references to Nero by citing later authors, especially Suetonius, Pliny, Martial, and Juvenal, where a later Petronius could have found them too.” Well, first, at least one item is documented by Seneca; second, the elder Pliny was coeval with Nero and Petronius rather than “later”; third, so what? Where else (we may toss in Dio Cassius) can one look for Neronian documentation?

Henderson is impressed by Martin’s attempts to prove that Petronian epic parodies are closer to Silius than Lucan, also by Habermehl’s claim that linguistic oddities in the *Satyrica* are akin to late Latin. No mention is made of rival demonstrations by (e.g.) Bagnani, Hofmann, and Sullivan of verbal parallels with Plautus and Seneca. From the neutral corner, it looks as though everybody finds what they are looking for.

Thanks again to Martin’s inventories, Martial is here front and center, with Henderson convinced that Petronius is dependent on him, not vice versa, as was argued in Dousa’s *Praecidanea* back in 1583. Epigram 3.82 (Zoilus’ dinner party) gets the full treatment, dubbed “a virtual *Cena Trimalchionis* in miniature.” However, the main theme of this poem (as with Juvenal 5) is the host’s stingy treatment of his guests in terms of food and wine, something of which Trimalchio cannot be accused. Henderson is taken by the appearance in this epigram of a character called Malchio, not observing that (as Bagnani, followed by Rose, pointed out) waxed tablets from Herculaneum listing the freedmen of a C. Petronius also has one. Homonyms can lead anywhere: a Fortunata appears twice in the graffiti at Pompeii’s *lupanar*. Henderson makes great play with the joint appearance in both authors of Cosmian perfumes, arguing that chronology implies Petronius was copying Martial, only weakly admitting that the Petronian passage (fr. 18) may have been a misattribution: editors (apart from Ernout) such as Heseltine, Müller (who doesn’t print it), and Warmington dismiss it as an error by Perotti (1513). In any case, as Rose and Sullivan suggest, “Cosmian” could simply be a generic or trade name for popular unguents.

On another bit of Martial lore, Henderson believes that Petronius’ description (*Sat.* 92.7–10) of how a Roman knight is attracted to Ascylltus’ large organ is modeled on Martial’s (9.33) *Audieris in quo, Flacce, balneo plausum, / Maronis illic esse mentulam scito*. This, so to speak, is poppycock. No need to suppose any direct borrowing either way. One only has to look back to Catullus’ Mamurra (poem 29) who

is all *mentula*, or forward to the *Historia Augusta's* tale of Elagabalus' scouring the baths for hyper-endowed men.

Henderson dwells on what he calls "another program-level feature of the *Satyrica*, its homoerotic focus." Is this true? On the one hand, Encolpius, Ascyltus, and Giton indulge in gay romps, as does Eumolpus, while Trimalchio has a catamite. On the other, Encolpius goes to desperate lengths to recover his heterosexual potency; Eumolpus has a fling with a young girl; Trimalchio, who as a slave serviced both master and mistress, has a wife; Tryphaena is both married to Lichas and lusting after Giton; and Quartilla's orgy is bisexual, the adjective that better fits what we have of the novel—who knows what went on in the missing portions?

On the putative links between Petronius and Greek novels, Henderson is rich in detail and evenhanded in approach. I often think, though, that this whole business may be beside the point. There may be similarities in details—indeed, how could there not be?—but, overall, Petronius is quite different, as, in his way, is Apuleius (also receiving Hendersonian attention). It isn't hard to believe in Roman fictional innovation: as Quintilian famously remarked, *Satura quidem tota nostra est*.

Pursuing the *Satyrica* into later times leads Henderson into what seem to me both irrelevancy (Strato's *Musa Puerilis*) and ghost-busting (another unknown Petronius to whom the novel was mistakenly ascribed). I increasingly stake my Neronian faith in an item Henderson does not address, namely, Trimalchio's *horti Pompeiani* (53.3). This should (Martin Smith concurred), and I think must, mean gardens at Pompeii rather than gardens belonging to a Pompeius, a grammatical possibility that restrained Bagnani, Rose, and others. Two reasons for confidence are the concurrent mention of Trimalchio's *praedio Cumano* and the fact that (76.8) he already possessed all the estates of his former master Pompeius. The only way around this must be speculation that there was some revival of Pompeii after AD 79, a notion variously proposed and rejected (details and bibliography in Rose 22 n. 2), but undermined by Statius, *Silvae* 4.4.79–85 and 5.3.205–8, also Martial 4.44, both of whom make it clear that the town was totally obliterated. No mention of any ancient revival exists, either in such modern books as Michael Grant's *Cities of Vesuvius* (1976) or (for what it may be worth) in the Wikipedia notice, while it is worth adding that Vesuvius again erupted in 203 and 472. Surely a clear case of Pompeii and circumstance...

11. See You Later, Interpolator (titular apologies to Bill Haley & The Comets). Essential Bibliography: Apart from the retrenchments, recantations, and ruminations throughout Konrad Müller's (1961) stream of editions—*claudite iam rivos, pueri, sat prata biberunt*—the

places to go are John Sullivan's "Interpolations in Petronius" (1976), and T. Wade Richardson's 1972 dissertation, the latter fortified by his 2007 work (electronic), comprising *L'état de la question* and a large number of interpolation-hunting exercises.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona. This activity began with Petronius' early editors, whom we may here acknowledge and skip with reference to the bibliographies of Gaselee (1909–1910) and Schmeling-Stuckey (1977). The first post-Trau watershed came with Peter Burmann (1709), to whom, as Gaselee observes, Franz Bücheler "does less than justice, saying *ex qua fructum capias perquam exiguum si exceperis Nicolai Heinsii notas antea ineditas*. This comment was doubtless meant to clear the way for reception of his own *editio major* (1862), ever since regarded as (Gaselee's words) the foundation of all really scientific criticism.

Enter, in our own lifetime, the dynamic duo, the Starsky and Hutch of interpolation-hunting, Eduard Fraenkel and Konrad Müller. Fraenkel was the boffin, the backroom boy issuing a weekly stream of epistolary ukases to his front man. Stephanie West (2007, 212–213) tells the story best: "With his class on Petronius (1958/9) we had a vivid sense of scholarship remorselessly advancing. In Bern, he told us, Konrad Müller was preparing his edition, and we got the impression that every Tuesday evening, after the class, he dispatched a postcard to Bern, to which he would have had a reply by the time we met again. Fraenkel had a very high regard for the elegant brevity and precision of Petronius' style [Mommsen's favorite Roman author, too, according to Wilamowitz, BB], but believed that the text had suffered badly from interpolation; a Carolingian schoolmaster had a lot to answer for. This theme gave a distinctive focus to the class, even if some of us confided to one another a suspicion that he pressed the theory too hard."

This Carolingian ghost conjured up by Fraenkel has, of course, no more substance than those other fashionable phantoms, Enmann's *KG* and Syme's *Ignotus*. Sullivan concluded that it "must be treated with caution," sensibly positing several interpolators over the centuries, pointing a particular finger at Jacques Cujas and his circle. West follows up with an amusing anecdote which has Fraenkel initially reject, then change his mind (an unusual event, to say the least) and rush it off to Müller, her own suggestion of an interpolation in *Sat.* 102.15, a notion which she has subsequently disavowed. The square brackets duly appeared in Müller's first edition, attributed to "Pickard" (West's maiden name) via Fraenkel, recurred in the second, but are now long gone.

Overall, Müller may be said to remove and restore depending upon the state of his liver that day, somewhat in the spirit of Oscar Wilde's

"I spent the morning putting in a comma; I spent the afternoon removing it." In the preface (xxvii–xxviii) to his 1995 Teubner, Müller regretfully records Fraenkel's displeasure at his abandonment in the second go-round of many of the excisions in his excited first, now sensibly conceding the need for renewed caution: *sed universam de interpolationibus Petronianis quaestionem, quae nondum satis videretur explicata, denuo explorandam esse censebam*. By the way, did Müller keep all those postcards? If so, they would be well worth publishing.

Back to Fraenkel. It is notable (significant?) that, while lauding his work on interpolations in Greek Tragedy, especially Euripides' *Phoenissae*, the hagiographical notice in the *Dictionary of British Classicists* (1994) makes no mention of his Petronian theory. Also striking is the fact that (according to Schmeling-Stuckey), Fraenkel himself published only one relevant item, "Delevare," *Glotta* 27 (1958) 312–315, apropos of *Sat.* 99.2.

On the larger question of interpolation, Fraenkel's views were pre-Petronianly set out in his review (*Gnomon* 2, 1926, 497–532) of Housman's *Lucan*, recently analyzed by S.P. Oakley (2009), remarking *en passant* that Fraenkel's Petronian dealings were less successful than his Euripidean ones. Though willing to concede some scribal intrusions, Housman generally preferred to heal by bold emendations than hotheaded deletions.

In cognate vein, F.R.D. Goodyear, in the first volume (1972, 19–20) of his *Commentary on Tacitus' Annals*, raged against "the pronouncements of that eloquent apostle of reaction, R. Syme, delivered for the benefits of editors of Tacitus everywhere in *JRS* 38 (1948) 122–131." It must be added that many questioned the value of an editor of Tacitus to whom (on his own prefatory admission) history was "an alien territory." James Willis, I subjoin, no slouch in emendatory zeal, in his *Latin Textual Criticism* (Urbana 1972), while including a definition of "interpolated"—"having alterations made deliberately, not by the simple accidents of copying," offers no case of it in his welter of trial passages for emendation, and altogether eschews Petronius.

Sullivan poses the issue in terms of conservatism ("a constant force in classical studies"—would that were still true nowadays!) versus radicalism:

One must reject as guides the fear that one is producing too radically different a version of the *textus receptus*, or one that is too generous with deletions in the text and with suggestions for deletion in the apparatus. This fear that one's text may be radically different from its predecessors in unacceptable ways is perhaps responsible for the disappointingly conservative edition

recently produced by E.H. Warmington for the Loeb Library (1969) ... paradoxically, the conservative textual critic will become the highly permissive Latinist, accepting the linguistically unlikely as textually sound.”

Here, we are back to Goodyear’s salvos against Syme. Against his usual even-handedness, Sullivan was, on his own terms, a shade unfair to Warmington, who, whatever the merits of his edition (xx, n. 3), did accept the basic assumption of interpolations by one or more Carolingians, and whose apparatus pullulates with acknowledgements of deletions proposed by Fraenkel, Müller, and others. As Wade Richardson concedes, “Deletions are inevitably the most provocative, because they subtract from the text and raise the concern, as Nisbet put it, that flakes of genuine paint have come away in the cleaning. Also, they rest upon an individual scholar’s claim to have discovered unacceptable stylistic or semantic redundancy or other compositional shortcoming unlikely to have been the responsibility of the author.”

Quite so (Nisbet, himself an enthusiastic deleter, if not delator, made his remark when reviewing Müller, *JRS* 52 1962, 227–232). And, there is the other obvious \$64,000 question: at what point does all this business become mere rewriting, sometimes dangerously close to Bentley’s *Paradise Lost*?

Recurring to Sullivan’s textual philosophy:

If we accept too many interpolations as genuine Petronius, particularly in the *Cena*, then we will unconsciously come to regard Petronius’ language and style there as *odd* and considerably different from Neronian norms and this in turn will lead us to accept scribal corruptions, other than the most obvious, as anomalies to be defended and explained wherever possible, generally by far-fetched analogies in Romance languages.

However, what exactly are these “Neronian norms”? By what prose writers can we measure them, other than Seneca, the most commonly adduced by Sullivan elsewhere, and others, in Petronian connection? And, what if the passages objected to, and such details as “the telltale *scilicet*”—a prime Sullivan weapon for detecting textual supplements—were in fact integral to Petronius’ narrative style?

One may also venture a subsidiary query. Why do these interpolators, Carolingian or otherwise, not insert glosses on such rare words as *embasicoetas*? Prudery, in its erotic context? Given their supposed intrusions upon perfectly ordinary words and phrases, should we not have expected equal interference in moments when many readers might well have needed and appreciated a bit of explanation?

Of course, there *are* some interpolations. The point is, to get rid of

Carolingian textual fiddlers, “Neronian norms,” *et hoc genus omne*. Each case must be argued on its particular merits, with due attention to context and character, not on some improvable blanket principle—in other words, commonsense. As prime example, take poor old *scilicet*. It hardly has to raise its exegetic head before some editor rushes to strike out the concomitant clause. Yet, one survives: 92.12, *iniuriis scilicet inimici mei hilaris, commodis tristis*. Rightly so, but why its privileged position? On broader terms, is it not possible that these explanations (cognates such as *tanquam* and *videlicet* are equally vulnerable, while Smith’s note on 73.5 takes Friedlaender to gentle task for his hostility to *ergo*), even if they seem redundant to us, are part and parcel of Petronius’ characterization of Encolpius as one always out to impress with his knowledge, needed or not.

I hope elsewhere to explore a host of individual passages in detail. Herewith, as preview, a tiny sample:

20.2: *ancilla, quae Psyche vocabatur, lodiculam ... extendit*. Rose deleted the relative clause. Surely Quartilla’s slave girl (others will appear) needs to be identified on her first appearance in (at least) the surviving text. A Rose by any other name...

30.5: *exclamavit unus ex pueris qui supra hoc officium positus: “dextro pede.”* Fraenkel turfed out the *qui* clause, on the grounds that it was a borrowing from *puerque super hoc positus officium apophoreta recitavit* at 56.8. This particular silliness did not long survive: criticized by Smith and Sullivan, jettisoned from Müller’s second edition. Context justifies retention. The guests are said to be afraid they had broken this unfamiliar house custom, hence an explanation of the boy’s particular function is quite in order.

34.4: *intraverunt duo Aethiopes capillati cum pusillis utribus, quales solent esse qui harenam in amphitheatro spargunt, vinumque dedere in manus; aquam enim nemo porrexit*. Sullivan deleted the *quales* clause, as he does the closely preceding (33.3), which compares a wooden hen’s wings to those of a real incubating one. One reason was the proximity of these two clauses, but even if damned as clumsy, is there any reason why Petronius should not thus repeat himself, especially in a recital of menu novelties that his readers had probably never seen? They are also the only two examples of this explanatory formula: were they interpolations, one might have expected more.

Sullivan reasonably asks if *quales* in the second passage refers to the boys or the bags; Smith assumes the former. Sullivan then wonders why normally curly-headed Ethiopians should be dubbed as longhaired; Smith points to Herodotus 7.20 for an explanation of their tresses. Sullivan cautiously allows that “such bags may have been used in the arena”; Smith cheerfully assumes they were. Sullivan brands the

comparison “pointless and distracting”; Smith found it natural that Encolpius should be so reminded. Here, then, we see two top-class Petronian scholars going in different directions. One thing in common is their failure to ask if a Carolingian interpolator could/would know about such amphitheatrical minutiae?

40.5: *non ille Carpus accessit, qui altilia laceraverat, sed barbatus ingens*. Sullivan ousted the relative clause (1970) on the grounds that “Petronius’ audience is not likely to have forgotten who Carpus is after Trimalchio’s carefully-staged pun.” Not an unreasonable point, though (again) stating the obvious may have been part of Encolpius’ character. Also, to my taste, the juxtaposition of two bits of showy meat carving varied by a different verb is both natural and effective. Perhaps more to the emendatory point: where does this excision leave *ille*?

70.12: *notavi super me positum cocom qui de porco anserem fecerat, muria condimentisque fetentem*. Fraenkel (surprise, surprise) tossed out the relative clause, an expunction that did not survive into Müller’s second edition. The reader surely needs to be told which of the several kitchen maestros is meant: too many cooks spoil Fraenkel’s wrath.

118.4: *sumendae voces a plebe semotae ut fiat “odi profanum vulgus et arceo.”* Fraenkel excluded the Horatian quote, restored by Müller; Warmington, though, was tempted to go down this yellow brick road of interpolatory suspicion. This is very much a case where one must follow one’s own instincts. Dropping such direct quotations is not a common narrative feature of Petronius (the Virgil one at 68.4 is in a dramatic class of its own). However, here it seems a reasonable thing for the poet Eumolpus to do, as the lead-in to his immediately following famous compliment *Horatii curiosa felicitas* (on which, cf. my notes in *PSN* 34, 2005, and 37, 2007).

As promised/threatened, more to come. Meanwhile, I await the first latter-day Cato to leap in with a ringing *Baldwinus est delendus!*

Note

¹ Lahontan also took to Canada a copy of “my dear Lucian,” attempting to project the satirist’s Cynical ideas upon the native population—doing the same with Petronius would have been even more fun. I am grateful to my colleague Haijo Westra for assistance with these matters. For more information, general and particular, see Westra’s paper (with Milo Nikolic and Alison Mercer) “The Sources of the Earliest Latin Descriptions of Canada and First Nations by the Jesuits,” *Fons Luminis* 1 (2009, 61–82; electronic publication). Westra is planning a follow-up piece on Lahontan’s

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N.B: These notes were compiled before the epiphany of Gareth Schmeling's magnificent Commentary (Oxford, 2011) on the *Satyricon*. Otherwise, it would have been ubiquitous in my discussion of Interpolations.

Further Readings

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These may be easily gleaned throughout the essay.

CHAPTER 28

Love, Myth, and Ritual

The Mythic Dimension and Adolescence in Longus' Daphnis and Chloe

Anton Bierl

The Greek novels were, to some extent, the modern myths of a new imperial age (for myth, ritual, and religion in the ancient novel, cf. Bierl 2007 and Zeitlin 2008). Both protagonists, male and female, are stars elevated to an ideal, perhaps most closely comparable to several film heroes of Hollywood—or better yet, of Bollywood. They are often compared to glamorous figures of myth, legendary young heroes and heroines, or even gods or their statues. They appear to others as gods, i.e. they are simply confused and equated with them on account of their radiant appearances. Through exempla or analogies, a flair for the sublime is conferred upon a simple, human love story (cf. Cueva 2004). On account of their outstanding beauty, the picture-perfect couple stands far beyond the normal human standard. As a direct result of this characterization, the episodes in which a third person falls in love with them at first sight become credible. At the same time, these heroic and divine figures tend to be characters that embody the girl or the boy on the threshold of adulthood or, as divinities, are responsible for the decisive *rite de passage* from youth to adulthood. To be named on the masculine side are, among others, Hippolytus, Achilles, Orestes, and Apollo, and on the feminine side Iphigenia, Andromeda, Philomela, Artemis, and Aphrodite, whereby the highlighted myths frequently reflect Walter Burkert's concept of the *Mädchentragedie* (Burkert 1979, 6–7; 1996, 69–79; on the rite of passage see Gennep 1960).

The love novel circumscribes the fundamental crisis of this transition (Bierl 2007, especially 262–276), and, as is well known,

both protagonists are in the bloom of youth. They are at the age of puberty, and their sudden experience of love accompanies the discovery of sexuality. At the same time, oneiric features frequently become crucial for the myth-like plot, for myths and dreams are closely associated with each other.¹

Due to their fantastic, fairytale qualities, novels possess an astounding proximity to myth. Incredible elements, which accompany nightmarish aspects in a free, plasmatic fictionality, highlight fears during the central crisis before marriage. An ambiguous status on the boundary between truth and falsehood, *mythos* and *logos*, fiction and reality, fairytale and factuality comes into being. Gods and the mythical apparatus function frequently as a foil and as an erudite accessory for illustration that places the events of the novel in a mythic light but does not have to be identical to myth.

Evaluation of the mythic quality of the novel depends on the definition of the difficult terms “myth” and “ritual.” Against the standard tendency of ascribing universalizing or reductionist meanings, I emphasize, along with Margaret Alexiou, the performative element and fluctuation between polarities. *Mythos* frequently sets ritual in performance and accompanies these practices with stories. According to Alexiou (2002, 152–167), the meaning of myths lies in the gap between the binary oppositions of oral/written, primitive/civilized, superstitious/rational, true/false, rural/urban, and popular/literary, and is therefore continuously deferred.

In the following discussion, therefore, instead of the static, universalistic “what,” I wish to consider the “how” of its dynamic meaning, i.e. the function of myth in an eclectic methodology. Thus, it becomes a question of how mythic symbols and elements intrinsic to a narrative web function aesthetically and poetically, and in what way they promote definitive anthropological statements. Myths, which form “a traditional narrative with a secondary and partial reference to something of collective importance” (Burkert 1979, 23), possess a narrative and fictional potential that expresses itself linguistically in a chain of metaphors and metonymies.

Many ancient and post-antiquity Greek narratives and popular songs depict crises and states of fear in a highly pathetic and fantastic manner, through which they themselves could nearly adopt a ritual function. Specifically, the world of the young girl during puberty and the dramatic, liminal situation of marriage also represent an important theme. The woman, who in the novels renounces love and yet is confronted with sexuality nonetheless, is an ideal mediatrix between patriarchal demands, new religious forms and sexual daydreams, and power fantasies (see Alexiou 2002). The permanent oscillation of myth between polarities recalls the simultaneous deferral of love as

“discourse of absence” (Barthes 1979, 13–17), which is constitutive for the love novel. As I have shown elsewhere, it is possible to associate the novel’s plot with a dream sequence on account of its imaginary quality (Bierl 2006, especially 82–93 on Xen. Eph.). Excessive erotic desire can be connected to Jacques Lacan’s theory of oscillating deferral of meaning, which assumes a schism and fundamentally deficient structure of the subject. Accordingly, the ego is constituted on the basis of chains of signifiers according to the linguistic turn based on Ferdinand de Saussure and Roman Jakobson, by way of the supplementarity of signs in the tropological play of metaphor and metonymy. The subject and, even more so, the lover, are located in a state of continuous gliding, a “*glissement incessant du signifié sous le signifiant*” (Lacan 1966, 260; cf. Bierl 2006, 85–86), to close the gaps to the “other” which open up. Therefore, the lovers are particularly subject to language, and in the reference play of signs, a meaning-generating narration is born. Jakobson associates the work of condensation and displacement that is typical of dreams with the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of language that determine the textual fiction (Jakobson 1971, especially 243).

Despite the advent of writing, myth and the rituals that accompany myth did not die off but rather lived on in an altered form and fulfilled the same duties in the sophisticated novel of negotiating, playing on, affirming, undermining, and transforming wild or threatening material for the purpose of coping with life, as myths had done as simple, oral narratives. Myths and novels are therefore closely interlaced with one another. Just as with rituals and dreams, both forms bring the same themes into focus: violence, horror, terror, wonder; contact with gods, heroes, and animals; nature, sexuality, and the foreign as well as the “other” in opposition to the “self.”

Therefore, *mythos* is not, as Kerényi (1927) believed, the origin or *Urbild* of this genre, from which the novel developed in the trend of a literary process of secularization to a *verbürgerlichter* (“conventionalized”) and humanized form.² Suffering and *eros* scarcely have their actual placement in the Egyptian Isis and Osiris myth, but rather we have to make do with the conscious employment of *mythos* as an aesthetic method. Thus, artistic recourse to myth undoubtedly occurs not from a genetic relationship of dependence, but for the purpose of gaining depth of focus through this well-known communicative medium for an explosive, anthropological problem that concerns all people. Subsequently, the novel’s text is not a derivative of myth but rather stands in interdependence with it as a means of aesthetic and poetic expression.

Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* as Exceptional Test Case

Daphnis and Chloe is fundamentally distinguished from other novels, since Longus connects the genre to bucolic poetry of the Hellenistic era, especially to the *Eidyllia* of Theocritus.³ In doing so, Longus adopts a tension between oppositions that is typical for him and is indebted to the development of the bucolic genre. At the beginning, Theocritus casts an ironic picture of simple, country life from an urbane, educated perspective and of a mythical shepherd who gives expression to lovesickness in song. Idealizing, poetic conceptions of an escapist yearning for a simple existence in nature emerge some centuries later. Already, in direct succession to Theocritus from the poems of the *corpus Theocriteum*, followed by Moschus and Bion until Vergil, an increasing idealization and mythologization of pastoral life unfolds. In addition, a clear eroticization becomes visible which goes so far that, in the inauthentic poem [Theocr.] 27, the notoriously lovesick Daphnis finds a love affair of mutual fulfillment, anticipating the romantic scenario in the work of Longus (Bernsdorff 2006, especially 180–207; specifically on the subject of *mythos*, 186–188).

Thus, Longus embraces both old as well as newer bucolic poetry and integrates all threads of the imaginary, pastoral word into his highly artificial, literary work, even those of his time, and from this stems the ambiguity of *Daphnis and Chloe* that has been established over and over again (Reardon 1994). Seriousness is juxtaposed to irony, realism to idealism, *technē* to *physis* (Teske 1991), and country to city (Effe 1982). According to perspective, the novel's evaluation in the research tradition fluctuates between an ironic, evil, and cynical power work of pornography and rhetoric,⁴ and an ideal work of art “*edler Einfalt und stiller Größe*” (“of noble innocence and silent magnitude,” Winckelmann) that lends expression to a devoted reverence for the cheerfully religious world of nature.⁵

Everything that the genre of the novel emphasized up to this point—adventure, violence, threatening of chastity and purity, striding in a wide space as an expression of erotic lack and gliding in the opening gap of painful desire as well as reaching out to a third party until the happy ending in marriage—remains present in the background, but is radically and ostensibly transformed on the surface. The pair acts on the small isle of Lesbos, and there in the rustic ambience of Mytilene, the ideal and poetic place of love where Sappho and Alcaeus wrote their poetry. Adventures take place only sporadically as incursions from outside by attacking bandits or due to entanglements with rich neighbors from Methymna who set out on hunting excursions.

The element of interminable desire, suffering in longing for the absent “other,” is deferred onto a story of the fulfillment of love in the sexual act that is delayed over many episodes. This act must be painstakingly learned in a process over one and a half years. Last of all come social complications that condition Daphnis’ and Chloe’s actual heritage as exposed children of rich parents from the city. Thus, the narrative serves to circumscribe the critical awakening of pubescent sexuality as well as to standardize and legitimize correct gender behavior. To be sure, love as a sickness causes suffering just as in Theocritus, but through constant progression on a *cursus amoris*, this suffering is overcome with the help of the gods.

Daphnis and Chloe represents a myth that idealizes and romanticizes everything into a carefree, original state of nature. The gods are ubiquitously present and not pushed into the background, as in other novels. *Tyche*, on the contrary, is practically absent as a motivation for the plot. Additionally, the divine beings seem entirely self-explanatory and are at one with nature. Consistent with the subject matter and the location, Eros, the nymphs, Pan, and Dionysus stand at the center. The protagonists are true heroes of a prehistoric age. Daphnis is a mythical figure known to all, the personification of the bucolic lover. His tragic biography is difficult to reconstruct. He has fallen into unrequited love with a nymph and swears eternal loyalty to her, yet is admittedly disloyal, loses her, and suffers interminably (Wojaczek 1969, 5–21; Hunter 1983, 22–31; Schmidt 1987, 57–70). Chloe, on the contrary, is rather a fictitious character. As a typical nymph with the name “the green-sprouting one,” she refers to nature budding in the process of maturation. In addition, the label is frequently connected to Demeter (Paus. 1.22.3), in whose honor a festival of the Chloia is also documented in Eleusis.

The two protagonists’ contact with the gods is entirely self-explanatory. As corresponds to the theme of love that is central to the novel, Eros is a decisive deity who holds the strings of the mythic plot in his hands. In an inserted speech by Pan, who appears to Bryaxis, the leader of the Methymnans, and admonishes him to give back the kidnapped Chloe, the mythic and religious dimension is directly addressed: “You have torn a girl away from the altars out of whom Eros wants to make a *mythos*” (ἀπεσπάσατε δὲ βωμῶν παρθένον ἐξ ἧς Ἐρως μῦθον ποιῆσαι θέλει, 2.27.2; Morgan 1994, 75–77). Pan reminds us that Eros wishes to “make a myth” out of Chloe. This god is the tutelary deity and director of the exemplary story. The author, on the other hand, is the last authority who “composes” (ποιῆσαι) exactly such a myth out of Chloe.

Therefore, in the eyes of Longus, the story is to be equated to a myth from the beginning to end. Eros is responsible for the children’s

mythical exposure story, for the outbreak of lovesickness, and for its remedy by means of a conventional wedding. While in other novels he acts in vengeance for *hybris* displayed toward him, here he merely wishes to initiate a model and, to a certain extent, etiological story, namely of how two young people become acquainted with love in order to finally come to sexual fulfillment through intercourse in the waves of the pubescent confusion of emotions. This arduous path is linked with social norming and the adoption of appropriate gender roles. In this way, myth is given as an exemplary *paideia* in the anthropologically, sociologically, and psychologically explosive subject of learning sexual behavior as a pedagogical guideline, propaedeutics, and material for reflective reminiscence for all others (pf. 4).

Bucolic nature supplies the enabling framework for the meeting of the two sexes and represents the scenario of mythic origin. In addition, Eros is the original, cosmic force of the entirety of natural life being born, through which the novel as a whole turns into a comprehensive allegory and a type of song of praise for love. The mystery of love is elevated and simultaneously reduced to the consummation of sexual intercourse through the course of the plot.

Myth is the story of the gods. In the novel, Eros functions rather more in what is hidden and manifests himself only through the narrated epiphany before Philetas, yet still more clearly in concrete mental and physical symptoms. Like Eros, the nymphs and Pan—the other divinities suitable for the rustic and erotic context with a central function in the plot—also show themselves, but mainly to humans with direct messages in dreams.

The novelistic characters are situated in a natural relationship of patronage with Pan and the nymphs; they help, rescue, and bring resolution through concrete miracles wherever it is necessary. The nymphs represent the mythic embodiments of brides who stand at the threshold from girl to woman like Chloe. Chloe's violent removal from their altars at the hands of the people of Methymna (2.27.2) processes the girl's threatening fantasy of being abducted by the numerous men in her vicinity and being made sexually compliant. To the contrary, Pan symbolizes the rustic, ithyphallic aggression that the young man must develop in order to penetrate for sexual intercourse. Daphnis laments to the nymphs (2.22), who thereafter appear to him while he sleeps, over supposedly lacking support. They bring succor because Chloe as their counterpart is particularly close to their heart. Above all, they prayed to Pan to intervene (2.23.4). Daphnis and Chloe have not honored Pan up to this point and thus neglected the phallic, masculine element to their detriment. The bellicose god now effects a miracle and, as we have seen, insistently appeals to Bryaxis in a dream

(2.27) to let the girl go, to which the chieftain immediately commits himself. Chloe is rescued, and from then onward, Daphnis approaches the dimension of Pan by mimetically acting out the sexual pursuit of Syrinx in dance with Chloe (2.37).

Throughout the novel, every danger and all negativity are quickly banished as in a fairytale. The natural proximity to the divinities named earlier, particularly to the nymphs and Pan, is expressed in a (nearly absurd) cultic relationship. Their original intimacy is complemented by deep reverence and religious dedications, as we know from the early epigrams of one Anyte. The protagonists dedicate themselves and objects to the gods over and over again, such that the novel, according to the view of G. Rohde (1937, 43), becomes almost an “*Auffaltung und Erweiterung eines bukolischen Weihepigrammes*” (“upfolding and expansion of a bucolic dedicatory epigram”).

Cult and ritual, festivals and dances overlap with myth, and are, in part, its direct staging. Dionysus spans the concrete, carnal aspect of the erotic triad (Eros, the nymphs, and Pan). He belongs to the *genius loci* of Lesbos. As is well known, Bacchus alternates between numerous oppositions, namely, between violence and peace, war and peace, lies and truth, man and woman; between Ares and Eros/Aphrodite, archaic chaos and the bucolic idyll (Bierl 1991, 13–20). In Dionysophanes, Dionysus appears to a certain extent as himself and becomes definitive for the last book. Book 4 begins with an impressive description of a garden fenced off from nature that Daphnis has to tend for the upcoming visit of his master. In the middle of the *paradeisos* stands a temple of the god with pictured scenes from his mythology (4.3) that refer back to the freize from the preface. At the same time, the novel is reflected in Dionysiac myth and ritual.

The garden, whose care demands labor (πόνος), is a symbol both for the entire novel, whose artistry requires polishing (ἐκπονεῖν, cf. pf. 3), and for the girl’s chaste sexual organ. Two successive actions by Lampis demonstrate the preceding point, namely, the destruction of the garden out of frustration over not winning Chloe (4.7.1–3) and the predatory attack on Chloe herself, which is further developed in the chain of signifiers (4.28.1). In his portrayal, Longus blurs the bucolic poetry of Theocritus with another “pastorally” marked world of Egypt, which frequently provides a typical scenario of the “other” in other novels. Cruel *boukoloi*-bandits make their mischief in the marshes of the Nile delta and thereby embody the symbolic threat to the pure virgin in their interaction with the couple (Bertrand 1988). At the same time, the pastoral world signifies a transition stage of civilization on the path to agriculture (Baudy 1993, especially 302 n. 63). In this way, bucolic poetry, to which Longus hearkens back, becomes functionally meaningful as well. The genre of Theocritus, the erotic

discourse of *boukoloi*, is transposed to a certain extent by Longus from the Egyptian exterior to the interior of Lesbos in order to likewise—but here in a fully sugarcoated way—express the *rite de passage* in the state of marginality. Lampis is just such a *boukolos* along with Dorcon, too, whose assaults are scarcely recognized and quickly forgiven in the harmless myth.

Besides Dionysus, Demeter plays a certain role in the novel, but more on a symbolic level. Both gods, who are also associated with significant mystery cults, take on the function of expressing the process of sexual maturation as the natural growth of vegetation through viticulture and agriculture and thematically linking sexual intercourse with the mystery of love. In many respects, the loving couple is reflected in these deities.

Consistent with the tendency of ritual to depict conditions of the life cycle and nature at the forefront, in the *Ur-myth* of love the initiation of Daphnis and Chloe is very skillfully paralleled with the cycle of nature and fertility. In the course of a year and a half, the story plays out from spring to autumn of the next year. The *telos* of marriage is brought into congruence with the autumnal ripening and the harvest time of agriculture and viticulture. The time of the shepherds' presence, in which Longus' ontogenetic development novel is set, represents a phylogenetic period that leads to the independent farmer who nourishes himself through his own cultivation.

Since sexuality and eroticism in the Greek world is metaphorized in particular through the world of nature, vegetation, flowers, trees, and fragrances; through agriculture, ploughing, the harvest and threshing; and through viticulture, ripening, plucking and pressing (Henderson 1991, 166–169), the interpretive paradigm of fertility that is central to the interpretation of myth possesses great importance. The entire plot of Longus' novel is synchronized with the course of the seasons and with agrarian festivals and culminates in autumn with a harvest celebration. The first year climaxes in the Dionysian wine festival where the sexes come together in dance and music (2.1–2.2.2). In intoxication, the surrounding women tease Daphnis, and celebrating men Chloe. These salacious, verbal innuendos violate the feelings of the couple, who secretly and as yet unconsciously love each other. For this reason, they wish to return again soon to their solitary meadows. There they play even more frolicsomeness. An old cowherd by the name of Philetas approaches them and inducts them theoretically into the secrets of love through his narrations. Around the end of the second book, the farmers bring the season to a close with autumn festivals (2.31–37). They dance the winter dance (2.36.1) and celebrate the Oschophoria (2.31–32). At the beginning of the third book, it is winter, which also interrupts the close contact between the

lovers. All of nature freezes, and we wait for the “rebirth from death” (3.4.2). In the house of Dryas, they celebrate the Rural Dionysia, the *Διονύσια ἐν ἀγροῖς* (3.9.2; 3.10.1; 3.11.1–2). In spring, when Daphnis and Chloe can once again drive their animals to the meadows, love reawakens between the shepherds’ children. In summertime, Daphnis becomes a man through Lycainion’s sexual instruction. In the meantime, Chloe’s parents have scheduled her wedding for the time of the grape harvest (3.25.4); the suitor who offers the most will take Chloe as his wife. At the threshing of the wheat on the threshing floor (3.29.1), the story reaches its critical point: with the money that he has found, Daphnis can stop at the house of Dryas and ask for Chloe’s hand in marriage, who is related to Demeter through her very name. At the end of the third book, Daphnis plucks an apple in autumn after the harvest that is left over at the very top of the tree (3.33.4–3.34). At the grape harvest in the fourth book (4.1.1; 4.33.1; 4.38), the story finally comes to its happy *telos* that consists of marriage and the consummation of marriage on the estate of Dionysophanes.

Longus describes, over the course of four books, how long two youths need until they can finally convey the overwhelming emotion of love, which is described as an illness, into the joint and mutually pleasurable sexual act through three remedies—the kiss, the embrace, and lying naked next to one another (2.8.5; Bretzigheimer 1988). This absurd constellation becomes plausible through dislocation into a childlike, original state of the “very first time” in mythic prehistory, whereby the characters are still embedded in a conventional social environment. As foundlings, they are first removed from this society, on account of which they grow up in a pastoral landscape, fairly isolated from other influences and completely naive. In spite of their knowledge of writing, they are fully ignorant in *eroticis*. This portrayal becomes credible through its specific mythic anchoring, which is also peculiar to the *Eidyllia* of Theocritus (G. Rohde 1937). While a strong “demythologizing” tendency can be established in the work of Theocritus at the same time, and thereby clearly the exemplarity of myths is broken and contested (Fantuzzi 2000), Longus attempts to reverse this trend in accordance with the later evolution of bucolic poetry. He gives a mythic finish to the whole novel, though Theocritus’ mindset remains simultaneously present (Chalk 1960 and G. Rohde 1937; see Bernsdorff 2006, 186–188, for the treatment of *mythos* in bucolic poetry according to Theocritus).

Longus designs the entire novel as a mythologized nature in which Eros, in the sense of the Orphic *protogonos*, also receives all of the attributes of a cosmic power of benevolent harmony (2.7.1–4). Praise of Eros on the part of Philetas takes place in hymnic tones. Likewise, the novel’s connection to the “*bukolischen Symbolsprache der Mysterien*”

("bucolic, symbolic language of the mysteries") is cultically employed in the sense of a mystery of love (G. Rohde 1937, 46–47; see Zeitlin 2008, 101–103, on the mysteries of love). Merkelbach was misled in mistaking these literary strategies for unequivocal evidence, from which he deduced his greatly contested thesis that the novel is a "*Mysterientext*" ("mystery text"; e.g. Merkelbach 1988, and for a rebuttal, Bierl 2007, especially 250, 258–265).

At the same time, the concept of *mimesis* turns up repeatedly in the mythic finish: as is well known, *mimesis* is the reenactment of a divine model in song and dance (Nagy 1990b, 42–45, 339–413, especially 346, 349, 373–375). Longus makes recourse to myth and nature in order to evoke the semblance of originality. Remythologization and renaturalization establish a mythic archetype for the everyday practice of human love in an artificial way (Billault 1996). Every person undergoes this developmental phase, and for everyone there is a "first time." Concurrently, the literary search for this actual origin exhibits signs of its own deconstruction, for the mythical protagonists are not really the first humans to discover sexuality. It turns out that their natural existence—including their exposure and suckling by animals, here characteristically goats and not predatory wolves, are typical motifs of myth—nevertheless traces back to real, conventional parents and normal procreation. All of the people around them know the secrets of love. Only they live in childish naïveté that is in need of enlightenment.

Muse and song are the media of the mythic mode of expression, particularly since the archaic poet once viewed himself as the inspired mediator of the muses. By way of Theocritus and Philetas, the founder of the bucolic genre, Longus hearkens back to the mythic singer Daphnis (for Philetas as the learned founder of the genre, see Bowie 1985; Hunter 1983, 76–83; Whitmarsh 2005; *contra* Di Marco 2006, 490–492). In matters of love, we find the ultimate justification in Eros himself. After the old man, not coincidentally named Philetas, "kisser" (Philetas named the kiss as the first remedy; for Philetas' name, see Di Marco 2006, 491–492), initiates the ignorant young people theoretically into the secret of love through the narration of his encounter with Eros (2.3–6), the author says that they were so amused by his words, "as if they heard a *mythos*, not a *logos*" (ὥσπερ μῦθον οὐ λόγον ἀκούοντες, 2.7.1). In a humorous inversion of the sentence suggesting a progression "from *mythos* to *logos*"—this conception was thoroughly propagated not only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but also among the Greeks in the age of the so-called Greek Enlightenment—reference is made anew to the remythologization of the whole novel (see Most 1999 for the mutual dependence of these concepts). To be sure, it is the concretely prosaic work of Longus, i.e.

reality, at least in the fictional prose, but at the same time it is actually and entirely *mythos*, i.e. a novel cloaked in myth. In this symbolically charged form of myth, the story of the traumatic, liminal experience that the pubescent youths live through on the path to adulthood is narrated in a particularly impressive way similarly to a dream sequence. The regress by way of literary to mythic forefathers imitates the etiological tendency of myth. The story justifies by recurring to the ἀρχαί, to the canonical literary models in the sense of intertextuality, and finally to a mimetic *mythos*. The last source in this mythologized representation is Eros himself, who appears to Philetas as a winged boy, the πρῶτος εὐρετής of the bucolic genre, in reality.

The mythic aspect already plays a clear role in Longus' metaliterary preface. Facetiously and in obvious reliance on Thucydides' programmatic and methodic preliminary remarks (1.22.4), Longus says that he dedicates his novel as a votive offering to Eros in agonistic competition with a frieze (εἰκόνης γραφήν, pf. 1). This frieze is identical to an image which Daphnis and Chloe cultically dedicate after their wedding (4.39.2) and which the author translates into writing (pf. 3). In this way, an effective, cultic ring composition arises that simultaneously provides authentication. He writes that his novel is:

but an enjoyable possession for all men, which will serve as healing for the sick, consolation for the grieving, a reminder for those who know of love, and for those who know nothing of love as an instructive preparation (... κτῆμα δὲ τερπνὸν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὃ καὶ νοσοῦντα ἰάσεται καὶ λυπούμενον παραμυθήσεται, τὸν ἐρασθέντα ἀναμνήσει, τὸν οὐκ ἐρασθέντα προπαιδεύσει, pf. 3).

With the κτῆμα τερπνόν, Longus clearly alludes to Thucydides' famous statement (1.22.4). In this passage, the historian sets himself distinctly apart from the mythic style of his predecessor Herodotus, who only caters to the listeners' enjoyment during a performance. With this work, which as a pragmatic, fact-oriented historiography that does not operate on the basis of myth (μὴ μυθῶδες), and in its brittleness can scarcely elicit a pleasant feeling of enjoyment (ἀτερπνέστερον) from the recipient, Thucydides has much more the purpose of benefit as a κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ in mind. Longus facetiously counters this statement in a dialogic manner: with the juncture κτῆμα τερπνόν, Longus defends his fictionality as a useful value that still provides enjoyment in addition.⁶ In this way, the text's myth-like quality is, of course, implicitly vindicated as well, for his novel is not only plasmatic and fictional, but rather is also based on myth as an underlying structure, like in Herodotus.

In the rhetorical diction, astonishingly, we find an allusion to popular, fantastic wonder tale (in modern Greek, παραμύθια) regarding the novel's effect, besides Platonic and sophistic conceptions of reminder (ἀνάμνησις) and propaedeutics (Alexiou 2002, 151–171, especially 162–167, and 211–265; Bierl 2007, 255–258). Like the stories that typically deal with magic, crisis, and dream scenarios, the novel supposedly effects recovery along with a mythic or “paramythic” rehabilitation of the afflicted and those suffering from love by way of the performance of the text. In reading as well as hearing such a text that plays on the liminal situation of the crisis of coming of age and strings together a heaping of traumatic adventures in a specific metaphorology, we find validation or even consolation for our fears analogous to a ritual or a myth based on a ritual, ergo παραμυθία, cf. pf. 4).

The metadiegetic and inlaid myths located each time around the end of the first three books, which are clearly labeled as such,⁷ deepen the novel's etiological statement, namely, thematizing and problematizing the critical transition of the girl becoming an adult woman. Also, myth is sometimes equated with obscure and erudite mythology, with which the claim of authenticity comes into conflict. The sagas of the wood dove/Phatta (1.27), Syrinx (2.34), and Echo (3.23) represent three stories of metamorphosis depicting the transformation of a maiden. Every time the union of love fails, and the girls are not at all interested in the male partner. In addition, the sagas are connected with music.

In scholarship, the escalation of brutality toward the girls has been emphasized. Syrinx flees into the marsh and is cut off as a reed by the angry Pan. He assembles the blades together into a flute, whose sound is based on the differing lengths of its pipes and hence emblematically embodies the inequality of the sexes. Echo sings and dances with the nymphs, the young brides, in the round and flees from Pan. Out of jealousy over her song and furious over not reaching his sexual satisfaction, he causes a Dionysian madness among the shepherds, on account of which they tear the girl into pieces. The earth, i.e. Demeter, covers over her scattered limbs and sends forth voices imitating her by the will of the Muses. At the same time, the stories are skillfully interwoven with the course of the plot, with Longus' myth, as increasing tension and growing imbalance between the sexes along with escalating male aggression are brought into focus, and according to MacQueen (1990, 31–97), Chloe's *metamorphosis* in the fourth book proves to be the fourth myth and the foundational theme of the whole novel. She is transformed from a slave to a freeborn girl and from a foundling to the daughter of rich parents. On the wedding night, above all, the decisive step from being a virgin (παρθένος) to

womanhood (γυνή) is completed (cf. the ending 4.40.3; cf. 3.24.3). By means of these inlaid musical myths, the effect of a *mise en abyme* comes into being, through which the novel once again gains the finish of a myth.

The following passage around the end of the story shows to what extent *mythos*, consistent with the novel's genre, signifies plasmatic fictionality or even free invention. Lamon is in great distress about preventing the surrender of his protégé Daphnis as a sex slave to Gnathon and therefore appeals directly to his master Dionysophanes with tokens of identification. With a strict countenance, he admonishes Lamon "to tell the truth, and not to fabricate something that is like myths" (τάληθῇ λέγειν μηδὲ ὅμοια πλάττειν μύθοις, 4.20.1). He has already proven how skillfully he can narrate myths in presenting the saga of Pan and Syrinx (2.24–2.35.1). From an urbane and enlightened perspective, the entire story appears to be merely the fictional, plasmatic invention of a fairytale. Besides πλάσματα, μῦθοι serves as the *terminus technicus* for the content of ancient novels (Kerényi 1927, 1–23; on μῦθοι, 13). Yet, here, consistent with the author's strategy, the matter operates differently.

The μῦθοι stand in the gap between free, fanciful invention and authentic myth, between lies and truth. With this statement, the novel once again turns into *mythos*, since we have indeed become witnesses that the exposure story truly occurred. The tokens of recognition vouch for factuality, and as we have seen, exposure is the classic example of a Greek myth that determines the plot—Aristotle expressly calls it μῦθος (e.g. *Poet.* 1450a4–5)—of some of Euripides' tragedies and numerous plays from New Comedy. For this reason, the novel's plot is sometimes labeled in theory or in metapoetic testimonies as δράμα, τραγωδία, or κωμωδία, too (Kerényi 1927, 12–17).

The authenticity of *Daphnis and Chloe* is indeed fractured, a fact that could be traced back to the generally demythologizing tendency of Theocritus. In spite of their displacement into the childish naïveté of an unattainable originality, which is notoriously elusive, the children are educated in writing and well read in mythology, even if they do not know the name of Eros at all. Accordingly, Daphnis is aware of the exemplariness of Zeus, Pan, and Dionysus in a singing contest with Dorcon (1.16.3–5). Also, like the other shepherds, he is otherwise well acquainted with reciting obscure mythology. Thus, all of those present at the celebration in honor of Dionysus on the country estate of Dryas highlight the festival with mythology and song (3.9.4)—that is, ritual is treated as an opportunity for performative depictions of polished myths about Dionysus. In addition, the author employs *exempla* from mythology for describing the mythic Daphnis, such as Apollo's service as a shepherd in the house of Laomedon

(4.14.2), through which his ephebic nature is also brought into focus (Bierl 1994). Truly well versed in erudite mythology are the perverted city dwellers such as Gnathon who, in response to Astylos' question of whether he is not disgusted by the billy goat stench from Daphnis, whom he adores, supplies a whole series of mythological exempla in which gods likewise loved shepherds. For as a parasite, he became a sophistic connoisseur or πεπαιδευμένος in the entirety of erotic mythology (πάσαν ἐρωτικὴν μυθολογίαν ... πεπαιδευμένος, 4.17.3) among the banquets.

The shepherds themselves admittedly refer to an innocent pastoral mythology. Even after Daphnis and Chloe arrive in a rich, urban house, they soon go back to the country again. In spite of its amenities, city life is unbearable to them, and after their urban wedding, they celebrate a country wedding. In the style of ring composition, they return to their bucolic existence and become a mythic model by also nursing the children born from their marriage with a goat and a sheep. Furthermore, their action is wholly directed toward piety and the cultic veneration of the rustic gods who are so closely connected to them.

Longus' Myth in Symbolic and Synaesthetic Function

Daphnis and Chloe is an ideal, mythic love novel, since it hearkens back to the imagery of nature, which is central for love and erotic beauty. Flowers, plants, buds, fruits; trees and *arborvitae* trees; birds, geese, and eagles; grazing animals, billy goats leaping, hunting, and catching birds; pasturing and piping on flutes; the external appearance, hair, love gardens, springs, baths, and water; blooming and withering; the burning of the sun, tears, blood, and nourishment—in short, nearly every detail as well as every movement and activity that appears in the text is part and parcel of the symbolic, image-rich language of love. This imagery belongs to the fixed cultural inventory of the early Mediterranean world. In the archaic period of ancient Greece, the metaphorical field was stabilized through poetry, with the result that it lives on in the complete corpus of Greek and, later, Western art and culture until today (Alexiou 2002, 349–410; on imagery, see Bowie 2005). This material is expanded in the work of Longus in a signifying chain through metaphors and metonymies that express gliding in the state of intense, mutual desire.

The hero and heroine are thus two “greenhorns” (cf. ἡ χλόη,

“young verdure”) who must painstakingly learn the sexual act. This natural, instinct-driven action is magnified into a difficult *technē*. The author and the reader regard such a *παίδεια in eroticis* with smirks (Morgan 1996). The erotic cooperation of a mythical world in this plot, in which everything is linked on the level of micro- and macrocosm, stands for a type of Orphic harmony of Eros.

Harmony with nature is produced not only thematically but also medially. The novel is a complete, synaesthetic work of art. Longus works with all of the poetic *technai* and media, upon which the aesthetic, mythological research tradition since the time of Giambattista Vico and Johann Gottfried Herder and the stylistic analysis of Longus have elaborated (Graf 1991, 17–18, 23). The rhythmically designed prose is a mimesis of lyric poetry, and the musical element of the pastoral world is paired with poetry. In addition, all of the other arts are incorporated, including dance, mime, literature, and, above all, painting. Pictorial cycles in a triad structure,⁸ which highlight the status of Daphnis and Chloe in parallel and end in a common scene, give the impression of separation, love, and reunion. Ring composition, hyperbata, symmetries, analogies, and parallelisms accomplish this goal in the micro-area of language. Longus’ art lies in composing poetry in prose and thereby employing all of Gorgias’ figures of speech, such as parallelism, anaphora, homoeoteleuton, isocolon, parison, dicolon, tricolon, alliteration, asyndeton, hyperbaton, and chiasmus, as well as prose rhythm with a clausula technique (Hunter 1983, 84–92, on γλυκύτης, 92–98; Pattoni 2005, 139–144). In interchange with the gods and nature, a ritual and mythic feeling of reverberation and reciprocity arises everywhere, which is in turn transferred to the couple in love. The mythic aspect is, to a certain extent, the superordinate concept that encompasses all of these complementary effects of content and form.

The most important element for the mythic dimension is Longus’ specific iconicity (Zeitlin 1990, 430–444, and Zimmermann 1999b, 72–79). In the etiological preface, he speaks of transforming a frieze with erotic content found in a nymph’s grove into the medium of a text, ergo into our novel. A longing (πόθος) descends upon him, namely, of undertaking a change in medium (ιδόντα με καὶ θαυμάσαντα πόθος ἔσχεν ἀντιγράψαι τῇ γραφῇ, pf. 3). The sophist is motivated not by desire for a girl, but rather by the literary exercise of replacing one sign system with another, i.e. of carrying out the transposition of a pictorial into a textual γραφή and thereby still scoring against the image and engaging in competition with it. At the same time, this passage is an allusion to the fact that the author is vying with Theocritus’ *Eidyllia*, the vignettes or lyric snapshots of musical expression.

Conclusion

Longus employs all the tools of renaturalization and remythologization to confer a finish of idealism on the novel that he deconstructs at the same time. The reversion to childish *mimesis* is always pleasing (according to Aristotle's *Poet.* 1448b4–12, imitation is characteristic of humans from childhood onward and is linked to pleasure). Incidentally, myth is identified with the humanity's childhood history in the research of the early modern era (Graf 1991, especially 15, 20, 32). The reader is consequently lulled into this world which, however, is only established through an artificial process of *mimesis*. For sophists such as Longus, the gods are admittedly no longer unconditionally religious entities in which one really believes, but rather more secularized gods of literature. Longus oscillates between myth and mythology. He needs myth for the creation of a natural dimension of originality, which turns out to be an enabling structure and precondition for his story. At the same time, the author makes reference to the technical craft of this aesthetic medium of composition through purposeful breaks and ironic comments. The artificial, contrived nature of the mythical world is admittedly so complete that it evokes the pretense of authenticity and authoritativeness. After all, *Daphnis and Chloe* reads like a new, artful myth in the shape of an old *Ur-myth* or fairytale that provides the etiology of the ritual coming of age.

Notes

- 1 I am currently writing a monograph on this aspect with respect to the entire corpus of ancient romances.
- 2 Kerényi 1927, 43; cf. “*Hellenisierung–Humanisierung*” 263 and the *Nachbetrachtungen* of the 2nd edition (“Nachwort über die Methode”), especially 291 n. 2.
- 3 See Di Marco 2006, 479–481. On Longus, see now both commentaries by Morgan 2004 with bibliography ix–xv and Pattoni 2005 with an extensive introduction and bibliography, plus the central article by Zeitlin 1990. On *mythos* in the work of Longus, in addition to G. Rohde 1937 and Chalk 1960, see the observations of Zeitlin 1990, 452–455.
- 4 See E. Rohde 1876, 531–554, especially his scathing verdict 549–550; for this reason, E. Rohde is the forefather of the criticism of Longus as unserious, negative, ironic, deconstructing, and sexually voyeuristic; cf. Bretzigheimer 1988; Winkler 1990; Goldhill 1995, 1–45.

- 5 Goethe's judgments are compiled by Grumach 1949, 316–320; cf. Zimmermann 1999a; Goethe thus establishes the serious and positive interpretation of Longus; see G. Rohde 1937; Chalk 1960; Morgan 2004, 9–10.
- 6 The novel is *dulce et utile*; it benefits and delights the reader (cf. *prodesse et delectare*, Hor. AP 333).
- 7 Cf. μῦθος 2.33.3; 2.35.3; 2.37.1; 3.22.4. Daphnis completes the process of μυθολογεῖν: μυθολογῶν 1.27.1. See also 3.23.5 and 3.22.4 μυθολογεῖν τὸν μῦθον.
- 8 Cf. Schissel von Fleschenberg 1913, 81–94, and appendix 105–109 (12 images in a triptychon structure which are brought into a sequence); also Chalk 1960, 39–43.

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CHAPTER 29

Gender in the Ancient Novel

Ellen D. Finkelpearl

“Gender in the Ancient Novel” is really several topics. The reader of the fully extant Greek novels is immediately struck by the centrality of powerful females and the mutuality and symmetry of love between the supernaturally beautiful protagonists. The construction of gender in Petronius is utterly different, even apart from the idea that the *Satyricon* is a parody of the ideal romance. There, alternative masculinities and (often dysfunctional) sexuality take center stage, while marriage, chastity, and reintegration into the social fabric are absent. Apuleius offers at once a version of an ideal romance ending in marriage (*Cupid and Psyche*) and a subversion of the correspondence between sex and gender (cross-dressing, anormative gender roles, a universe controlled by a female force, alternative grammatical gender). All the novels investigate desire, sometimes as a force disruptive of society, and particularly pull female desire out of the shadows. Several novels, notably *Daphnis and Chloe*, also conspicuously denaturalize accepted constructions of male and female roles. Emerging Christian fiction, meanwhile, presents powerful women not moving toward marriage, where “bodies” play out differently in defining gender, sexuality, and selfhood. Fragments of the Greek novels will present yet other models of womanhood, sexuality, and constructed gender. The heroine may, in some novels at a metaphorical level, represent Greece as triumphantly resistant to Roman imperialism. Further, the gender identities of the central characters often differ vastly from those of the peripheral figures who are more conservatively drawn (Alvarez 1995; Watanabe 2003). None of this should be surprising, considering that “the ancient novel” is (arguably) an artificial category comprised of prose fiction written in geographically and culturally diverse locales over a period of several centuries—notwithstanding the literary conventions that make many of these works look so similar.¹

Women and the Greek Novel

The most obvious conundrum: (1) women are strikingly central, have agency, and feel desire, and (2) the relationship between the central male and female lovers is deliberately symmetrical in a way that departs from expected models of male-female relationships by the actually inappropriate standards of fifth-century Athens or Rome of the late Republic and early Empire (see Konstan 1994; Haynes 2003, 160; Goldhill 1995 for reservations). Needless to say, the situation is much more complex than this, and I will return to the second point later.

A few examples of female centrality and agency: Callirhoe survives death and abduction by pirates and makes her own decisions, while Chaereas is so resourceless that he repeatedly seeks suicide (*Call.* 3.5, 5.10, 6.2, 7.1). Chariton even ends the work saying that this was the story of Callirhoe. It is Chloe who is first struck with a mature feeling of love and desire even though she is several years younger than Daphnis (*Daphnis and Chloe*, 1.13; Winkler 1990). Notwithstanding Theagenes' considerable development in the *Aethiopika*, it is Charikleia's epic of self-discovery and homecoming. The unnamed princess in *The Story of Apollonius King of Tyre* is represented as pursuing her studies in music and presumably other fields (*Apollonius* 18); she chooses her husband (20) and bears a clever and eloquent daughter. Little Psyche "changes her sex through daring" (Apul., *Met.* 5.22). Heroines have power over kings through their supernatural beauty: Callirhoe is mistaken for Aphrodite (*Call.* 2.3), as is Psyche; Dionysius and the Great King are virtually enslaved (*Call.* 6.9); when Charikleia stands up in the first sections of her novel, the bandits dive for cover (*Aeth.* 2).

One could go on. The most recent comprehensive treatment of the topic takes for granted as a starting point "the sheer visibility of female characters within the texts," "the exceptional emotional strength of the heroines," and the general prominence of females (Haynes 2003, 1). If I have belabored the point, it is because some criticism seems to overlook the centrality and strength of the females. The question is, of course, why this genre at this time gives such exceptional attention to females, and/or whether their strength is undermined and contained.

The question of readership has always dominated this debate and, though an interesting subject of inquiry in itself, it ultimately solves nothing. There is certainly evidence to support the argument that women had more access to literacy in the Imperial period than earlier. Johnes writes of the changed conditions of the Hellenic world: the

influence of the Stoa that proclaimed the equality of the sexes, the growing number of important women such as Arsinoe, Cleopatra, and the women of the Severan dynasty, all wielding political power (Johne 1996, 151–154). The readership question is, of course, tied to evidence for the changing status of women more generally.² Plancia Magna of Perge provides perhaps the clearest example of an elite woman wielding power and wealth in a location closer to those where many of the Greek novels were written.³

Egger points to increased educational opportunities for upper-class females in Egypt beginning in the Hellenistic era; “hundreds of papyri are written and addressed to women” (1999, 113–114); many girls are sent to school; we hear of a particular little schoolgirl named Heraïdous; the Egyptian data may transfer to other Hellenized areas, though there are problems with using Egyptian data as *comparanda*. In general, this was a period of increased literacy (Hunter 2008, 261). Photius mentions a female reader/dedicatee: Isidora, the sister of Antonius Diogenes to whom the *Wonders Beyond Thule* are dedicated (Photius, *Bibl.* 111b). Within that narrative, Antonius makes the figure Balagrus send cypress tablets, on which a part of the fictional set of adventures of the *Wonders Beyond Thule* is written, to his wife, Phila.⁴ Haynes mentions one Aurelia Ptolemais whose easy cursive is indicative of a comfortable level of literacy (Haynes 2003, 9, and *passim* for further examples). Both Egger (1999) and John (1996) promote the idea that women had now become important recipients of literature, readers who constitute a market niche of sorts. John, citing the pictorial evidence—for example the wall painting in Pompeii of a woman with a wax tablet and stylus—even suggests that some of the novels were written by women using pseudonyms (1996, 163–164)—for which, however, there is no hard evidence. On the other hand, as Elsom (1992) points out, we hear quite explicitly about males being either dissuaded from or encouraged to read these love stories because of their (allegedly) pornographic content (1992, 214–215).⁵

Literacy figures are ambiguous. According to W.V. Harris (1989, 330), less than 5% of females vs. 10% of males in the provinces under the Roman Empire were literate. For Harris and others, the subsequent implication is that only the elites could read and write, only they had access to the expensive materials required. However, is such restricted literacy an argument against female readership, especially since, by ancient standards, 5% was not really restricted literacy (Hopkins 1991)? If literate males also represent only a fraction of the population, it seems immaterial that only half that number of females could read; the important point is that some could. Critics responding to Harris offer an alternative model: many illiterates at various social

levels participated in literacy by putting their mark on a written legal text, by discovering through others the content of written decrees in the marketplace (Bowman 1991, 121–122), or by hiring a *lector* (Horsfall 1991, 72).⁶ In other words, enough women could read or had access to a reader that it is plausible to imagine a female audience (Haynes 2003, 44–45, for further references).

A female readership, the argument goes, would account for the fantasy of female empowerment, the weakening and occasional objectification of the male, and the focus on and sympathetic treatment of the female. On the other hand, females might not be the primary intended audience of this genre. Haynes (2003) rightly cautions against the kind of essentializing which assumes that “‘woman’ is a stable category” and all female readers are alike. Further, in an androcentric society, research suggests, women may come to read from a male point of view (Haynes 2003, 4).

The readership question can be used both to show that the Greek novel is fundamentally subversive and woman-centered and to show that it is patriarchal and conservative. One of the dominant current strains in readings of the Greek romance is to focus on the ending in marriage as an endorsement of the patriarchal system, a harnessing of desire in the service of social order and a return (one supposes) to traditional gender roles after the dislocation of the protagonists, often referred to as the “civic reading.” Egger particularly emphasizes the centrality of marriage in the novels; even bandits aim at wedlock with the heroines (Egger 1994, 260–263; Haynes 2003, 156). Perkins (1995, 72–73), with reference to Egger and Elsom, says: “Romance provided an idealized depiction of the patriarchal system whose inherent purpose as a social institution was the retention and passing on of male power and privilege. ... The emphasis on traditional marriage arrangements exposes the genre’s endorsement of patriarchy’s concerns.” Elsom, in a Lacanian vein, writes of Callirhoe as “carrying the phallus,” a woman who, as desirable object, becomes the dynastic link between father and son-in-law. She conveys all of her father’s prestige and social standing to Chaereas, while her own status is ambiguous (Elsom 1992, 226–227). Women are ultimately just attractive exchange objects to bind male connections. Kate Cooper sees the Greek romances as the narrative of tempestuous adolescence finally achieving restabilization in the foundation of a new household and the correct channeling of desire. Civic duty is made attractive by the celebration of desire within marriage, but ultimately civic duty is the goal (Cooper 1996, 34–36). Balot (1998), examining masculinity, notes the constant tension between Eros and the civic ideals. Desire is a destabilizing force and not compatible with the civic. It is one of the great paradoxes of the novel that it focuses on these competing

interests, which are not clearly reconciled by the end of the novel.

These readings (except Balot) view the Greek romance as fundamentally conservative, preserving the values of an earlier era amid threatening social change, and re-inscribing traditional gender roles. Egger (1999, 135) suggests that the “sexual politics” of the novel involve a presentation of even more limitations on women’s actual influence and power than in contemporary reality; the women’s sexual fascination provides merely an *illusion* of power and invincibility. The heroine ultimately surrenders her gains and submits to the female destiny. However, Helen Morales points out, “it is only by reading teleologically—stressing the ending and downplaying the journey toward it—that we can read the novels simply as celebrating marriage. ... A more phenomenological than functional reading might enjoy the digressions and reject the tyranny of teleology and its ‘civic message’” (Morales 2008, 41; cf. Doody 1997, 471).

In her lengthy, far-reaching, and somewhat eccentric reading of the origins of the novel, Margaret Anne Doody vehemently rejects the “civic” reading, instead seeing the genre of the ancient novel as linked inextricably with the mother goddess and, thus, in an essential sense, as “feminine.” Doody stresses how different the culture is of Asia Minor, the seat of so many of the novels, where one sees overt signs of the “female force” (Doody 1997, 64). A very high percentage of the famous or creative women of antiquity came from Asia Minor; the Medusa-figures of Asia Minor are not threatening but beautiful, though they are brazen (Doody 1997, 65–66). It is this view of women that she sees infiltrating the novels: “the heroines of the Greek novels may largely be champions of virtue and chastity, *sophrosyne*, but they are also reclamations of Medusa, unconquered” (Doody 1997, 66). Her readings of individual novels focus on female strength and female resistance to patriarchal structures. The novel is about the individual’s journey apart from law, family, and property and away from civic authority (Doody 1997, 61, 81). Doody (1997, 460–461) goes further and suggests that, of all genres, the novel offers us the fullest experience of the Feminine; as readers, we yield ourselves to the body and rhythms of the Mother, which are messy. In other words, we should gender the novel itself as feminine! Her reading, which is related to Merkelbach’s theories about the novels as coded “mystery texts” and, to a degree, to Bakhtin’s vision of the novel as a low, populist, messy, polyphonous genre, meets resistance from many camps for different reasons. Nonetheless, it is worth keeping in mind how often goddesses and women with divine powers appear in the novels, both Greek and Roman, and we should be open to a reading of even the romances that takes full account of the strength of female characters.

Helen Morales, also eager to explore resistant reading, offers another approach using ancient theories of optics along with a modified use of Laura Mulvey's theory of the male gaze. The heroines are, of course, the objects of the male gaze, but their beauty is such that the male viewer/voyeur is sometimes incapacitated (Morales 2004, 159). Callirhoe even becomes a sort of demagogue (*Call.* 4.1.10), holding satraps in her sway, thus threatening male political authority. Morales accepts Doody's view of the heroines as unconquered Medusas and further describes this aspect of viewing the female, though with more reservations than Doody about the positive powers of Medusa, but balances this emphasis with a discussion of violence against females and the "consumptive gaze" of Clitophon viewing Leucippe as she is apparently being disemboweled. "There is a fantasy of female empowerment through exhibitionism on offer in *Leucippe and Clitophon*, especially in those scenes where looking at Leucippe causes men, metaphorically at least, to be stricken, slain and stupefied" (Morales 2004, 160). What Morales ultimately concludes is that both readings are present—not in some indecisive indeterminate sense, but rather in a fuller sense that both readings are "on offer."⁷ Further, "voice and gaze ... function as ... principles that organize male and female experience differently" (Morales 2004, 229). In the figure of Melite, however, Morales sees a different paradigm, a woman who returns the gaze and breaks the logic of female objectification, a female viewing subject, a fairly sympathetic desiring female (Morales 2004, 223).⁸ In a sentiment that echoes both Bakhtin's theories of the heteroglossia of the novel and Selden's image of the trope of *syllipsis* or "double logic," Morales concludes: "[i]t is the novel's ambivalence, its holding on to more than one story at the same time, which makes it important for feminism" (Morales 2004, 231; Selden 1994). (Morales invokes Barbara Johnson 1998, *The Feminist Difference*, 13, for the idea that the novel is a place where "impasses can be kept open.")

As many critics have pointed out, the extant Greek romances may not be entirely representative of the original nature of the genre. Fragments reveal signs of a much more varied repertoire than has survived, where scandal is more prominent than love and marriage (Winkler 1980; Barchiesi 1999). Morales sees in Iamblichus' *Babylonian Tales* a possible marriage between women (unless one of them is a eunuch!), breaking quite dramatically the pattern of young elite heterosexual love. One of the women is named "Mesopotamia," while other characters in the work are named "Tigris" and "Euphrates," all of these indicating territories occupied by Rome at the time, raising the possibility that Iamblichus is using the familiar image of the woman's body as land and expressing resistantly the disorder

and coercion that ensue under Roman rule (Morales 2006, 85–88). This anti-imperialist reading of the Greek novel is one championed by Haynes (2003, 161), even in regard to the extant Greek novels in the conclusion of her study:

Why was the feminine constructed in this particular way across these texts? This book has proffered the hypothesis that the most striking manifestations of novelistic femininity were at least in part conditioned by the need to assert an almost provocative sense of Hellenic superiority. The heroines resist violation and so the borders of Greek cultural integrity remain uncontested.

Sexual Symmetry, Foucault

David Konstan's work on "sexual symmetry," to a degree an elaboration of Foucault (see further in the following text), has been very influential in the readings of gender and sexual relations in the Greek novel. Konstan stresses the rupture from the asymmetrical models of desire seen in Plato, where the older *erastes* pursues the younger and more passive *eromenos*. In the novel, *eros* is instead a reciprocal passion between social equals of the same age and, rather than a disruptive force, is the basis for enduring relationships leading to marriage. This symmetry also provides the structure of the novels, as each trial faced by one of the lovers is mirrored by a challenge to the other (Konstan 1994).⁹ As Skinner (2005, 275) says, "Thus we can presently sketch out a trend toward sexual symmetry but cannot yet explain it, much less grasp its real-life implications."

Is this symmetry limited to the novels? Is it a social phenomenon, a literary construct? In part because of Foucault's lengthy discussion in the *History of Sexuality* vol. 3, Plutarch's *Dialogue on Love* (*Amatorius* or *Erotikos*) has dominated this discussion (Foucault 1986; cf. Goldhill 1995, 144–161, for response). A conscious response to Plato's *Symposium*, the dialogue debates the advantages of love of boys vs. love of women and concludes with a crescendo of praise for women and marriage—as well as a wedding.¹⁰ While the philosophical debate itself, like Plato's, took place long ago, an upheaval occurs in the present: a beautiful and wealthy young widow, Ismenadora, is in love with a youth at least 10 years her junior. Part way through, the dialogue is interrupted by the report that she has abducted the youth and intends to marry him, which she does at the end.

Foucault reads the dialogue as marking a major cultural shift away from the love of boys with its asymmetry that had marked the Greek

discourse of desire in earlier centuries, and he sees the relative symmetry of the erotics of the novel as part of this trend. Plutarch, appropriating the vocabulary of homoerotic desire, transfers it to an appreciation of women as deserving partners—even as Platonic facilitators of recollections of the divine (766E). At the same time, he offers a portrait of female desire and female initiative in love—an older woman who takes the place of the *erastes*, contesting the earlier paradigms of homoerotic passion (Foucault 1986, 193–210). However, as Goldhill, in particular, has stressed, the relationship between the discourse of the dialogue (praising marriage and the *sophrosyne* of women) and the narrative (the lawless abduction of the youth by a woman) is far from straightforward (Goldhill 1995, 155, 159, and *passim*; cf. Cooper 1996, 154). Foucault, according to Goldhill (1995, 161), has listened to the philosophy, but not followed the narrative with all its ironies and ambiguities. Foucault has also generally come under fire from Classicists for creating too rigid and linear a cultural history of ancient sexualities; McGlathery (1998, 206; cf. Sissa 2008, 195–206) points out that he almost completely neglects the Roman side where symmetrical love and desire are certainly the anomaly. The important point for the present subject is that the dialogue does not simply compare the erotic desirability of boys vs. women, but presents marriage as a union of something like equals, and provocatively defends even the idea that a woman could lead. These are new ideas that mirror the gender dynamics of the novel. Marriage is not viewed in Plutarch as the subjugation of desire to civic duty or the reining in of dangerous women so much as it is seen—relative to earlier times—as a congenial pairing of minds. Clearly, the aggressive behavior of Ismenadora does not conform to Plutarch’s vision of a conjugal meeting of minds, but we need not then ironize and discard the central speeches of the dialogue.¹¹ Foucault may have magnified the importance of this dialogue as an indication of a more general shift, and he has perhaps overlooked the narrative complexities, but he has at least shown persuasively that, universal or not, there is in the air a new attitude toward marriage, which is also evident in the novel.¹²

Perhaps too much has been made of Foucault and of the paradigms of asymmetrical desire set forth in Plato. In *Sex and Sensuality in the Ancient World*, Guilia Sissa, while largely skirting discussion of the ancient novel, urges us to relegate the pederastic model to one segment of Greek elite society and to think in terms of “sensuality,” the desire to be desired, which takes away the dichotomy of active and passive, and to consider the ways the ancients gendered sensuality as feminine (Sissa 2008, 8, and *passim*). Writing of the many omissions in her book, she says (2008, 193):

I could have shown how the Greek novel, in particular Longus’

Daphnis and Chloe, plays with the bucolic setting, to come to the conclusion that nature has nothing to teach, and that desire—male desire—has to be learned from a feminine and technical source. The pleasure of the senses is, again and again, a skilful expertise, which men derive from women and which has to find the right intensity between rape and incompetence.

Indeed, it seems to me that the Greek novel, with its focus on the supreme physical beauty of the heroine, desired by all, is a perfect model for Sissa's radical re-thinking of models of sexuality and sensuality in the ancient world. Sensuality is clearly feminine in the novel; the heroine radiates this power of her femininity, which transcends, or simply does not belong to, the world of social reality. More could be done in this vein, leaving aside the preceding problems, overexposed as they are.

Gender, Chastity, and Christian Novelistic Texts

The rise of Christianity during the period of composition of most of the ancient novels considered in this chapter is connected with a whole new set of discourses and practices around marriage, chastity, gender, and women's roles generally (see Konstan and Ramelli in this volume). *The Acts of Thecla*, within the *Apocryphal Acts of Paul*, demonstrates most clearly the appropriation of novelistic motifs toward a different purpose in emerging Christian promotional texts. Thecla, who is engaged to be married, is smitten with Paul because of his spiritual message and decides to lead a celibate life. Her decision provokes the wrath of the civic authorities, who condemn her to death; a series of miracles follows. The repressed eroticism of Thecla's love of Paul and his message, her independence and determination, and her defiance of death—all are characteristic of various novelistic heroines. Her failure to burn at the stake has evoked comparisons with Charikleia's. Thecla's resistance to marriage and procreation, though, obviously sets her apart, her sexual renunciation locating her firmly in the new Christian tradition in which disciples awaited the coming of Christ and the end of the world, expressing their separateness from civic society through the purity of their bodies (Brown 1988, 61). The influence may not all move in one direction; it has been suggested that the focus of the Greek romance on marriage may be a reaffirmation of the institution in the face of Christian renunciation, and certainly the repeated references to the chastity of novelistic females *and* males

make sense in light of an apparent increased interest in chastity in Christian circles—though the dating and degree of awareness of Christian practice make this a problematic proposition.

Despite the similarities between Thecla and the novelistic heroines, critics generally focus on the opposition between the absolute chastity of the Christian heroine and the romance heroine's progress toward marriage and assimilation (capitulation) to the subordinate role of the woman in marriage within civic society. Thecla and her sisters defy secular authority and aim to dismantle the structures of society. According to Virginia Burrus, chastity makes the Christian heroine autonomous in a way the novel heroine cannot be because her journey leads to marriage, while "the Christian chastity story ... is explicitly opposed to the political and social orders and above all to marriage" (Burrus 1987, 59). In most criticism of the Christian novella, the pagan texts are read as conservative and champions of traditional roles for women necessary for the furtherance of civic values, against which the Christian material radically and subversively rewrites gender roles. Aubin (1998, 260), citing Cooper and Perkins as defining the ideological task of romance as the preservation of the idea of social stability through marriage, says, "the Apocryphal Acts use the heroines to overturn the values drafted by the blueprint of romance." She also observes that Thecla "supersedes Paul in authority and masculine license" (Aubin 1998, 264); she is masculinized, Paul feminized, confounding gender signifiers. While romance teaches the difference between the sexes, it is the job of *ApocActs* to confound readers on this point (Aubin 1998, 272).

These readings, by overlooking some of the subversive elements in the Greek novels so far discussed, by looking to the novels' endings in marriage and pushing aside the heroines' strength and the hero's passivity, create a greater divide than may be warranted between the aims of Christian and pagan novels. Instead of viewing the romance as a point of opposition, it may be better to view social norms themselves as the point against which the Christian texts rebel and to see pagan romance as a more congenial antecedent, a text in which women already showed independence and display their chastity prominently, upon which the Christians build, and/or to view the pagan texts as coopting some Christian preoccupations (deathlessness, chastity, female autonomy) to enrich the narrative. By the fourth century, Cooper tells us, Thecla became immensely important as a role model for women seeking figures with their own identifying characteristics. Cooper stresses that we do not have direct evidence for the audience of the *ApocActs* for the earlier period of the second and third centuries, which would correspond more closely to the era of the pagan novels' *floruit*. By the fourth century, however, "imitation of the

heroine became the vehicle of identification for female audiences, and the gesture of sexual renunciation took on an increasingly well-documented importance as a model for women of all classes” (Cooper 1996, 67). The insight is intriguing in light of earlier discussion of intended audience: is it not possible that the pagan novels were situated similarly in society?

Because of Peter Brown’s magisterial study, renunciation and the body have become focal points in thinking about the way that Christians took a new direction in defining their relation to the civic and spiritual worlds. Gender constructs are reconfigured particularly around the issue of abstinence where women could achieve reputations at least as great as men. In the absence of marriage, in any case, traditional roles are undone. I would suggest that the kinds of reconfigurations of gender and body seen in the novels intermingle with the new Christian ideology. The women in the Greek novels have already shown a strength that challenges the traditional patterns of masculine behavior, which is not at odds with their sisters in the Christian novella (Brown 1988, 61.)

Petronius and Apuleius and the Collapse of Gender

As noted at the beginning of this essay, the construction of gender in Petronius and (differently) Apuleius differs radically from the picture we see in the Greek novel. The twisted world of Petronius’ *Satyricon*, often seen as a deliberate parodying of Greek Romance, is filled with figures who do not conform to recognized gender categories and who trouble the categories themselves, at least as recent critics have attempted to formulate them. In this world where unyielding sex priestesses and witches dominate weak and impotent men, where castrated *cinaedi* actively seek the passive role with other males, where Roman ideals of masculinity seem utterly absent—in this world that is paradoxical and anormative in so many other ways, “gender” (like genre) as a structuring category collapses.

While scholarship has moved past the question of whether Encolpius, Ascyltus, and Giton are “homosexuals,” it is perhaps a convenient way to start. Several decades ago, Wade Richardson, retaining the now-contested category of “homosexual” in reference to the protagonists, suggested that the sexual world of the work combines Greek and Roman behaviors and attitudes, with the idea that practices of pederasty are Greek importations and that they may

be presented here as part of the Greek setting (Richardson 1984). Craig Williams' landmark study, *Roman Homosexuality*, following contemporary trends in the study of ancient sexuality, disposes of the designation: in the Roman world, we do not find identities associated with sexual preference, as in the contemporary world, but rather a set of practices and "protocols" that mark the individual as penetrator or penetrated (he eschews the more prudish "active and passive"), and thus gender him/her as masculine or feminine (Williams 2010, chapt. 1, especially 17–19). "Within the Roman discourses to which we have access, the master terms are *masculinity* and *femininity* and not *heterosexuality* and *homosexuality*, in other words that the most deeply underlying concepts have to do with what we could call gender rather than sexuality" (Williams 2010, 263–264). In Petronius, the *cinaedi* of the Quartilla episode (*Sat.* 16–26) are a perfect example of the way Roman literature (and Roman culture more generally?) portrayed those unmasculine men who desired the passive role: disgusting, aggressively sexual, Eastern, effeminate (Williams 2010, 191–214). On the other hand, as Richlin (2009, 82) shows by a close examination of particular passages, the protagonists "live outside the law" in terms of their failure to conform to the patterns of active/passive, masculine/feminine laid out by Williams, for example. At times, Ascyltus appears to be the active and at times the passive partner; the same applies to Encolpius (Richlin 2009, 85–87). Although one would expect that any implication that a man had played a woman's role would be understood as an insult and that a man would never admit to having been penetrated, this is exactly what happens at 9.6–10 when Ascyltus says "I was your *frater* the same way in the garden that the boy is now in this motel" (Richlin 2009, 85). Further, the protagonists are clearly not considered *cinaedi* of the sort that appear in the Quartilla episode. Thus, the practices that should gender certain characters as feminine are confused. Add to this the question of Encolpius' failed masculinity in his long period of impotence.

However, as Rebecca Langlands has forcefully argued, gender and sexuality are not, even in Roman culture, purely a matter of who is penetrating whom phallically.¹³ The model of active and passive can be limiting and has the effect of effacing the complexity of female roles and other aspects of the masculine and feminine. Doody (1997, 110) calls attention to the women of the *Satyricon* whose power is close to the divine, Oenothea above all, who "bears the goddess in her name." Doody points to the fragmented poetic passage at 134 in which Oenothea pronounces her vast powers over the universe, which has much in common with Isis' speech in Apuleius. Through the powerful women and the impotent men, the *Satyricon*, in Doody's (1997, 112–113) view, "calls the bluff of the masculine ideal," and

“feminizes’ a male narrative, dealing comically and critically with the masculine ethos and the masculine experience.”

The witches, whether divine or infernal, are not the only model of the feminine; Circe, her maid, Tryphaena, but more memorably, the Widow of Ephesus, mortal women who exhibit desire, are ambiguous figures, rupturing the normative model of female chastity. While the widow is most obviously seen as proof that no woman is chaste, Eumolpus’ narrative is famously met with three different reactions by his audience (*Sat.* 113), and can also be read as the story of female sexuality defeating death. For example, as Doody (1997, 112) reads the scene, “the widow has freed herself from the rule of male law,” in part by (literally) exposing the male body. For Langlands (2006, 7), the tale of the Widow of Ephesus is a prime example of the way chastity cannot be maintained in the face of reality rather than a heavily moral story.

The “Milesian Tale” as a genre, as far as one can tell, characteristically defies social norms, including—or perhaps especially—those governing gender and sexuality (see Tilg 2007 for recent discussion). In both the Widow of Ephesus and the Boy of Pergamum, traditionally cited as prime examples of the genre, Petronius supplies, even in embedded tales, examples of love *object* turning subject, flipping the tables, exhibiting desire, complicating the picture of pursuer/pursued, hence also of “masculine” and “feminine.” In Sissa’s terms, the *cinaedi*, Giton, Circe, Tryphana, the Widow and others exhibit the softness and sensuality of desire and of the desire to be desired and thus are feminine in an abstract sense. The norms of masculinity, meanwhile, have largely disappeared.

The *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius presents yet more confusing and contradictory portraits of women and gender than any of the previous novels. Like Petronius, Apuleius describes a world populated largely by the non-elite, teeming with witches in the first few books and scheming adulterous women in the last several. Yet, in the middle of the novel, Apuleius places the romance-like, woman-centered *fabula anilis* of Cupid and Psyche, and at the end he offers redemption in the form of an omnipotent female divinity (of course, many read the ending as ironic, and it should also be noted that the appearance of Isis as savior is superseded by the subsequent appearance of Osiris who is said to be the god of gods, on which more later). Several women (Psyche, Charite, Plotina) take on masculine characteristics, and several men (Cupid, Tlepolemus) are androgynous or engage in cross-dressing. Lucius himself is a confused combination of the phallic (as a donkey bearing an outrageously large member) and the passive.

Again, the treatment of gender in the *Metamorphoses* should be considered in the context of the nature of the work as a whole. Just as,

in Richlin's words, the *Satyricon* and its characters "live outside the law," Apuleius' book, narrated by an ex-donkey describing his sensibilities while a donkey, cannot be expected to follow conventional rules about anything. In an article that radically rethinks the nature of the Milesian Tale, Tilg (2007, 179) points out that, in the first few lines of his work, Apuleius has re-gendered the place-names *Hymettos*, *Isthmos*, and *Taenaros* from the otherwise universally masculine to feminine (1.1: *Hymettos Attica*, *Isthmos Ephyrea*, *Taenaros Spartiaca*) by using feminine attributive adjectives. The term "vocis immutatio" of the prologue, Tilg (2007, 175) argues, signals in rhetorical terms a deviation from traditional standards of prose composition—a specialty of Apuleius'. Tilg (2007, especially 193) argues that such linguistic deviation was a feature of the Milesian Tale, which characteristically used anormative language in a style that matched the low-life content of the tales. I would like to suggest that this clear and emphatic re-gendering of nouns—thrice, lest we miss it—is also a sign, like other covert signs in the Apuleian prologue (about Egyptian papyrus in particular), of a re-thinking of gender and gender roles in the novel as a whole (on grammatical gender, see the essay "Gender" by Corbeill 2010, which begins by considering the centrality of grammatical gender in Romans' thinking about sex and gender). And, indeed, virtually the next thing Lucius tells us is that he was heading to Thessaly where not only are witches dominant, but where he is related to Plutarch through his *mother* (*Met.*1.2).

Many features of Apuleius' portrayal of women have been debated at great length by critics: the overlaps in the descriptions of the powers of the witches of Books 1–3 and the powers of Isis, with the usual conclusion that the witches are "anti-types" of Isis (see Frangoulidis 2008 for discussion and a new angle), the role of erotic seduction and lust, the "serviles voluptates" that plunge Lucius into his life as an ass, the omnipresence of adultery initiated by women, particularly in Books 9 and 10, and the frequently accompanying acts of jealousy and vengeance, culminating in the hair-raising story of the multiple murderess who is destined to mate with Lucius in the theater in Book 10. Most often, these sorts of observations are accompanied by moralizing readings: Lucius (and the rest of the world) is too interested in fleeting physical pleasures and is led astray by women; women, apart from the female divinity Isis, are something men should be wary of, should not be seduced by.

Yet, the effect of the preceding observations is to create a misogynist Apuleius, which is surely an imbalanced view. Lucius' world also encompasses the tale of Cupid and Psyche, entirely a woman's tale (except for the fact that, of course, its real author is male), narrated by an old woman to a young woman about a woman,

substituting female labors centered around cooking, weaving, and cosmetics for male heroic exploits, granting a woman a *katabasis* and ending with the birth of a daughter. There are too many ways to read the tale,¹⁴ but we might read it for the moment as imagining a female-authored fantasy of love and marriage in which a male and female (especially the female) both mature, both enjoy lawful and pleasurable sensuality, get married, and live happily ever after (Relihan 2009, 82–85; Finkelpearl 2012). In Relihan’s (2009, 84–85) words, “it is the story of the equality of man and woman, a story of maturity within the real world.” In this respect, the tale has much in common with the Greek romance and all its accompanying questions about the centrality of the female. Yet, here we are *explicitly* told that it is a woman’s tale, a *fabula anilis* (see Lev Kenaan 2000).¹⁵ A daughter, Voluptas (“sensuality?”), is born from the union. With its fantasy of marriage to Love himself, it is difficult to interpret Cupid and Psyche within the frame of the patriarchal “civic reading” described in the preceding text. It would be gratifying for some of us to feel secure in transferring this model of female narration and audience to the Greek romance, but risky.

Nonetheless, it is fairly clear that Apuleius has juxtaposed this female narrative with that of Lucius, whose journey is more spiritual and philosophical, involving a (relative) renunciation of sensuality and the material world. The happy life with husband and child is female, while the choice of a less material life belongs, appropriately, according to the paradigms of Plato’s *Symposium* and others, to the male. However, here, Apuleius has rather confounded the picture because this spiritual life is lived under the aegis of Isis the mother. While we hear in the last few pages about subsequent initiations into Egyptian male cults, it is Isis who dominates the book. Lucius, ex-phallic animal via the female rose, is now engaged in proto-Christian bodily denial, renunciation, and passivity, and no longer embodies the ideals of Roman masculinity.

Conclusions

The foregoing discussion has critically surveyed recent thinking on gender, women, and men in the novels, and suggested possibly fruitful directions to advance the question(s). As stated at the beginning, gender in the novel is many topics, and it might not even be legitimate to try to tie them together as if they were one. I have tried to bring out several points, taking a progressive rather than pessimistic view of both the status of women and the flexibility of the

categories of masculine and feminine, viewing all the novels as experimenting with alternative ways of constructing gender and gender roles. It is not only the Christian novella, seeking to promote otherworldly values and to escape the civic that gives women an equal footing with men, or the Roman novels that twist and undo recognized categories, but even the fully extant canonical Greek romances give space to rethinking society's traditional roles in which women are subordinate to men and exist mainly to bear children and manage the household. If we enlarge that canon with the more radical fragmentary novels where sexuality is freer and gender roles more flexible, then the radical moments in the canonical Five may be seen in another light.

Notes

1 A further complication of the topic "gender in the novel" is that it will here include discussion of "gender" as a set of cultural behaviors and concepts distinct from biological sex, sexuality, the status and roles of women, and masculinity. The *Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies* has interestingly devoted three chapters to the topic: *Gender, Women, and Sexuality*. The current volume includes a chapter on "Greek Love," but does not otherwise separately cover the topics that a reader will expect to see addressed in this sort of writing. Therefore, because of space constraints, I have addressed these various topics as they seem most relevant to the particular texts being discussed without asking every question about every text. I also take it for granted that the reader either has some sense of the interconnections of these subjects or will look elsewhere for more specific definitions. Haynes 2003, for example, provides much theoretical background in her discussion.

2 The connection between the possibly altered status of real women in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods and their portrayal in literature is obviously problematic. A female readership could certainly account for the prominence, beauty, and strength of female characters, but it is not as obvious that the right of women to own property, for example, would necessarily lead to novelistic heroines being portrayed as supernaturally beautiful. Historians insistently remind us that even fiction is composed by real people living in a real material world, and I have therefore tried to allude to those realities—see the next note. At the same time, the Greek romances are highly stylized and fantastical, and my comments here tend toward an examination of the fictional portrayals of and discourses about gender.

3 I have found Mary Taliaferro Boatwright's 1991 fascinating article

on Plancia Magna very useful for undoing some assumptions about the lived lives of women in the provinces in the early imperial period. What follows here is a summary of the highlights of that piece. Looking outside of literary–philosophical texts, some epigraphic sources offer evidence that women in Asia Minor in the Roman imperial period held prominent positions in their cities as priestesses, benefactors, and even magistrates; controlled their own wealth; and had legal capabilities far greater than those of their counterparts in the centers and in other periods. Plancia Magna of Perge, though perhaps atypical, is a startling figure: apparently inheriting as much of the family fortune as her brother, she dedicated a gateway to the city dated somewhere around 119–122 CE in which her father and brother are identified by their relationship to her, rather than vice versa, and which included more statues of women than of men (252, 255, 256, 261). She may have been legally *sui iuris*, with no male guardian, and, more strikingly, apparently held the position of *demiourgos*; “her name, as the eponymous magistrate of the city, would be used to date all public documents for the year of her magistracy (254). Boatwright argues that Plancia Magna is not an isolated instance of female power (258):

Contradicting the picture provided by the literary evidence, however, are hundreds of inscriptions and coins from Hellenistic and Roman Greece and Asia Minor that attest women such as Plancia Magna, unnoticed in the literary sources. These women were priestesses, gymnasiarchs, theatrical game producers, and the like, as well as magistrates. ... These publicly visible women belie the stated attitudes and “norms” of the time.”

However, as Boatwright explains, these very political women were represented in public in guises that reinforced traditional gender roles—as Pudicitia or Ceres, creating an ambivalent image as both politically powerful and personally retiring (261). The more public women like Plancia Magna then exerted an influence on imperial women and their roles more generally, providing this double-edged model. Boatwright stresses the disjunction between the image of women in epigraphic and numismatic sources and those in literature, yet the novels, most of them emanating from precisely the same geographic and social context, feature a different kind of smart, capable woman.

Those who read the Big Five as conservative *vis à vis* the status of women look to the endings as affirming a woman’s subordinate role in the city as child bearer. Yet, by their strength and assertiveness, the authors have marked them as capable of a different kind of civic

involvement, such as that of Plancia Magna. Certainly, the heroines of the novel are not prominent civic figures bestowing their benefactions on the city, but, just as Plutarch's dialogue points to a different paradigm for thinking about male–female relations, so do these prominent imperial women suggest that the writers of the novels may have been starting from a divergent model of womanhood. The women of the novels present, perhaps in altered form, this same contradictory mix of power and submission.

4 The complications of the narrative structure of the *Wonders Beyond Thule* are notorious, but Phila is an actual historical figure who lived in the time of Alexander the Great. In Sandy's translation: "He presents Balagrus writing these things to his wife and transcribing the contents of the cypress tablets so as to communicate them to his wife" (111b). Though the distancing device of the many layers of narrative make it hard to tell exactly what is happening, it does sound as though Phila is the designated recipient of the novelistic adventures.

5 For example, a doctor, Theodorus Priscianus, lists reading Iamblichus as a therapy for impotence (2.11, p. 133 Rose). Though most of the extant Greek novels are not terribly pornographic (save for certain passages in *Leucippe and Clitophon*), lost novels by Iamblichus and Lollianos, for example, are more explicit.

6 The point is further made in various essays of the volume that literacy was not so inextricably tied to the elite; graffiti and magical papyri are indications that people of all social levels were literate (Bowman 1991, 123); a bricklayer left behind his reflections on laying bricks (Horsfall 1991, 59); the fable was clearly a genre aimed at the non-elite. This leaves open the question of the readership of the novel: it need not be exclusively aimed at the elite even though it chronicles their lives. For further and broader consideration of the culture and sociology of reading in antiquity and the nature of "reading communities," see Johnson 2009, 320–30.

7 Montague, with reference to Showalter, similarly suggests that we read the romances (her focus is on *Daphnis and Chloe*) as a "double-edged discourse," which contains both a dominant and a muted text, perhaps a male-centered text which contains within it a women's text (Montague 1992, 246). Montague 1992 and 1994 both engage with the question of violence in the novel via comparison with the modern Harlequin romances, suggesting that its appeal is not only to males, but also to females who may be able to process feelings about violence via these texts, which are explicitly designed for a female audience.

8 It is important to keep Melite (as well as Lykainion) in mind as a foil to the evil destructive desiring females so often mentioned in the same breath, such as Kyno in Xenophon or Arsake in Heliodorus. Goldhill 1995, 150–1, distinguishes and yet ultimately equates these women.

9 Konstan's thesis has been challenged in certain details by, for example Haynes 2003, 160, who asserts "there is no exact 'symmetry' as Konstan would have it ... it is the heroines who are stronger and make the relationship work."

10 Two other texts are frequently brought in as *comparanda*: Plutarch's *Coniugalia Praecepta* and Lucian's *Erotes*. The former, advice on marriage, is credited with recommending a harmonious reciprocity in the conjugal bond, demonstrating a new sense of respectful interchange between husband and wife. Wohl 1997 objects that the relationship as described is actually based on male domination of the female, where female = body, male = mind, and the male project is to master his bodily instincts. Lucian's work, also acutely conscious of Plato's *Symposium*, is a debate over whether boys or women provide the lover more pleasure, where the argument in favor of pederasty wins the day, raising the question of whether Plutarch's praise of women and marriage really marks a social trend or not.

11 Plutarch's endings often undercut the main ideas of his dialogues. See Wohl 1997 on the paradoxical ending of the *Coniugalia Praecepta*. The DIO ends with a long description of *kuphi*, a kind of mystical incense whose mind-altering spiritual qualities are completely at odds with the insistence on the superiority of the rational in the rest of the piece.

12 How to address the tension between discourse and narrative? It is worth noting in any case that Pisias, who equates the love of women with love of prostitutes, is so abhorrent that he enrages the level-headed Plutarch (752B–C), and that Ismenadora is so outrageous as to be clearly a comic worst-case provocation.

13 Langlands 2006, 7. Langlands focusses on *pudicitia*, a state of bodily control that is accessible to women as well as men. In the case of what she terms the "playful genres," including the novel, she observes that *pudicitia* is exposed as a futile ideal. Langlands also interestingly notes that women in the novel who possess *pudicitia*, such as Charite and Plotina, are strangely androgynous creatures. See also previous text on Sissa who discards the active/passive model.

14 Psychological interpretations of the tale of Cupid and Psyche, mostly by non-Classicists—as well as of the *Metamorphoses* as a

whole—offer fruitful ways of detaching gender in the abstract from roles of women and men in the work. See Relihan 2009, 86–7, for a useful chart and bibliographical references. I agree with Relihan in putting aside the allegorical reading, which seems a distraction from the very real-life nature of the tale.

15 Lev Kenaan 2000, especially 381–7, interestingly complicates the picture here. The story is designed by the old woman to address the particular private circumstances of Charite's plight; it is an oral tale of comfort between women. Yet, the male Lucius overhears and writes down the story, thus creating two perspectives. It is the written text, authored by the philosophizing male that is opened up to the allegorizing of later writers such as Fulgentius. The immediate, personal, literal version of the tale is the *fabula anilis*, which we hear only through Lucius the intermediary.

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Further Readings

The reader should consult the bibliography to this chapter for further reading. The most basic texts on women in the novel are: Haynes 2003, which is full of information and ideas; the earlier works by Egger and Elsom; Doody 1997 for a strong goddess position; Morales; and Richlin. For more general reading on sexuality, see Williams, Skinner, and Sissa.

CHAPTER 30

Education as Construction of Gender Roles in the Greek Novels¹

Sophie Lalanne

“[Callirhoe] quickly recovered from the birth and grew stronger and bigger, no longer a girl (kore), but now a mature woman (*gunaikos akmen proslabousa*).”

(Chariton, *Callirhoé*, 3.8.3)

Nobody would deny the fact that, to some extent, the five complete Greek novels that have survived through the ages belong to the genre of the “éducation sentimentale” or “Bildungsroman.” First confined to a supposedly young and uncultivated public (Perry 1967, 175), they have proved their ability to reach a high level of scholarly and rhetorical technique (Hunter 1983, 59–83; Bowie 1985, 67–91; Hunter 1994, 1055–1086; Morgan 2004, 5–6) without losing their deep insight on the world of youth. For youth has to be moved from one territory to another: if the audience of the Greek novel was not mainly composed of young men and women to whom the art of love had to be taught, youth and education had nevertheless a great importance in the eyes of the Greek novelists, rhetors, and sophists, who wrote the novels.

The age range of heroes and heroines in particular deserves a special attention 14 and 15 years for Anthia and Habrocomes at the beginning of the novel, 13 and 15 years for Chloe and Daphnis, 19 years for Cleitophon and probably the same age for Leucippe, and 17 years for Theagenes and Charicleia (Lalanne 2006, 73–74). Chaireas and Callirhoe, who are described as *meirakion* and *kore*, are probably the same age as Habrocomes and Anthia. Few literary genres put heroes so young on stage except epics: Theseus and Telemachos are, respectively, 16 and 17 years of age when they accomplish their initiation.

Of course, youth plays a dynamic role in the plot itself. Because it implies vulnerability, power of seduction, as well as innocence, it can be seen as a driving force in the meandering stream of the narration. This goes not only for the five complete novels, but, as far as we can say, for some of the fragmentary novels that have been preserved, such as *Ninos* (fr. A2–A3). However, the status of youth in the Greek novels is related also to an original way of looking at society. From Homer to Menander, through Hesiod, Thucydides, Aristotle, or Isocrates, we know that opposition between generations, and especially between young and mature men, gave shape to Greek society (cf. Roussel 1951), and that the increasingly demanding aspirations of each new generation were debated among philosophers and politicians, at least in democratic Athens. What draws our attention is the fact that Greek novelists persist over time, even after the normalization of the Hellenistic age, unless we recognize here an Augustan influence (Néraudeau 1979, 368–383).

This research owes to different trends of French historiography focusing on three different subjects: first, education, in continuity of *History of Education in Antiquity*, published by Henri-Irénée Marrou in 1948 and recently renewed (Too 2001; Pailler and Payen 2004); then, rites of passage in the way Pierre Vidal-Naquet pursued the work of Arnold van Gennep (for a complete survey, see Vernant and Vidal-Naquet 1992); and lastly, “genre” as the construction of social and cultural gender identities (Sebillotte and Ernoult 2007, introduction, 11–26; Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 2007, 27–48). The connection between those three independent themes will lead us to examine how a Greek man and a Greek woman were shaped and raised to young adulthood. The Greek novels offer a remarkable field of observation: qualities and abilities are set up in order to draw an accurate portrait of Greek aristocracy, to build a model for all Greeks, and even non-Greeks, in a world where Greek culture is still predominant. I will follow this triptych display, beginning with youth and education, going on to rites of passage, and finishing with gender roles.

Forever Young

Idealized youth is one of the major features of the Greek novels: after beauty and *eugeneia*, youth is an important part of the heroes’ and heroines’ identity. Yet, it is far from being an everlasting or timeless quality. The novels focus upon the transformation of the main characters, and a sort of diachronic portrait of each hero or heroine can be drawn (see Lalanne 2006 and 2010). Specific attention is paid

to youth and, broadly speaking, to age ranges.

As a matter of fact, all characters display a common set of ages (Lalanne 2006, 66–97), with some variations from one novel to another. Most of the time, when the novelists introduce a new character, they find a way to mention his or her age group. For instance, Chariton often uses the expression *ōs anēr*, “as a man who...,” as if age and gender explained the characters’ motivations, emotions, and actions. Heliodorus uses a large number of periphrases to describe the periods of the life cycle and pays great attention to the question of age. A child, for instance, can be called *pais* or *korē*, but also *paidion*, *korion*, *paidarion*, or a group of children can be characterized as *paidaria anēba* (10.8.1). On the other hand, peoples of Delphi, Memphis, and Syene gather *dia pasēs ēlikias*, “all ages confounded” (7.8.3; 9.11.4; 9.22.1). Heliodorus even adds the criterion of gender to suggest the solidarity of all categories during the siege of Syene: “No one was idle: women, children, and old men alike all joined in the work, for mortal danger is no respecter of age or sex” (9.3.8) (English translations are from Reardon’s 1989 collection, in which Morgan translates Heliodorus). On the contrary, when nothing is said about ages, it can be deduced that the character is an adult. Only a few characters remain problematic from this point of view: Moeris, Rheneae, and, above all, Manto. They all appear in the *Ephesiaca*.

The society of the Greek novels is divided into categories according to the criteria of age and gender, and each novelist builds his own vision of society. For instance, Xenophon of Ephesus and Longus give a well-balanced survey of Greek society, where all groups are put on an even footing, while Achilles Tatius focuses on two categories, young people and adults, and, in doing so, depicts Greek society as the field of an antagonistic relationship between them. However, whatever outlook they give on Greek society, the novelists put a major stress on the age of education and socialization.

Two different measures are used for men and women in the Greek novels. For men, six age groups appear: *pais* (child), *meirakion* (adolescent), *neaniskos* (very young man), *neanias/neos* (young man), *anēr* (man), and *presbutēs* (old man). This list of terms is the result of the connections between a traditional description of ages (*pais*, *ephebos*, *neos*, *anēr*, *gerōn*) and the frequent use of *meirakion* and *neaniskos* as developments of *ephebos* in comedy and medicine (Golden 1990, 12–15; Lalanne 2006, 70–71). Even if it is often difficult to make a clear difference between a *neaniskos* and a *neanias*, for instance, it is obvious that these categories form a common reference at the time of novels’ composition and cover a small number of years in a man’s life.

The age-scale for women is less detailed, especially when youth is concerned: the woman is first a *pais* (child), then a *korē* (girl), a *gunē* (woman), and, at last, a *presbutis/graus* (old woman). The *korē* has usually reached the age of puberty, but not always (e.g. Charicleia); she is often a virgin, but she can be married too. The *gunē* is generally a married woman. The general consensus of those who look carefully at this aspect of characterization is that the novelists make great efforts, in spite of the usual anthropological simplicity of women's age scales, to balance the situation of women with that of men. Thus, the different steps of evolution in the life cycle can be traced for each young character, boy or girl, as seen for Chaireas and Callirhoe (Lalanne 1998, 518–550) and other heroes and heroines.

Education in the Greek Novel

In the Greek novels, education intensifies gender distinctions. *Paideia* introduces a strong separation between tasks, qualities, and status, and establishes an imbalance to the benefit of boys, though the beginning of novels tend to show a different situation, as if girls' advantages fall to their lot by nature but were diminished according to a social pattern that keeps in store for future citizens all social prerogatives: political power, public speech, freedom of choice, ability to spend one's fortune, etc. And yet, Greek society rests on the fact that places where education occurs, pedagogical contents, qualities to be gained, as well as the social status that results from all this are determined according to gender.

All heroes belong to the *gymnasion* of their city, except Daphnis who lives as a slave in the countryside and chooses to remain a country dweller even after his aristocratic status is revealed. Chaireas and Habrocomes, who are the youngest heroes, are said to frequent this educational center (*Callirhoe* 1.1.5; *Ephesiaca* 1.2.2). Their training is sport, more than military discipline. Chaireas has been taught the kicks of *pankraton*; Cleitophon has been taught the art of riding a horse; Habrocomes is well known for his various talents in hunting, riding a horse, and practicing *hoplomachia*; Theagenes knows the various techniques for taming a bull. However, this representation of education is silent about a long-known evolution out of *ephebeia* that leads to the increasing role of intellectual and literary contents (Marrou 1981 [1948], 147) in a political world more and more impregnated with rhetorical technique, as the Second Sophistic's development shows (Gleason 1995). Even if it is obvious on some occasions that the young heroes have been given such a cultural

background, it seems that intellectual capacities do not count among the highest qualities required from a young Greek aristocrat. The *gymnasion* is nothing in the novels but a place for physical training and male sociability.

Unlike heroes, some heroines such as Leucippe and Charicleia, who are accomplished *pepaideumenai*, are depicted as having received an intellectual and literary education, probably at home, with a private tutor or their own father. Leucippe is indeed a *tēroumenē parthenos*, a “well-guarded virgin” (1.9.3) confined to her room and her uncle’s garden where she can read and play the cithara, and has certainly always been treated this way; Charicleia was probably taught by her adoptive father Charicles, Apollo’s priest in Delphi, though nothing is said about it; Chloe is given the minimal knowledge a young shepherdess can have and spends a terribly annoying time with her supposed mother who teaches her “how to card wool and turn spindles and going on about marriage” (3.4.5). This radical change in her life immediately precedes her nubility at 13 years of age, and, after acquiring a rudimentary agricultural competence (grazing, observation of nature, making of small objects, grape-harvesting), when her mother teaches her weaving skills that form the main part of feminine activity, this is the end of Chloe’s education. At age 15, she is old enough to be married and to become a perfect *despoina oikias* (the “mistress of a house,” 3.25.2). Thus, what makes the difference is not her coming of age, but the social recognition of it during the grape-harvesting time when men and women communities meet each other. Two events have played an important role in this development: the long and harsh winter that prevents peasants from venturing out of their home and the great pastoral feast at which Chloe’s rescue by the god Pan is celebrated. All places of education are gender-determined. Religious feasts or visits to temples are typically where young men and young women meet, as these are the only opportunities for girls to go out.

The content of education greatly varies between girls and boys. In the Greek novel, it takes an idealized form in combination with a life of adventure and heroism conceived in an epic pattern for boys, in a mythological scheme for girls (Lalanne 2006, 122–128). In the whole corpus of Greek novels, heroes must leave in search of their beloved, either on their own initiative or at the behest of the heroine’s father. Heroines, with the exception of Charicleia, are forced to play a passive role, i.e. to wait for danger and rescue, in spite of their personal qualities. The hero is subjected to an initiation to sexuality, while the young woman must preserve her chastity at any cost. Lastly, the hero must prove his ability to master speech: verbal contests (in trials, for instance), narration of myths, and public orations illustrate the fact

that the young man must be a quality speaker. Heroines are not supposed to play this role even if they are depicted as being more clever or witty. Callirhoe, Anthia, Chloe, Leucippe, and, in a more subtle way, Charicleia are equally taught to stay silent and obedient toward their *kurios* and to accept the decisions he will make.

Moral values unify both genders, and the same qualities are expected from boys and girls: courage, self-control, equanimity, piety toward gods and parents, respect for institutions, fidelity, and chastity (even with lapses allowed to young men, and young women too, if married), which may be considered as respect for the institution of marriage. These qualities gather all heroes and heroines under the same ideal of Hellenism based on the excellence of Greek *paideia*. An opposition between the good qualities of Greeks and the irritability, cupidity, lust, and jealousy of *barbaroi* is mentioned on several occasions. Masculine and feminine forms of courage differ by their name: while young men are taught *andreia*, young women are qualified through the notion of *arete*, since the other term remains too strongly entangled with virility.

The distribution of gender roles that results from the various sequences of initiatory ordeals in the novels confirms what we know about Greek societies. With the exception of Theagenes and Charicleia, where the female clearly dominates, other hero-couples illustrate well a specialization of gender roles, as well as the expected hierarchy between men and women in a patriarchal society. Here, we meet a cultural scheme that Nicole Loraux (1981) has brought to light, drawing a parallel between war and childbirth. A remarkable continuity seems to characterize gender relations in the Greek domestic sphere in spite of major changes in political, social, and cultural environments. Young women are prepared for the “bed,” an actual metaphor of sexual relations and motherhood, whatever heroic qualities may be granted to them in the Greek novels and in the contemporary sources as well, like Plutarch’s *Erotikos*. Thus, at the end of the whole process of socialization, the gender gap is deeply engraved in the basis of Greek society.

By the time they return home, heroes and heroines have risen to a new status, as high as their own parents and as high as could be expected from their youth in their city when they were said to be the “first” by birth and beauty. However, the most remarkable aspect of this new status is the normalization of their relationship, which was, at the beginning of the novel, asymmetrical and in favor of girls and young women. To some extent, the final order neutralizes the originality of the girls’ initiation, which appears, consequently, as the effect of a novelistic license. At the end of the novels, the reader is offered to contemplate two polished cultural products: a Greek man

and a Greek woman.

The First Ordeal: Separation

In ancient Greek history, youth's social behavior has been analyzed in light of the anthropological notion of "rite of passage," in terms of rituals, marriage, war, and hunting. This notion, outlined by Arnold van Gennep 100 years ago (1909), expresses the idea that each individual successively occupies different social status in the course of his life, and that most human societies set up rituals intended to emphasize the transition from one status to another and to make these transitions more acceptable for the individual. Transitions can be divided into three critical phases (each further divisible): separation, liminality, and incorporation. This scheme finds a remarkable application within the scope of the Greek novel.

Separation is probably the most impressive of the three phases. Parents are more affected by the stage of separation than they perceive as they realize they will never recover the child they are letting go: even if he comes back, he will never be the same. In the Greek novels, which exemplify the organization of a patriarchal society, fathers play a prominent role. Unlike most societies, separation has to be made primarily with fathers instead of mothers. The fathers of Anthia and Habrocomes are the ones who decide to make the just-married couple travel by sea (1.10.3); in *Daphnis and Chloe*, both fathers, Dryas and Lamon, who discovered the exposed infants (1.2 and 1.4.5), dream that Eros ordered Daphnis to be made a goatherd and Chloe a shepherdess (1.7.1–2), and they send their children to wander over the fields (1.8.1–2). In Chariton's novel, Callirhoe's father, Hermocrates, leads the procession that conveys his daughter to her tomb (1.6.3), and in the *Aethiopica*, Charicles convenes the Delphian citizens' assembly and, through imprecations, convinces them to pursue the kidnappers of his adopted daughter (4.19–21). In each example, the father embodies both authority and affection and overshadows the mother's character.

In order to make the child's separation from the parents more spectacular and more active, this stage is ritualized: oracles and dreams are interpreted as expressions of the gods' will. Apollo, whose oracle in Colophon is consulted by the fathers of Habrocomes and Anthia, decides the young couple's fate (1.6.1–2). In the *Aethiopica*, Apollo determines, through the Pythia's voice (2.35.4–5), what will happen to Theagenes and Charicleia, just after Calasiris, Charicleia's spiritual father, and Charicles, her adoptive father, have dreams that

announce the oracle. The first dream, in which Apollo and Artemis order Calasiris to take the two young lovers back to their home city (3.3.5), influences the course of events as it provokes the heroes' departure. The second dream is premonitory: Charicles sees an eagle flying off from Apollo's hands and abducting Charicleia (4.4.12). It prepares the old man for the painful separation. In a dream of the first type, that Dryas and Lamon share in Longus, the Nymphs appear to tell both fathers to entrust Daphnis and Chloe to a winged boy easily identified with Eros (1.7.1–1.8.2). Dreams underline the role of gods in the separation stage, and the children's departure is celebrated with many prayers and sacrifices.

In Greek novels, with the exception of *Daphnis and Chloe*, separation takes the form of boarding a ship. Most often, preparations precede the launching, but the rapidity of the heroine's abduction is a surprise for the reader. Both Callirhoe and Charicleia are kidnapped, Callirhoe through her apparent death and abduction by tomb looters (1.5.1; 1.9.7), and Charicleia by her lover (4.17.3–5). Chloe is abducted by the young men of Methymna, a motif that echoes the other novels even if its placement is unusual in the overall frame. As for Leucippe, she elopes with Cleitophon, but Calligone, Cleitophon's half-sister, is kidnapped in her place (3.18.1–5). This abduction of a young woman by a young man is one of the most common forms of separation. In the novels, departure is sudden, painful, and perceived as a major event both by the protagonists and their parents. The novelists stage separation with great care, representing it as a great public ceremony: funerals and a trial in Chariton's novel; a long procession of Ephesians accompanying Habrocomes and Anthia to the harbor in Xenophon; and the gathering of all Delphians giving chase to the Thessalians in Heliodorus. The crossing of the sea is the true moment of separation. During this travel, disturbed by pirates, tempests, and shipwrecks, the heroes are maintained in an interspace, a sort of liminal period preceding the liminal stage proper.

The leaders of pirates or brigands in these novels are intimately associated with the travel theme and introduce the idea of the hostility of the world that the young heroes are about to discover at the borders of Hellenized territories. These chiefs are either banished or marginalized rebels and represent transgressive figures to which heroes could conform themselves if they were not so obedient to the gods. As the heroes leave their parents, who, judging by their response to the dreams the gods send them, are obvious models of piety, they meet, in the course of their journey, various characters that illustrate values opposite to chastity, piety, and moderation (e.g. Hypothoos or Thyamis). These meetings that occur immediately after the stage of separation confront the heroes with the image of alterity, of a

potential but undesirable self. The heroes have to make an active choice how they will live their own lives, having forever left behind them the comforting shores of childhood. As a sign of this necessary loss, it happens that close secondary characters die at this stage of the novel, for example Habrocomes' old servant, or Dorcon, Daphnis' rival.

The disappearance of the ship that conveys the heroes to a new and hostile world is important to the separation's ritual. In *Callirhoe*, the ship that Hermocrates offered to Chaireas to bring his daughter back to Syracuse is burned by Phocas, the steward of Dionysios' estate (3.7.1–3). In *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, a dreadful tempest destroys the ship and only spares the prow, the mast, and the yard (3.4.3–6). In the *Aethiopica*, after a terrible shipwreck, the ship is looted and abandoned along a beach where brigands begin to fight furiously; the novel opens with the spectacle of the empty ship and the pathetic remains of a banquet gathering dead and wounded bodies (1.1.2–7). This serves not only as a manifestation of the young heroes' divine beauty, which Heliodorus stresses, but also of their desperate isolation. In the *Ephesiaca*, pirates attack the just-married couple and burn their ship, heavily loaded with riches and slaves (1.14.1–3). The *Ephesiaca* is probably the best example of this ritual of separation, for it illustrates all the elements already mentioned (1.10.4–11.1), many of which suggest the idea that the heroes have to renounce the past and break the ties that closely link them to the persons and objects from their childhood. This separation takes place under the supervision of two *kourotrophoi* divinities, Artemis and Apollo.

Continuing against All Odds: The Liminal Stage

Once the ship that conveyed the young heroes over the Mediterranean has disappeared, they are completely lonely and without resource. They are now bound to wander along the borders of the Greek-speaking world (for *Daphnis and Chloe*, beyond Dionysophanes' estate, 200 *stadia*, or 23 miles from Mytilene). This situation is not meant to be permanent. It allows the heroes to become more mature and have their personalities transformed. This is how van Gennep (1960 [1909], 17–18) defines the second phase of a rite of passage: “Quiconque passe de l'un à l'autre [des deux territoires] se trouve ainsi matériellement et magico-religieusement, pendant un temps plus ou moins long, dans une situation spéciale: il flotte entre deux mondes.

C'est cette situation que je désigne du nom de marge." The fragmentary novels of *Ninos*, *Metiochos* and *Parthenope* and *The Babylonian* seem to have been based on the same original plot containing a sea trip, a separation between the two young lovers and a long wandering.

Heliodorus is particularly keen on the motif of wandering (*alē* and *planē*). It is striking that, in the latest novels, those of Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus, as the geographical frame of the adventures extends, the feeling of wandering takes on a more and more important place. Chariton refers to this notion in a different way: Callirhoe mentions from time to time the border beyond which she does not want to pass, first the Aegean sea, later on the Euphrates river, but she seems to be bound to an ever-more-remote destination.

As a matter of fact, in the Greek novels, the heroes are bound to the four points of the compass, following the lines of the *oikoumenē*, the civilized world according to the Greeks of the classical period: Magna Graecia in the west, Byzantium and Cappadocia in the north, Babylonia in the east, and Aethiopia in the south. These lands are the *eschatiai* of the heroes' adventures, these inhospitable edges that mark the end of well-known territories (Robert 1960). *Ep'eschatois horois* is the expression Heliodorus uses in the famous scene of Aegyptian necromancy, when a dead man reveals Charicleia's future (6.15.4). *Eschatiai* respond to their most accurate definition in *Daphnis and Chloe*, where they are limited by the city's borders and which are described as a wild countryside, where only shepherds and goatherds are found. Daphnis and Chloe do not suffer exile, but left on their own every day in the fields, they endure ordeals that are not different from heroes in other novels. Wandering suggests more than exile, isolation, and vulnerability: it is attached to the fury of an unfavorable fate, to the heartache of departing from one's native city, to the distance from one's parents, to the inversion of status that turns proud aristocrats into outcasts, and, last but not least, to the desire for return. All of these themes are common features of an initiatory path.

The sea trip may be specific to Greek initiations, for Greeks used to have an ambiguous relation with the sea, a source of attraction and repulsion (André and Baslez 1993, 11–42). In the Greek novels, it is certainly the most dangerous place, where one encounters tempests, shipwrecks, and pirates. Callirhoe keeps repeating the idea that the sea is an obstacle between her parents, her city, her husband, and herself (e.g. 3.10.8; 8.4.10). In Xenophon (1.6.2) as well as in Heliodorus (6.15.4), the sea trip is announced by an oracle as the decisive stage of the heroes' initiation. In Greek representations since Homer, the sea is perceived as moving and precarious, a metaphor of life itself. In the novels, misfortunes are often compared to unforeseen

events of navigation. Through sailing, novel heroes are connected to their heroic predecessors such as Odysseus, Telemachus, Theseus, Jason, even Paris (Duchêne 1992). Greek heroes not only have to win various trials, but also have to roam the seven seas to accomplish their initiation. Even *Daphnis and Chloe*, the most pastoral of the five complete novels, takes place on the island of Lesbos, which leaves space for various events related to the sea, such as Daphnis' abduction by Tyrian pirates (1.28–31), Chloe's kidnapping by young Methymnians, and her rescue by Pan (2.19–28); the noise of a small fishing boat, which leads to the narration of Echo's myth (3.21–23); and Daphnis' discovery of a purse containing 3,000 drachmas on a beach next to a dolphin's corpse (2.27). When Daphnis discovers Chloe bathing naked at the beginning of the novel, Longus writes: "The bath seemed more terrible than the sea. He thought he must have left his life behind with the pirates—for he was young and a country boy and still ignorant of the piracy of love" (1.32.4). The sea is an inescapable *locus* in Greek initiation and Longus plays with it, recognizing its key role.

Facing death is another compulsory stage of a rite of passage, especially in the passage from childhood to adulthood, as van Gennepe underlined. Heroes of the Greek novel are often threatened with a most terrible death, enduring not only shipwrecks, fires, and battles, but also personal ordeals, for example Anthia is bound to a tree and sacrificed to Ares; Leucippe's head is cut off and her body thrown overboard; Daphnis falls into a pit; Theagenes is severely injured by pirates; and Callirhoe and Anthia are buried alive. These cases of fictitious death are perceived by the characters themselves and by the reader as a journey through hell. In some novels (e.g. the *Ephesiaca*), corpses of characters too young to die are strewn on the ground, many of whom stand in for the heroes (mythological characters for heroines, and "Patroclus" figures for heroes) and disappear before the end of the novel, often hit by a violent fate: Phatta, Echo, Syrinx, Pitys, Dorcon, Hyperanthes, Anchialos, Charicles, and Chaireas. Suicide is another aspect of omnipresence of death, as well as the motif of seclusion in a cavern, a sacred cave, a pit, a hut, a jail, or an empty grave—even the sea is compared to a grave (e.g. *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, 5.16.1). These isolated places allow the youth to stand apart from the world during a definite period and to regress to an original stage before going through a second birth.

However, a rite of passage cannot be qualified as such if the liminal stage was not based on the pattern of inversion. This reversal is essentially an inversion of social status. Heroes and heroines feel cut off from the world of the Greek cities by the surface of the sea and remote lands; they feel lonely and helpless and, reduced to captivity,

they are submitted to repeated sexual assaults. No one expresses this forfeiture better than Callirhoe, who is at the same time the proudest of all these young Greek aristocrats, sons and daughters of the first citizens in their city, when she describes herself as *doulē kai xenē*, “a slave and a foreigner” (2.5.7). This pair of ideas expresses the exact opposite to what lies at the basis of high social status: being free, being a citizen (or a citizen’s daughter), and being a Greek aristocrat. Inversions of gender, if not uncommon, are not important features. Leucippe, as a slave, has her hair shaved and is “turned into an ephebe” (5.19.2); Cleitophon takes Melite’s garments to disguise himself and escape Thersander’s watchfulness (6.1.3); and Chloe wears Daphnis’ clothes for fun (1.24.2). Most of these transformations are anecdotal (except for Leucippe, eventually) and appear to reinforce the general feeling of the reader that, for a certain length of time, and until the final reversal, life is upside down.

A Time for Return: The Incorporation

The long succession of ordeals that befall the young heroes must come to an end with the sudden vision of their mother city or, to be more precise, of their father city. In *Callirhoe*, the *Ephesiaca*, and *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, the rite of incorporation takes the form of a triumphant return on a ship. The heroes and heroines are warmly welcomed and take a new place in society, as members of another restricted societal subgroup demarcated by age, sex, civic, and social status. Young men enter the men’s community (*andres*), while young women are introduced into the group of married women (*gunaiques*). This is the final stage of a long process of maturation through the various events of the novels. And these two communities of *andres* and *gunaiques* precisely come onto the pier to celebrate the return of the heroes.

When the heroes are not married at this stage of the novel, the end of the narration focuses on their wedding. While Achilles Tatius discreetly alludes to Leucippe and Cleitophon’s marriage (8.19.2), Longus and Heliodorus describe in detail the preparation for the wedding festivities. Longus even concludes his novel on the wedding night (4.40.1–3). Heliodorus makes a public event of the transmission to Theagenes and Charicleia of the symbols of the priesthood that they accede to when getting married. The couple appears on a chariot bound for Meroe with Hydaspes, the king of Aethiopia, and the queen

Persinna on board, as well as the first of Gymnosophists, Sisimithres, and the priest of Delphi, Charicles, in the middle of acclamations, applause, and dances (10.41.1–3). In both novels, this ceremony sanctions the integration of the young couple into their proper social category. It follows the recognition of the heroes by their natural parents, which is a form of reinforcement of the incorporation's ritual. It contains in itself the idea of return, not to a homeland but to an original family, since the heroes are offered to assume their place in a line of descent, and, what is more, in an aristocratic lineage. See, for example, the recognition of Daphnis: every detail reminds us of a family reunion and Daphnis puts on "expensive clothes" (4.23.2) that better suit his new social status and that he wears as naturally as he grazed his goats. Putting on the costume of a citizen is the equivalent here to taking up arms: a visible sign of incorporation into the men's community. The fact is underlined by Daphnis sitting next to his natural father (4.23.2).

In each of these situations—return, marriage, or recognition—the incorporation stage responds to the separation stage. Slight variations may be observed but they do not hide the symmetrical conception of structures. The heroes are welcomed with a ceremony that is a reversed repetition of the one they endured when they departed from their city.

Religious ceremonies stress the various stages of this "return." The last book of *Daphnis and Chloe*, for instance, abounds in sacrifices and banquets: when Dionysophanes recognizes Daphnis as his son (twice, 4.25.2; 4.26.1), when Daphnis and Chloe get engaged (4.32.3), when Dionysophanes tries to find Chloe's natural parents in Mytilene (4.34.2), and, at the very end, at Dionysophanes' villa, at the final wedding (4.38.1). In *Callirhoe* (8.8.15), *Leucippe and Cleitophon* (8.19.3), the *Ephesiaca* (5.15.2), and the *Aethiopica* (10.41.1–3), the heroes are celebrated with various feasts and rituals, most of the time as thanksgiving offerings to the gods at the end of their tribulations. As a symmetrical feature to their departure, their parents are most often present. In *Callirhoe*, as soon as they hear about their children's return, Hermocrates and Ariston rush to the harbor to meet them (8.6.10). Later, Hermocrates introduces them to the theater to offer a public narration of their adventures. This presence of parental figures adds solemnity to the reintegration of the young heroes. In the *Ephesiaca*, the four parents are already deceased, but Habrocomes and Anthia climb to the top of the city of Ephesus and, after having accomplished sacrifices to Artemis, erect a monumental grave (5.15.2). This action marks their nobility as well as their filial piety. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, as well as in the *Aethiopica*, all parents gather for the final scene. When Daphnis and Chloe get married, Lamon and

Myrtale, Dryas and Nape, Dionysophanes and Cleariste, Megacles and Rhode all attend the banquet (4.37–38). During Charicleia's and Theagenes's enthronement, Hydaspes and Persinna, Charicles and Sisimithres (representing the deceased and lamented Calasiris) take part in the ceremony (10.41.1–3). Theagenes' parents are never mentioned in the novel.

Young heroes are not anymore considered as adolescents (*korai*, *neaniskoi*, *neaniai*) whose beauty is essentially the expression of their family's nobility, social status, and high education, but as adults who are naturally bound to succeed their parents. The accomplishment of fearful ordeals legitimates their belonging to a lineage and allows them to take the place of their parents. In the *Ephesiaca*, the two old couples of parents bequeath their fortune and social rank to Habrocomes and Anthia (5.15.3), while Leuco and Rhode inherit from the old man of Xanthos (5.10.11) and Hippothoos from his old wife (5.9.1). In this novel, the generation's renewal works remarkably well, but the same scenario can be observed in all novels.

As a conclusion, the Greek novels illustrate, more than any other type of historical source, the education and socialization of Greek youth, women included. What makes this analysis particularly interesting is, first, the extraordinary cultural continuity in which Greeks conceived the best possible education and training, and, in second place, the actual construction of gender roles in Greek society.

Let's Make a Man of Him!

Andreia is first and foremost a masculine quality. The etymology of the notion implies that it is a part of men's identity and excludes girls and women *de facto*. Yet, Plato himself, in the *Laches* and the *Protagoras*, emphasizes the fact that *andreia* is produced by education (see Rosen and Sluiter 2003, introduction). It is not only a matter of physical strength and self-confidence but also of wisdom and knowledge, implying the construction of a social and cultural identity. Thus, girls and women are not essentially deprived of any sort of courage, but *andreia* participates in a specific system of representations. Greek novels deal with this necessary education of young men.

The term *andreia* appears in several novels, along with *andreios*, but it is best illustrated in the character of Chaireas, once a ship commander. Only Dionysios (5.9.8), Chaireas (7.2.4; 7.5.11; 7.6.7), his 300 soldiers (8.8.13), and the Tyrians (7.2.7) are qualified with such terms. Except for Dionysios, for whom it may evoke moral strength, *andreia* belongs to the vocabulary of war. When Polycharmes

convinces Chaireas to look for death on the battlefield instead of committing suicide, he refers to the heroic dimension of *andreia*, implying dignity and glory: "It would be a noble thing to do him so much harm that he really regrets his actions, and to leave behind for future generations a glorious tale of how two Greeks who were unjustly treated paid out the Great King by the suffering they caused him, and died like men" (7.1.8). Chaireas uses this plea for himself when he explains later to the Pharaoh why he and Polycharmes should go over to the enemy's camp (7.2.4). The acquisition of *andreia* will be accomplished when Chaireas chooses in the Pharaoh's army the men he will command and when he is cheered and elected as their *strategos*. After he takes the cities of Tyr and Arados, he is at last recognized as *andreios* (7.6.7).

In Heliodorus' novel, *andreia* mainly characterizes the hero. Along with beauty (3.3.8), and in opposition with Cnemon's cowardice (2.7.3 and 2.18.4), it inspires respect and admiration and is considered as a divine quality (10.28.4). Besides, Hydaspes' *andreia* merges into the virtues of a king, that is, of a formidable and magnanimous warrior: he "has the capacity to destroy his enemies utterly but is naturally inclined to take pity on suppliants" (9.6.2). War is obviously what makes valuable the masculine and "civilized" (i.e. Hellenized) form of courage. To Hydaspes' bravery are contrasted Oroondates' disgraceful flight from the battlefield (9.19.1) and the harshness of the king of Persia whose "rigor in punishing any who show themselves cowards in war tends to exceed his generosity in honoring the brave" (9.21.4). Thus, Hydaspes' *andreia* is offered as a model to Theagenes who will probably succeed to him on Ethiopia's throne.

As for Achilles Tatius, *andreia* is nothing but a manifestation of male sexual power, through the verb *andrizesthai*, which means "to accomplish sexual performance" (2.10.1; 4.1.2). The novelist deals with this subject as he always does, with humor: *andreia* and *andreios* never qualify Cleitophon himself but the god Eros stringing his bow (2.4.5; 2.5.1), the boastful mosquito in Satyros' tale (2.22.3), and the *gymnasion's* comrades of whom Thersandros is accused to have been the *eromenos* in the insulting prosecution speech pronounced by the priest of Artemis (8.9.4). When *andreia* is normally associated with war, it is a way of denigrating the *barbaroi's* cowardice (4.14.9) or to build around the character of Callisthenes the ideal of male accomplishment on the battlefield (8.17.9). Thus, while Daphnis' masculinity grows and expands on the basis of a metaphoric triptych composed with panpipes, the art of shepherd and sexual performances, Cleitophon, as a typical "chasseur noir," is torn between his sexual instincts and a restraining system of social norms

that he obstinately refuses, standing permanently half-way between the savage world of his sexual fantasies and the world of the city where he is probably expected to become a *strategos* (see Lalanne 2006, 192–204 for Daphnis; 168–174 for Cleitophon).

Thus, masculinity has to be taught. As a matter of fact, male identity is composed of a set of well-defined qualities that have to be achieved and constructed, though most of them can (must?) appear as natural. In order to make a man of the novel's hero, there is need first of an *agonistic* context, then of strong men's solidarity. In the novels, the *agōn* takes place in three main areas: war, *gymnasion* activities, and oratory, three areas recognized as playing an important role in the construction of Greek masculinity (for war and masculinity, see Loraux 1982; Vernant 1982 and 1989; for sports, see van Nijf 2003; for rhetoric, see Gleason 1995). Then the acquisition of *andreia* by the novels' heroes becomes a common matter in which a large number of characters are involved, all of whom are men. Every character of the Greek novel has a particular position in society, within an age group, a gender-based community, a social or political organization, and men play a predominant role in this society. Many of them have a part in young men's education, by stimulating their taste for competition, provoking them, encouraging them, protecting them, giving pieces of advice especially in love affairs, and welcoming them in the society of male adults. There is no equivalent form of solidarity among women in the Greek novel. Some of the masculine assistants of the heroes are either initiators (Philetas for Daphnis; Aigialeus for Habrocomes; Calasiris for Theagenes; eventually, the Pharaoh for Chaireas) or most faithful friends (Polycharmos for Chaireas; Hippothoos for Habrocomes; Clinias, Menelas, and Satyros for Cleitophon; Cnemon and, on some occasions, Thyamis for Theagenes). Men's friendship appears as a fundamental component of social structure (Konstan 1999, especially 6–7), but two other male figures play their part: the hero's father and, even more often, the heroine's father who supports his (future) son-in-law better than his own daughter—Hermocrates illustrates well this paradox.

Thus, everything is done to help the young men achieve their education in the best conditions, and most of the men take part in this process because it forms the basis of the whole society. Urged to become men, supported to do their best (even if the results can be deceiving), sometimes even pushed against their will, the heroes of the Greek novel often appear to be the reluctant victims of education. Masculinity may almost be considered as a constraint and a burden.

But What Is a Greek Woman?

At the beginning of the novels, not only do heroines occupy a higher social position than their male counterparts (Callirhoe, Charicleia), but they are also presented in a more prestigious way (Callirhoe, Anthia), and show more maturity (Callirhoe, Chloe) and intelligence (Chloe, Charicleia). Leucippe is a gifted *parthenos*: she reveals her talents as a learned and eloquent young woman (2.6.2–3; 5.18.2–6), and shows herself even more competent in mythology than Cleitophon (2.6.3). It even happens that Callirhoe goes above her social role by giving strategic advice to Chaireas as to how to command the soldiers and prisoners whom he holds on Arados (8.2.4). Yet, the accomplishment of ordeals of these women leads to an unsurprising reversal: they are being taught the importance of chastity; obedience to their husband; piety toward gods, their parents, and their city; and they learn how to become *philoteknoi* and *philandroi*, as Plutarch puts it (769 B, 769 D). In spite of all their obvious qualities, young women are moved down to second place.

The heroines acquire a feminine *aretē* by themselves, through terrible ordeals full of cruelty and self-indulgence from both the writer and the reader. They cannot rely on any sort of gender solidarity that could be compared to men's support groups, except on very special occasions, for example Charicleia from the queen Persinna or Anthia from the slave Rhode. Yet, the novelists have invented a special support for their heroines which connects them to the most remote epic heroes: the goddesses, whose number is superior to that of gods, pay special attention to them. The heroines are first protected by Artemis as a *kourotrophos* divinity and then move to another sort of protection, the protection given by Aphrodite and other goddesses of marriage, maturity, and fertility such as Isis, Astarte, the three Nymphs, and Selene. Heroines are compared to Artemis on several occasions, especially Callirhoe (1.1.16; 6.4.6), Anthia (1.2.6–7), and Charicleia (3.4.2; 3.4.5–6); a great part of *Leucippe and Cleitophon* also takes place in Ephesus, and Artemis plays an important role as an initiatory and protective divinity in Achilles Tatius' novel. Aphrodite plays a major role in *Callirhoe*, first because the heroine is constantly compared to her, then because she never misses an opportunity to pray to the goddess in her temples or altars. In *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, Aphrodite shows a double face: she embodies the "pleasures" and "mysteries" attached to her name (4.1.6–7), but she also presides over marriage (2.11.2–4; 5.16.4). The goddess never takes another appearance than the Greek one but she is assisted by oriental divinities of love and fertility like Astarte, Isis, and Selene. The protection of Astarte is only suggested in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*

(1.1.2; 2.11.4), but Isis, whose cult is widely spread over the Roman Empire, protects Anthia who invokes her as the “greatest of goddesses” (4.3.3), and Selene is mentioned in regard to Leucippe (1.4.3) and Charicleia (10.41.3), especially through the symbolism of the torch. The evolution from Artemis, protector of girls, to the goddesses of marriage and fertility, is at the basis of the characters’ evolution itself.

While the heroes had to go in search of their beloved and face ordeals of action such as fighting, competing in oratory speech, and taming bulls, heroines must reveal their qualities through passivity, silence, acceptance, and preservation of their chastity. It is clear that the virtues that are expected from them essentially refer to married life: chastity, hope, silence—all virtues that make women invisible (cf. Eur., *Herakl.*, 476–479; Soph., *Ajax*, 292; Thuc. 2.45.2). What Winkler (1981) wrote concerning certain events in Chloe’s initiation must be extended to the whole novel, and to all heroines of the Greek novels. The gradual receding of the heroines, with the notable exception of Charicleia, responds to the personal development of the heroes. Both phenomena are so interconnected that they deserve a parallel study (Lalanne 2007).

However, this is no epic matter. Novelists only write love and adventure stories about their heroines and deny them the privilege of glory. Even Charicleia, whose name suggests renown, is praised for her beauty (2.35.5): “hers is the great reputation whose fame, whether for excellence or blame, is spread least among the males” (Thuc. 2.45.2). In spite of all appearance of symmetry, the Greek novels lead to the same conclusion, which is that the female spouse must occupy a second place, whatever qualities may be attached to her. The Phatta tale in *Daphnis and Chloe* (1.27.1–4) can be interpreted as a warning to women who would compete with men. Many years after Xenophon’s *Oeconomicus*, the heroines of the Greek novels are not so different from the unnamed young spouse that Socrates helped Ischomachos to educate (Schmitt Pantel 1994–1995).

Finally, the most remarkable heroines are Callirhoe and Charicleia, who differ from other heroines in having a strong personality and a vigorous *aretē* and who outclass their lovers with well-established social superiority. The fact that Chariton devotes the first and last paragraphs of his novel to his heroine, Callirhoe, specifying that he intends to tell her story and no other one, deserves special mention. Charicleia too is an exception through her intelligence and eloquence. Both are self-confident and proud of their origins and education. Nevertheless, a paradoxical reversal results in these two heroines also being the ones who keep the tidiest relationship with their fathers and who are the most evidently submitted to their authority. Through

adventures, Callirhoe moves from one *kurios* to another, father, husband, or master. Hermocrates stays an absolute for his daughter whose first mention is as his daughter (1.1.1) and who never stops invoking him (1.14.10; 2.5.10; 5.1.5; 5.5.4). He sends Callirhoe to the temple where she meets Chaireas, he decides to please the people of Syracuse by marrying them together, and he organizes a beautiful funeral when she is thought to be dead. He also sends Chaireas to look for her. As a final example, he welcomes her in Syracuse in a very tender, almost an amorous way (8.6.8) while his wife is not even mentioned, and he seems to give her a second time to Chaireas. Thus, Callirhoe is so overwhelmed by her father's renown that she appears as "the daughter of Hermocrates, whom even the Athenians had not taken" (3.4.18), a young woman who virtually succeeds her father as long as no male heir exists but who has no identity in the family. When one considers that her major ordeal is to give birth to a son, one holds a key element in understanding Callirhoe's status of *epiklēros* (Lalanne 2006, 246–252).

In the same way, Charicleia remains under her father's domination. What makes this fact almost pass unnoticed is the multiplicity of her fathers. Three fathers actually take care of her: a natural father (Hydaspes), an adoptive one (Charicles), and a spiritual one (Calasiris). She has to lose one after another, as she laments, bent over Calasiris' dead body (7.14.5–6), and meets up with two of them, Hydaspes, of course, but also Charicles, who suddenly appears at her marriage (10.34.3–10.38.4). Here again, the relationship can be compared to a love pattern since Charicles and Calasiris are sent to seek for Charicleia in her lover's place (10.34.3; 2.22.4). This intrusion of fathers in the general frame of love and adventure novels deserves notice and has been developed later in *Story of Apollonius, King of Tyre*. The daughters are made, through their submission to their father's power, the instruments of this power, in the very tradition of the couple of Oedipus and Antigone whom Calasiris and Charicleia, wandering in the disguise of beggars, cannot but evoke.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this account and submitted to further discussions. The first one is that rites of passage still influence the Greek representations of education in imperial times, especially aristocratic education that is offered as a cultural pattern of Greek identity. A second conclusion is that Greek novels corroborate inscriptions as far as women's public role is concerned (van Bremen 1996). Women of the elite *milieu* seem to take a leadership role when they are deprived of *kureia* and when they are the only representatives of their family. As a third conclusion, the violence of education leads to a traditional form of marriage in which men are the only possessors of freedom of speech, physical activity, power of decision, etc. Young

women are the first victims of this education, but young men too are forced to conform themselves to a certain idea of gender roles that may not suit them. Last but not least, marriage, and especially an endogamic marriage, remains one of the major features of Greek culture and one of the last bastions of the Greek city under Roman rule. This must remind us of the importance of social and cultural practices in Greek *politeia*.

Note

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CHAPTER 31

Greek Love in the Greek Novel

John F. Makowski

The subject of same-sex *eros* or “Greek Love” has a long history in Greek literature, reaching back to the archaic age, perhaps even to the epics of Homer.¹ Homoerotic love in its conventional ancient form of pederasty, whereby an older male loves a younger one, runs through various literary genres from the time of Theognis to that of Strato. The phenomenon also has important connections to the philosophical speculation of the classical period, most notably the dialogues of Plato. Centuries later, the subject remained an object of concern to the Greek writers of the imperial age, who have passed on to us some provocative texts on the subject of human sexuality in society, particularly the place of homosexual love and its valance alongside heterosexual. Both Plutarch’s *Amatorius* and the Lucianic *Erotes* are indications that the Greek world of the Second Sophistic took a strong interest in the subject of sexual preference and continued to debate the merits of same-sex love long after its idealization in archaic, classical, and Hellenistic times. In fact, it has been posited, notably by Foucault (1986, 189–232), that Plutarch’s dialogue, in a significant departure from the dualism of Plato, represents a new erotics, marked by the idealization and philosophical validation of the love between a man and woman as symmetrical and reciprocal. This phenomenon finds perhaps its clearest expression in the writers of the extant Greek novels, all of which highlight the centrality of the romantic relationship of hero and heroine and to varying degrees exalt the institution of marriage (the most important and influential study of the new erotics is Konstan 1994a).

What then of the tradition of same-sex *eros*? In this new erotic world, according to Foucault (1986, 189), the love of boys “lost some of its intensity, its seriousness, its vitality, if not its topicality” and so ceased to be a focus of primary concern. Granted that no author makes same-sex love his primary concern, but is it really the case that

such eros had become “marginal and episodic”? After all, Xenophon of Ephesus, Achilles Tatius, and Longus do, in fact, weave into their narratives homosexually inclined characters, some minor ones, but also some major ones who not only narrate their in-set tales of boy-love but also assume important roles in the advancement of the love of the principals (Effe 1987 attributes the diminution of homoerotic themes in the novels to considerations of genre, specifically to the epics of Homer). The in-set stories, like the one of Hippothous in Xenophon or that of Menelaus in Achilles Tatius, can hardly be said to lack intensity, nor can boy-loving characters such as Cleinias who aids and abets the romance of the hero and heroine in Achilles Tatius be dismissed as marginal or tangential to the larger narrative. Furthermore, in spite of Foucault’s assertion that boy-love had, by the time of the novelists, become “de-problematized,” in other words, that it was no longer the issue that it had been for earlier thinkers on erotics, it is important to note that the question whether a man should love boys or women still remained a subject of controversy, as indicated by the debate that Achilles Tatius inserts into his novel on this very topic. (Hubbard 2009, 249, sees the problem not so much as one of “deproblematization” as “a polarization of pederasty and heterosexuality into mutually exclusive lifestyles, each of which problematized the other.”)

The *Ephesiaca* of Xenophon and *Leucippe and Clitophon* of Achilles Tatius between them have three episodes of same-sex love, all of which basically follow the conventional pattern of Greek pederasty. According to the paradigm, the older male, the *erastes*, partners with a younger man, the *eromenos* or *paidika*, in a relationship marked by asymmetry in that the *erastes*, being more mature, is something of a mentor to the younger and serves as masculine role model and teacher of civic and military virtue—a role memorably idealized by the speech of Phaedrus in Plato’s *Symposium*. The chief hallmark of the *eromenos* is the physical beauty of youth along with the desire for the edification that association with the *erastes* will bring. The relationship, whatever its level of intensity, is meant to be an impermanent one because the expectation is for the arrangement to terminate upon the maturation of the younger man when the time comes for him to enter into marriage and perhaps later himself to become an *erastes* to a youth. This is the pattern that, with some variation, informs the story of Hippothous in Xenophon and those of Cleinias and Menelaus in Achilles Tatius. The occurrence of stories of same-sex love within the larger narratives of boy-girl romance is noteworthy, as is the role that the same-sex lovers play as heroic helpers in reuniting the hero and heroine.

Xenophon’s *Ephesiaca* features the complex and multi-faceted

Hippothous, whose characterization ranges from aristocrat to brigand and back to aristocrat. In the course of his adventures, he exhibits a bisexual fluidity, as he becomes the lover of not one but two beautiful young men, finds himself at one point married for a brief time, and even expresses a sexual interest in Anthia.² The author treats Hippothous' heterosexual side in brief and marginal fashion, focusing more intently and with greater length on his passion for the two male youths. The narratives of Hippothous' love first for Hyperanthes and later for Cleisthenes form a contrasting frame in the novel as the tragic loss of the first love early on is balanced at the end by the happily-ever-after denouement with the second love, while in between the two frames Hippothous plays out his double role as robber and as heroic helper to Habrocomes and Anthia (see Watanabe 2003 on the multiple sides of Hippothous' personality, who in his discussion synthesizes the disparate roles of bandit, pederast, married man, and elite male.) When we first meet him, Hippothous is a brigand on the verge of killing Anthia, but in the course of telling his tale to Habrocomes he reveals the nobility of his background as a citizen of Perinthus, and, as typical of a Greek aristocrat, he is an ephebophile, having become the *erastes* of the beautiful Hyperanthes (see Davidson 2007, 603–605, on the association of aristocracy and pederasty). Although the stereotype of the *erastes/eromenos* dynamic is generally one of asymmetry and disparity in age, the relationship of Hippothous and Hyperanthes is predictably asymmetrical in some ways, though symmetrical in others. Clearly, Hippothous is the more assertive of the two, being the initiator of the affair as well as the murderer of his rival. There is, however, symmetry on three important points: age, status, and reciprocity of passion. Even though Hippothous refers to Hyperanthes as a lad (*meirakion*), he also indicates that the two were almost coeval, so much so that the proximity of their ages deflected suspicion that they were lovers.³ Thus, one surmises that Hippothous is aged 18 or 19, and Hyperanthes only a year or so younger. We must also assume that Hyperanthes, since he has access to the palaestra, must belong to the same social class as Hippothous. Although, according to the paradigm, the one partner does the loving and the other receives it, this relationship in an untypical symmetry exhibits a remarkable mutuality, for Hyperanthes does indeed display a reciprocity toward Hippothous' affections that recalls Plato's term for the boy's reciprocal love, *anteros* (*Phaedrus* 255D). If we compare the symmetrical love of Habrocomes and Anthia, and in particular the scene of their wedding night (1.9), with Hippothous' account of his love-making with Hyperanthes, we notice striking verbal and thematic parallels. In both scenes, there are tears, kisses, and caresses, and, in fact, Xenophon's own words "loving each other for a long time

extraordinarily” (*en polloi chronoi stergontes allelous diapherontos* 3.2.4) make explicit the length and depth of the passion between Hippothous and Hyperanthes. In sum, we have here an erotic mutuality which is as symmetrical and as deeply felt as that of the newly wedded Habrocomes and Anthia.⁴

Several elements in Hippothous’ tale make connection to the long-standing tradition of Greek love as celebrated by poets, philosophers, and vase-painters, as, for example, the emphasis on Hyperanthes’ beauty as well as the venue of the lovers’ first meeting. Onomastically emblematic of this beauty, Hyperanthes’ name is meant to resonate with the heroine’s own name, the “hyper” signaling a beauty beyond the norm such as to disarm first Hippothous and later his rival Aristomachus (see Hägg 1971, 36, for Xenophon’s onomastics). Here, too, is the connection of the name to earlier homoerotic poetry, where floral imagery regularly symbolizes either the boy himself or his first beard. An example from the *Palatine Anthology* (12.256) will illustrate:

Love hath wrought for thee Cypris, gathering with his own hands
the boy-flowers, as wreath of every blossom to cozen the heart.
Into it he wove Diodorus the sweet lily and Asclepiades the
scented white violet. Yes, and thereupon he pleated Heraclitus
when, like a rose, he grew from the thorns, and Dion when he
bloomed like the blossom of the vine. He tied on Theron, too, the
golden-tressed saffron, and put in Uliades, a sprig of thyme, and
soft-haired Myiscus the ever-green olive shoot, and despoiled for
it the lovely boughs of Aretas. Most blessed of islands art thou,
holy Tyre, which hast the perfumed grove where the boy-
blossoms of Cypris grow.⁵

Like Hyperanthes’ name, so too the site of love’s beginning is in the tradition of Greek love because the gymnasium, that sacred male space under the tutelage of the god Eros, was a locus of sexual energy that manifested itself in masculine admiration, emulation, flirtation, and seduction—phenomena well supported by evidence in Plato’s *Lysis*, *Charmides*, and *Symposium* (the connection between the palaestra and pederasty has been well analyzed by Calame 2002, 101–115; Scanlon 2002, especially Chapter 8; and Davidson 2007, 603–606). It is here that Hippothous experiences the onset of an overwhelming erotic passion through the sight of the nude Hyperanthes engaged in the act of wrestling, and as Scanlon (2002, 216) says, “Wrestling is, for obvious physiological reasons, the favored metaphor for making love in the literary sources ... a natural topic for fiction with erotic themes.”

The tale of Hippothous and Hyperanthes is in some ways parallel and in other ways a counterpoint to the romance of Habrocomes and

Anthia. Like the hero and heroine, the male couple experience threats to their relationship in the form of a rival as well as physical separation, though Hippothous is much more of an active agent than Habrocomes, going so far as to kill his rival. The main difference, however, in this love story is that the ending is one of tragedy when Hyperanthes drowns in the shipwreck. Here, we encounter a recurring element in the pattern of same-sex love stories, the premature death of the beloved boy, which sometimes is caused by the lover's own hand, as in the case of Menelaus in Achilles Tatius' novel. It has been suggested that the reason behind the motif of premature death of the *eromenos* lies in the limitations of real life where a permanent relationship between *erastes* and *eromenos* was outside the norm, and so in the novel, as so often in myth, death ends the relationship that in life would have been ended by the boy's maturation.⁶ Fidelity, however, does not die, and so Hippothous constructs a tomb for the boy, memorialized by a worthy sepulchral inscription (3.2):

Hippothous fashioned this tomb for far-famed Hyperanthes,
A tomb unworthy of the death of a sacred citizen,
The famous flower some evil spirit once snatched from the
landing into the deep,
On the ocean he snatched him as a great storm blew.

(translation from

Winkler 1989)

The verses, with their placement of the names at either end of the first line and the mention, appropriately enough, of the boy-blossom (*anthos*) drowned at sea, reveal some poetic talent on the part of Hippothous as a writer of sepulchral epigram. And so, even though Hyperanthes dies, the love between him and his lover is in a sense immortalized in memory both here and at the end of the story when Hippothous constructs a second grand tomb on the island of Lesbos. The story of Hippothous is marked by an elegant pathos down to the detail of him showing to Habrocomes a lock of the boy's hair, and his own role in it demonstrates his nobility throughout. His subsequent turn into brigandage bespeaks the desperation felt from the loss of his life's great passion.

The tragedy of Hyperanthes' loss receives counterbalance toward the novel's end when Hippothous discovers Cleisthenes, a young man who enters his life after a brief stint of marriage to a rich old woman, about whom we hear very little except that it left him a wealthy man with all the trimmings of money, luxury, and servants. Restored now to aristocratic status, Hippothous reverts back to the love of male youth in the person of Cleisthenes, another *meirakion* like

Hyperanthes, who is, needless to say, both noble and beautiful (5.9). Although the narrative glosses over the romantic details of this new relationship, Xenophon does indicate the depth of commitment between Hippothous and Cleisthenes in Hippothous' sharing all of his possessions with the youth. Most remarkable, however, is the course that this relationship takes because, in a striking departure from the narrative pattern of same-sex lovers, this relationship does not end with the death of the *eromenos*, but rather with the promise of a happy ending. In fact, the conclusion of the novel signals the implication that the relationship of Hippothous and Cleisthenes is a permanent arrangement: Xenophon not once but twice parallels the nature of this male-male relationship with two heterosexual relationships, that not only of the hero and the heroine but also of their former servants, Leucon and Rhode. Thus, at 5.13, on the voyage to Ephesus, when night comes, the sextet of best friends lies down for the night, Leucon with Rhode, Habrocomes with Anthia, and Hippothous with Cleisthenes. Xenophon again stresses this parallelism in the ending of the novel, where Hippothous, after building a second tomb for Hyperanthes, makes an entirely unexpected and unusual disposition when he adopts Cleisthenes as his son. As the cenotaph built for Hyperanthes demonstrates fidelity to his old love even in death, so the act of adoption places a seal on the permanence of the relationship between Hippothous and his new love. The implication of the novel's final words seem to be that Hippothous and Cleisthenes as a same-sex couple are exact counterparts to, or mirror of, their heterosexual companions, and we come to the conclusion that they, like Leucon and Rhode and like Habrocomes and Anthia, will share indefinitely the bliss of a loving relationship. There is no reason to suspect that their relationship will turn platonic, as some have suggested.⁷ The closing notes of the story of Hippothous and Cleisthenes with their implication of permanence and mutual fidelity indicate a striking departure from narratives of same-sex *eros* and thus form a unique and original treatment of Greek love.

Xenophon's treatment of same-sex *eros*, which is portrayed as tragic in the case of Hyperanthes and felicitous in that of Cleisthenes, has a comic counterpart in the minor episode of Corymbus and Euxinus, the two pirates who fall in love with their captives, the former with the hero, the latter with the heroine. It is significant, as Konstan (1994b, 37) points out, that the "episode presents a homoerotic and a heteroerotic passion in strictly parallel terms, emphasized by the fact that each lover pleads the case of the other." For the lovesick pederast to assume the traditionally aristocratic role of a would-be-*erastes* to the captive Habrocomes is a marvelous piece of incongruity. It is furthermore made melodramatic by Euxinus'

similar arguments for why Habrocomes should yield to his admirer. In addition to promises of material goods and implied threats for non-compliance, the pirate, interestingly, argues that Habrocomes is still too young for a wife, in other words, that he is still *eromenos* material (he is, we recall, aged 16 years): "What need have you for a wife or domestic ties, and why should a man of your age need to love a woman?" Habrocomes' reaction to the prospect of submitting to Corymbus fills him with extreme consternation, expressed by his preference for death over submission.

The novel with the most extensive treatment of same-sex erotics is Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*. For not only does the narrative contain two tales of tragic boy-love, that of Cleinias and that of Menelaus, it also gives these two ephebophiles important roles later in the novel as helpers to the hero and heroine. Their stories, told in close proximity, Cleinias' at 1.7 and Menelaus' at 2.34, serve to bond the two boy-lovers and also to prelude the famous debate on the subject of what type of love is superior, that of boys or of women (2.35–38). Finally, toward the end of the novel, we encounter Thersander who, though married to Melite and for a while sexually interested in Leucippe, becomes the target of brilliant courtroom invective in the Aristophanic mode directed against his youthful sex life. The charges leveled against him are all concerned with same-sex relations, which, in contrast to the amours of Cleinias and Menelaus, present a very different picture of male-directed sexual desire, and, in fact, represent a misuse and debasement of that desire.

The two pederastic episodes in Achilles Tatius follow the same pattern as that of Hippothous in *Ephesiaca*. Although the stories of Cleinias and of Menelaus are told with a very different tone and effect, both of them center on the familiar motif of the premature death of an *eromenos* caused directly or indirectly by the *erastes*. Menelaus' story of accidentally killing his beloved is told with considerable pathos, while Cleinias' narrative has a decidedly unserious tone with its touches of misogynist humor as well as bombastic rhetoric, not to mention Cleinias' characterization as an addict of sexual pleasure (1.7.1). One remarkable element in the narrative of Cleinias and Charicles is the tension between homoerotic love and the exigencies of marriage imposed by family and society. No sooner do we learn that the lover and beloved are in state of bliss than this idyllic relationship is shattered by the news of a marriage arranged for the boy by his father. For Charicles, the prospect of marriage is a double disaster, in that the intended partner is not only a female but an ugly female. The shock of losing his beloved to a woman elicits from Cleinias a misogynistic diatribe on the entire female sex, against which he marshals an array of mythological and literary exempla of ladies

whose marriages brought ruination to men, going far as to denigrate the very archetype of female virtue, Penelope (Morales 2004, 152, calls Cleinias “a raving paederastic misogynist”). Furthermore, in an ironic inversion of the “Bride of Death” motif familiar from mythology and literature where marriage is a metaphorical death for the bride, Cleinias reverses it to make marriage spell death for the bridegroom, whose youth and beauty will be destroyed by an unworthy wife (1.8.9 —Bartsch 1989, 138, points out Achilles Tatius’ play with paradox in juxtaposing Cleinias’ reversal of the Bride of Death motif followed shortly by Charicles’ application of the same motif to the literal death of his son): “Please, Charicles, do not wither on the vine; don’t let any ugly gardener pluck your lovely rose.” After the boy dies in a dramatic riding accident on the horse given him by his lover, Cleinias breaks into an almost laughable lament as he remonstrates with the horse which, in a strained rhetorical paradox, he refers to both as gift to and murderer of his beloved (Anderson 1982, 28, sees Charicles’ death as Cleinias’ punishment for his attack on marriage, “a sort of erotic rough justice”). There is heavy irony in the author’s handling of this pederastic episode, which Morales (2004, 152) sees as a “cautionary tale against Cleinias’ way of loving,” made even more ironic in Cleinias’ assumption of mentor in love or *erotodidaskalos* to his cousin Clitophon. In the course of the plot’s unfolding, however, he provides crucial assistance to the hero and heroine, despite being a lover of boys and an unmitigated misogynist.

The subject of Greek love has a long-standing connection to Greek philosophy, particularly to the erotics of Plato as enunciated in *Phaedrus* and *Symposium*. The latter dialogue’s opposition between male-directed and female-directed *eros* exerted considerable influence up to the time of the Second Sophistic, as indicated by Plutarch’s *Amatorius* and the Lucianic *Erotes*.⁸ Thus, Achilles Tatius, who makes frequent allusion to Plato’s erotic philosophy, inserts into the novel his own dialogue on the merits of boys versus women as lovers. The debate comes after Clitophon has heard Cleinias and Menelaus tell their respective stories of boy-love gone bad, and with a comment on the contemporary vogue for boy-love, in the manner of *Symposium*’s *Phaedrus*, he suggests to his ephebophile companions a rhetorical diversion, an erotic *psychagogia*. The debate or *synkrisis* begins with Menelaus’ proposition that the love of males is superior to that of women because boys are simpler (*haplousteroi*) and possess a beauty that affords sharper stimulus to pleasure. To the mind of this pederast, the simplicity of boys is far preferable to the female artifice, on which Menelaus expatiates toward the end of the debate, citing feminine make-up, hair-dye, and perfume as proof of women’s faked beauty; far more desirable to him is an athletic young man engaged in wrestling,

which activity Menelaus here describes overtly in erotic terms (38.2).

Throughout the back-and-forth between speakers, the focus of the arguments for both is pleasure (*hedone*)—the pleasure of pure physical sensuality, being that of boys for Menelaus and that of women for Clitophon. In contrast to, say, Plato's *Symposium*, this dialogue has no propaedeutic purpose, showing little concern for the moral edification of either lovers or beloveds or for the meaning of love relationships, much less *eros* as an avenue to the higher good. Thus, for Clitophon as for Menelaus, the chief criterion for judging between the sexes is also pleasure, and so, to his opponent's opening volley on the beauty of boys, Clitophon counters with the objection that their pleasure is short lived. The mention of the transience of the beauty of youth, a standard motif in pederastic poetry, elicits from Menelaus a defense of evanescent beauty in things such as the rose. With the allusion to heavenly and vulgar beauty at 2.36, Menelaus appears to be taking a philosophical turn, but instead he slides into a misogynistic speech, which denigrates females such as Alcmena, Danae, and Hebe, while extolling the relationship of Zeus and Ganymede. In reply to this bit of sophistic manipulation of mythology, Clitophon answers in kind with his own spin on Menelaus' exempla, and the debate soon swings back to the subject of pleasure, culminating with Clitophon's graphic description of woman's corporeal pleasures. The *synkrisis* ends with Menelaus having the final word on the nectar-like kisses of boys, and so it returns to the theme of boys' simplicity with which he began the debate. Underlying Menelaus' argument about the naturalness of boys' kisses is the *physis/nomos* dichotomy of fifth-century sophists, which posited the opposition between nature and culture. Thus, the speaker claims that women's kisses are the product of craft (*techne*), while those of boys are of nature (*physis*). The debate ends abruptly without the designation of a winner, perhaps a signal of the author's neutrality on the question of loving women or boys. (In contrast to the debate in Achilles Tatius, Plutarch's *Amatorius* comes down on the side of marriage between a man and woman, while the Lucianic *Erotes* makes the opposite judgment.) (For discussions of the three debates as a reflection of the "new erotics" posited by Foucault, see Goldhill 1995 and Klabunde 2001.)

Same-sex *eros*, exemplified by Cleinias and Menelaus early in the novel, comes in for Aristophanic invective in Book 8.9 in the person of Thersander, the apparently bisexual husband of Melite. Characterized from the start as a bully with lust for Leucippe, he is given to scurrilous name-calling and is ready to impugn the morals of others. Thersander receives condign recompense for his licentious tongue in the courtroom when the priest Nicostratus, who has taken the hero and heroine under his own and Artemis' protection, makes his

rebuttal. Cast in the Aristophanic mode, the speech is a brilliant piece of comic invective directed against Thersander's shameful and scandalous impropriety as a young man in his relations with the male sex (Hubbard 2003, 8–9, notes how the charge of pederasty against a citizen, whether active or passive, was often used to influence juries even when it was irrelevant to the case). It is arguable whether we are to read the charges as mere fictive invective or as a factual account of Thersander's past, although Nicostratus' positive characterization by the author suggests his credibility as a witness. Whether fact or fiction, however, the charges in the speech paint a picture not only of Thersander's utter perversion of male-directed sexuality, but also of the cultural institution of the palaestra. The priest's speech, which recalls both Aristophanes' jibes against self-prostituting politicians and also Aeschines' attack on Timarchus, paints a picture of the youthful Thersander as attracted to the male sex but in a way that violates every code of ethics governing same-sex relations. So, in the palaestra, the hypocritical Thersander pretended to submit himself to the rigors for *paideia*, but, in fact, he abused the physicality of athletics for the gratification of his own lust, in other words, for *porneia*, as the speaker terms it. The speech highlights the sexual connotations of wrestling in the palaestra where Thersander—in an allusion to Aristophanes' speech in *Symposium* 192A—sought out hyper-masculine males for the sake of lustful physical contact (8.9.4). In a rhetorical display marked by brilliant word plays and sexual double-entendres (*kupto*, *paraklino*, *glottan mesten hubreos*), Nicostratus reduces Thersander to the level of a *kinaidos* or pathic who took pleasure in both oral and passive anal sex, later turning his *stoma ou katharon* (what the Romans called *os impurum*) to slander.⁹ This charge of unmanliness against Thersander, whose name ironically means “manly courage,” is a most serious one, being meant to compromise Thersander's standing in the civic community and to undermine his credibility in the courtroom.

Nicostratus' picture of Thersander as an example of perverted male desire has an interesting but very different parallel in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*. Unlike the other two novels discussed here, Longus' pastoral novel contains no in-set stories of same-sex love, although Philetas, the old cowherd and *eratodidaskalos* to the two lovers, seems susceptible to the charms of both boys and girls (2.4–5). Toward the end of the novel, however, we encounter Gnathon, the city-slicker who intrudes upon the pastoral world and brings with him the sexual mores of the city. Longus explicitly identifies him as “pederast by nature” (*physei paiderastes*, 4.11), the problem being not his predilection for boys per se, but rather because his practice of same-sex *eros* is wanton and self-indulgent just like his appetites for food and drink (Winkler 1990, 112–114, contrasts the untutored “natural”

state of Daphnis and Chloe with Gnathon's urban education into wantonness; Goldhill 1995, 46–51, also discusses Gnathon from the perspective of erotic education and relates his sexual inclination to the issue of *physis*). Drawn from the tradition of New Comedy and from other ethopoetic literature, Gnathon is a parasite and the embodiment of the socially unacceptable type of man given to dissipation, *akolasteia*, the very opposite of the Greek gentleman's virtue of *sophrosune*. Everything about Gnathon is comic and grotesque from his name ("Jaws" or "Big Mouth"), which is indicative of his gluttony and drunkenness, to his over-sexed inclination toward boys, and, of course, the rustic beauty of Daphnis is to him irresistible. The scene of his attempted seduction of Daphnis, in which the city-sophisticate, thinking that the country boy will be an easy conquest, is not only comical but has some interesting philosophical undercurrents. Gnathon frames his proposition to Daphnis for sex with an analogy from the animal kingdom, asking that he might use Daphnis *a tergo* in the same way that he-goats mount she-goats. Daphnis' counter-argument that same-sex mating is unheard of in the animal world is, of course, grounded in the sophistic *physis/nomos* controversy; the interlocutor in *Erotes* 22 makes with his appeal to *physis* exactly the same arguments as Daphnis.

Undeterred by Daphnis' argument from nature, Gnathon persists in his manipulations to acquire his boy-toy and appeals to Astylus, whose putative father is the owner of Daphnis, to give him the boy as a gift. When Astylus ironically questions the propriety of Gnathon loving a socially unacceptable goatherd, Gnathon, appeals to him in a speech marked by a very sophisticated rhetoric (see Zeitlin 1990, 455–457). He waxes eloquent on the subject of Daphnis' hyacinthine hair, his jewel-like teeth, rosy complexion, and imagined kisses. He also adduces a number of mythological precedents of deities loving country boys, like Apollo in love with Branchus and Zeus in love with Ganymede. Circumstances intervene, and the revelation of Daphnis' true identity saves him from becoming the love-slave of an odious master. In this pastoral utopia where negative elements never last very long, even Gnathon by novel's end is redeemed when he rescues Chloe from an attempted rape, and so the lustful parasite of comedy becomes a heroic helper, assuming in a sense the same role as Hippothous and Cleinias, namely, the ephebophile who aids the hero and heroine move toward their ultimate reunion.

A survey of the three novelists who depict homoerotic love in their works shows that they do so with great complexity, variety, and sophistication.¹⁰ Through their characterizations of men who love youth, they provide well-drawn examples of same-sex *eros*, both the noble as represented by Hippothous as well as the base in a character

such as Gnathon. Although no novelist makes a male couple the main focus of the narrative, authors such as Xenophon and Achilles Tatius do give homoerotic love an important role to play, treating the subject sometimes with pathos and sometimes with humor, reserving censure and ridicule for desire that is misdirected or abusive. The practitioners of homoerotic love, though differently portrayed from author to author, do regularly assume the role of helper to the hero and heroine, and their loving relationships sometimes serve as parallel to those of principals and at others they stand in counter-point. Indeed, Xenophon's treatment of Hippothous and Cleisthenes suggests that among the possibilities for a same-sex relationship are permanence and conjugality. If in fact the era of the Second Sophistic gave birth to a "new erotics" and brought to center stage the love of man for woman, Greek love, though perhaps somewhat decentered, still had an important and meaningful role to play in the narratology of love.

Notes

1 The term "Greek Love" is used here to refer to male same-sex relations, conventionally those between an older man and a younger one. This is in accord with a tradition going back to the Romans who referred to the phenomenon as *mos Graecorum* (Cic., *Tusc.* 5.58), and is meant to avoid the commonly used terminology of "homosexuality" and "heterosexuality." These terms, like the word "gay," are imprecise and inappropriate for discussions of ancient sexuality because they imply sexual orientation as a definition of identity, which is a concept foreign to the ancients. The literature on Greek homosexuality has grown vast ever since Dover's groundbreaking *Greek Homosexuality*. Among the most important studies in addition to Dover's are: Cantarella 1992, Percy 1996, Hubbard 2003, and, more recently, Davidson 2007.

2 Schmeling 1980, 56, makes the assumption that Habrocomes and Hippothous have a homosexual relationship, with the latter serving as the active partner. There is nothing in the text to support the suggestion, on which point see Effe 1987, 98, and Sanchez 1999, 36; Alvares 1995, 398, sees the relationship of Hippothous and Habrocomes as one of friendship (*philia*), which eventually awakens the brigand's noble side.

3 On the question of age in pederastic relationships, see Davidson 2007, especially Chapter 3: "Age-Classes, Love-Rules and Corrupting the Young" (76–115), where he does much to discredit what he calls "pedophile myth" and shows that issue of age disparity is largely unfounded.

4 Schmeling 1980, 52–6, enumerates the parallels between

Hippothous and Hyperanthes and Habrocomes and Anthia in a handy columnar scheme. Konstan 1994c, 52–3, discusses both the contrasts and parallels between the relationships of the two couples, and stresses that the comparison is not meant to denigrate the same-sex relationship but to “highlight the equality and reciprocity of the passion that unites Habrocomes and Anthia.”

5 The translation is that of W.R. Patton in the Loeb Classical Library. Further examples of the floral motif are in Strato 12.4, 8, 58, 151, 165, 234, 244, and 256.

6 Watanabe 2003, 13–14. In the area of homoerotic poetics, the theme of boys’ maturation as the end of their sexual desirability has been analyzed by Taran 1985. Instances of *eromenoi* dying young abound in Greek mythology, for example, Apollo’s Hyacinth and Cyparissus and Heracles’ Hylas.

7 Konstan 1994b, 39; Alvares 1995, 404; and Watanabe 2003, 36; see Hippothous’ adoption of Cleisthenes as the termination of the erotic bond between the two, but as Morales 2008, 48, says, “... it would be strange to assume that the relationship moved from an erotic to a chaste one; there is nothing to suggest that this is the case. ‘Adoption’ is perhaps the closest that the two male lovers could get to a socially recognized legal bond like marriage.”

8 Klabunde 2001, following Foucault, has a comparative analysis of *Amatorius*, *Erotes*, and the debate in Achilles Tatius; the texts are also central to Goldhill’s 1995, 46–111, discussion of Achilles Tatius’ erotics; see also Scarcella 1991.

9 The precise meaning of the sexual vocabulary used against Thersander may be found in Henderson 1991; Dover 1978, 52, makes the point that for an *eromenos* to take pleasure in sex incurs disapproval as a *pornos*.

10 Chariton, apart from making a passing reference to Chaereas’ *erastai* before his marriage to Callirhoe (1.3), ignores same-sex eros, though he does highlight the *philia* between Chaereas and Polycharmus. Morales and Mariscal 2003, however, in an intriguing study, show that Chariton is conscious of the homoerotic reading of Homer’s Achilles and Patroclus, because his references to them in quotations from the *Iliad* regularly occurs in erotic contexts.

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CHAPTER 32

Latin Culture in the Second Century AD

Claudio Moreschini

It is no longer admitted by modern scholars that second century AD was, as it appeared to Gibbon, the happiest time for the human race, and not only for the Roman Empire. There were economic and political problems in the form of inflation and rebellions, barbarian peoples invaded Italy, and a plague wasted the Mediterranean countries.

Nevertheless, the rich élite, free of the terror that especially senators had known under Domitian, basked in the afternoon sun of ancient culture; if enjoyment predominated over achievement, and synthesis over discovery, yet intellectuals received public honour, the private law grew more humane, and the future was not suspected ... the second century was anything but the age of anxiety [the famous definition of second and third century by E.R. Dodds] the twentieth, judging by itself, would see in it.

(Holford-Strevens 2003, 1–2)

One of those intellectuals was Fronto.

Fronto

Fronto was born at Cirta in Numidia, probably in 95 AD (Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 9.6, calls him *Cirtensis*). He was a pupil of the philosopher Athenodotus and the rhetorician Dionysius. His career probably began at the court of Hadrian; after Hadrian's death (138 AD), Antoninus Pius appointed him tutor of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Therefore, Fronto was a man from the provinces who completed the

cursus honorum and reached the highest positions in Roman society.

The only certain date of his life is 142 AD when he was *consul suffectus*; he subsequently obtained the proconsulship of Asia, but chose not to move to the province because of health problems. Ausonius (*Grat. act.* 7.32) mentions the case of the office briefly held by Fronto as *consul suffectus* as an absolutely insufficient reward for his merits. A few years earlier, Fronto and Herodes Atticus had confronted each other in a lawsuit, and Marcus Aurelius had defended Herodes Atticus, so that their later reconciliation should have been merely formal. Fronto, nevertheless, sent a consolatory letter to Herodes for his son's death.

Minucius Felix attributes to Fronto a speech, possibly in writing, against the Christians. We also have fragmentary information regarding speeches that he wrote about his political experiences. The *Pro Carthaginiensibus* had a manuscript tradition independent from that of his letters (preserved in the *Vaticanus Palatinus* 24, a palimpsest of the sixth–seventh centuries; see van den Hout, 1988), and probably dating from the last years of Hadrian's reign; other speeches are mentioned in Fronto's letters: *De testamentis transmarinis*, *Gratiarum actio* (for obtaining the consulship), *Pro Demonstrato* and *Pro Bithynis*, which belong to the time of the Parthian war (see Astarita 1997). As a teacher, he had a great reputation and a good number of followers: Sidonius Apollinaris (*Epist.* 1.1.2) mentions the *frontoniani*. Fronto was considered by the panegyrist of Constantius Chlorus (*Paneg. Lat.* 8.14.2) to be *Romanae eloquentiae non secundum, sed alterum decus*. The harsh criticism of Niebuhr against him after the rediscovery of the palimpsest preserving Fronto's letters was due to his disappointment after the exaggerated praise of late antiquity. Nowadays, Fronto's figure as a human being appears to be more likeable (see Holford-Strevens 2003, 133; Fleury 2006, 7–8).

Fronto had six daughters, five of whom died before he did, as did his wife, Cratia, and the grandchild of his surviving daughter, who married Gaius Aufidius Victorinus, governor of Hispania Citerior and Baetica (Victorinus had two more children: Marcus Aufidius Fronto, cos. 199, and Gaius Aufidius Victorinus cos. 200). Fronto died about 167 AD, probably during the plague of 167–169 AD (some scholars propose a year around 175 AD); perhaps it was Victorinus who published his letters, which may not have been revised by the author.

Fronto's Letters

A friendly relationship developed between Fronto and his pupils

Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, as the *Letters* testify, though Marcus Aurelius (1.13) does not mention Fronto with any particular gratefulness when he created a list of all those to whom he was indebted. It seems that Marcus Aurelius praised with much greater enthusiasm the Stoic philosopher Iunius Rusticus (1.7), who, according to some, succeeded Fronto as his intellectual and spiritual guide.

The *Letters* are the only extant work of Fronto, although they appear to be in a fragmentary state. They were originally included in a palimpsest from Bobbio, which was divided into two parts: one is now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana of Milan (E 147 sup.), which was discovered and published by Angelo Mai in 1815; the other is in the Biblioteca Vaticana (Lat. 5750), where the same scholar discovered it and published the rest of the letters in 1819 (see van den Hout 1988, viii–lxxx). The corpus of the *Letters* consists of five books to Marcus Aurelius before he came to the throne (*ad Marcum Caesarem*), four to the same after he had become emperor (*ad Marcum Augustum*), two to Lucius Verus, a short correspondence with Antoninus Pius, and two books *ad amicos*. In addition, there are fragments of a correspondence, again with Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, concerning different topics that the palimpsest indicates with distinct titles: *De orationibus*, *Principia Historiae*, *Laudes fumi et pulveris*, *Laudes neglegentiae*, *De Bello Parthico*, *De feriis Alsensibus*, *De nepote amisso*, *De eloquentia*—the last title was supplied by Niebuhr. For this reason, it is also necessary to rely on the testimonies of Aulus Gellius, even though he was an occasional auditor, not an actual student; Gellius might have come to know Fronto when he was a student in Rome before going to Athens (Bernardi Perini 1998, 52–53; Holford-Strevens 2003, 136–138). Fronto is at home, bedridden by gout (NA 2.26.1 and 19.10.1), so that many men of letters call on him. In NA 2.26, Favorinus, philosopher and rhetor, is introduced; in NA 19.10, Fronto is visited by a pupil, Iulius Celsinus Numida, who was dear to him even because he was from Africa like him. On two different occasions (NA 13.29 and 19.8), Gellius does not mention the name of the callers; on the other hand, in 19.13, a conversation between Fronto, Postumius Festus, and Sulpicius Apollinaris occurs about Latin words that indicate colors. Favorinus congratulates Fronto on his ability to defeat a scarcity of words traditionally ascribed to the Latin language. The fact that Fronto is able to evaluate the phrase *multi mortales* that Claudius Quadrigarius used, instead of the more common *multi homines*, suggests to Gellius that Fronto examined words of this kind with great attention. On the basis of the plural *harenae*, which Julius Caesar had already considered to be incorrect, Gellius introduces a discussion on the morphologic category of the *pluralia tantum* and the *singularia tantum*

in order that *rariora verba* may be found (NA 19.8.16). The vulgarism *praeterpropter*, pronounced by a friend, is considered to be acceptable because of its archaic character (NA 13.10.10–11); the word *nani*, of vulgar use, is of Greek origin, so that Fronto might receive it—with his authority—into the Latin lexicon (NA 19.13.3). From Gellius' description, it seems that Fronto talked as if in a seminar with pupils and friends, and took advantage of occasions, however banal, to show his knowledge. There is even a dispute against an ignorant grammarian, who is finally forced to retreat (NA 19.10.14). One last testimony on the relationship between Fronto, by now an old man, and Gellius is provided by Fronto's letter to Claudius Iulianus, governor of *Germania inferior*, written about 160 AD (*Amic.* 1.19): Fronto informs us that Gellius is planning to publish some of his writings, but he is not interested because of his old age and poor health (Holford-Strevens 2003, 138–139).

The topics included in Fronto's letters—for example, consolation, historiography, sophistic encomium—are treated according to the rules of the literary genre to which they belong. For instance, the letters include seven consolations: two by Marcus Aurelius to Fronto to console him for the death of his grandson, and, on the same topic, two consolations by Fronto to himself. A consolation was sent to Herodes Atticus for the death of his son, which had occurred on the same day of his birth, and another to Sardius Saturninus, whose son had been one of Fronto's pupils. The last is by Lucius Verus. The first of the two letters is not an actual letter of consolation, but a reply to that by Marcus Aurelius in the form of a self-consolation with the description of his own life and the presence of different philosophical motifs. According to Fleury (2006, 97–99), this structure shows the influence of Latin funerary poetry.

The letters of a historical nature, which have been the object of intense study, are known under the title *De Bello Parthico* and *Principia Historiae*. They refer to the war (161–166 AD), which was initially disastrous for the Romans, but later was won by Lucius Verus. The two works include historical data presented in a non-historical form: *De Bello Parthico*, in fact, is considered by some a *consolatio*; according to others, it is similar to the *De imperio Gnaei Pompei* by Cicero. Champlin (1980, 55) supposes that both writings are letters concerning a proposal that Fronto received to write a historical work; it cannot be known if Fronto assented, though according to Cova (1993) he did not. In fact, the *De Bello Parthico* and *Principia Historiae* could be a *recusatio*. The uncertainty was compounded by the fact that we do not know Fronto's opinion about writing historical works. His admiration for Sallust was limited to lexical and stylistic aspects. We do know that the two works do not contain a continuous narrative,

but some historical narratives in an epistolary context (Fleury 2006, 176). The praises for Lucius Verus find their justification in an encomiastic historical work, and Fronto appears to follow Plutarch's biographies, though his emphasis is on Roman history.

Fronto himself ponders praise or encomium in the *Laudes fumi et pulveris* 1–6 (Fleury 2006, 231–235). By using the sophistic encomium, the author was able to underline again the importance of rhetoric, criticizing the behavior of Marcus Aurelius and philosophy, proposing the concept of fortune—nature and the exhortation to observe its laws (Fleury 2006, 281). The *Eroticos* has been thoroughly studied by both Fleury (2006, 283–323) and Swain (2004, 20–22). It is in the form of *lusus*, similar to the *Erotikoi* by Pseudo-Demosthenes and Plutarch, the *Erotes* by Pseudo-Lucian, and the *Dialexeis* by Maximus of Tyre. Fronto takes a stance similar to that of Lysias in Plato's *Phaedrus*, suggesting that it is preferable for a youth to let himself be loved by somebody who does not love him rather than by somebody who loves him; according to Fleury, this work also contains some criticism against philosophy.

From the testimony of Gellius, however, Fronto does not seem to have enjoyed, notwithstanding his tutorship at the court, a particular recognition in comparison with the great personalities of the Second Sophistic: if Favorinus visits him (and only once), no contact appears with any of the other great personalities of Sophistic. The discussion with Favorinus itself ends with an argument against Greek language and its traditional complex of superiority toward the Latin language, which reflects a more general feeling of a revenge of the Greek world against Roman dominators. Fronto shows poor knowledge of Greek language, which is partly a literary pretense, but may also reflect an actual distance from the Greek language and culture and the philhellenism of the imperial court, which existed since the reign of Hadrian. Fronto was a friend of some African writers, such as Iulius Celsinus, Postumius Festus, and Sulpicius Apollinaris; perhaps a sort of circle of African intellectuals existed in Rome, mostly of Latin culture to be sure, which seems to have succeeded the Spaniards of the previous century. In general, Fronto appears to share the same literary ideals and social considerations of the Greek Sophists, but in a Latin environment: first of all, the predominant interest in rhetoric, and the belief that it may ensure a high social position. The importance of rhetoric should be appreciated by the emperor in the first place (*ad Marcum Antoninum, De eloquentia* 2.6, p. 138.4–11 van den Hout):

Nam Caesarum est in senatu quae e re sunt suadere, populum de plerisque negotiis in contione appellare, ius iniustum corrigere, per orbem terrae litteras missitare, reges exterarum gentium

compellare, sociorum culpas edictis coercere, bene facta laudare, seditiosos compescere, feroces territare. Omnia ista profecto verbis sunt ac litteris agenda. Non excoles igitur id quod tibi totiens tantisque in rebus videas magno usui futurum? An nihil referre arbitraris qualibus verbis agas quae non nisi verbis agi possunt? (For it falls to a Caesar to carry by persuasion necessary measures in the Senate, to address the people in a harangue on many important matters, to correct the iniquities of the law, to dispatch rescripts throughout the world, to take foreign kings to task, to repress by edicts disorders among the allies, to praise their services, to crush the rebellious, and to cow the proud. All this must assuredly be done by speech and writing. Will you not then cultivate an art, which you see must be of great use to you so often and in matters of such moment? Or do you imagine that it makes no difference with what words you bring about what can be brought about by words? [translation from Haines 1930])

Not even the severe Crysippus abstains from rhetorical artifices (*ad Marcum Antoninum, De eloquentia* 2.13–14, p. 141.10–142.1 van den Hout):

tum si studium philosophiae in rebus esset solis occupatum, minus mirarer quod tantopere verba contemneres. Discere te autem ceratinas et soritas et pseudomenus, verba contorta et fidicularia, neglegere vero cultum orationis et gravitatem et maiestatem et gratiam et nitorem hoc indicat loqui te quam eloqui malle, murmurare potius et friggutire quam clangere. [...] adtende quid cupiat ipse Chrysippus. Num contentus est docere, rem ostendere, definire, explanare? non est contentus, verum auget in quantum potest... (Again, if the study of philosophy were concerned with practice alone, I should wonder less at your despising words so much. That you should, however, learn *horn-dilemmas*, *heap-fallacies*, *liar-syllogisms*, verbal quibbles, and entanglements, while neglecting the cultivation of oratory, its dignity and majesty and charms and splendor, this shows that you prefer mere speaking to real speaking, a whisper and a mumble to a trumpet-note [...] Wake up and hear what Chrysippus himself prefers. Is he content to teach, to disclose the subject, to define, to explain? He is not content: but he amplifies as much as he can... [translation from Haines 1930])

From these words, it can be gathered that Fronto had scarce consideration for philosophy, even inferior to that of the Sophists of his age, though we should consider the traditional Roman pragmatism and the usual subordination of knowledge to eloquence. However, “Fronto’s notorious aversion to philosophy will need to be

reexamined” (Champlin 1980, 31).

Fronto's Moderate Archaism

In a letter to Marcus Aurelius, Fronto introduces lists of Latin authors. In them, the first place is held by those among the *veteres* who have demonstrated particular care in difficult lexical choices (*Ad M. Caesarem* 4.3.2); the greatest was Cato, in the first place, followed by his follower Sallust and Caelius Antipatrus (Cicero is aside: he undoubtedly is the most famous among Roman orators, but disappointing in finding “unexpected words”: *insperata atque inopinata verba*). Among poets, Fronto praises especially Plautus, then Ennius, Naevius, Caecilius Statius, Accius, Lucretius, and Laberius; in addition, but only for some specific sections of language, Novius and Pomponius, Atta, Lucilius, and Sisenna. The reason for this list and for the criticism of Cicero for not seeking “surprising” words is owing to the importance that lexical choices have according to Fronto; Virgil himself, who could not be missing among Fronto's readings, occupies a secondary position: he is quoted only once during his debate with Favorinus. The list of quoted authors does not extend beyond the age of Caesar, and is openly oriented in favor of the archaic or archaizing, considering also some particular authors (Laberius) or, in any case, Atticists or anti-Ciceronians; for Calvus, who is almost unknown to us as an orator, we have the title of *imitator Atticorum* given to him by Quintilian (Bernardi Perini 1998, 56–57). The ancient texts, therefore, can provide the rhetorician with *insperata atque inopinata verba*, that is, words that are unexpected in comparison with a current usage. It is necessary, however, that the search for an unexpected word may not be detrimental in terms of clarity: if the rare word makes the sense incomprehensible, it is preferable to stick to everyday vocabulary. As a consequence, if the lexicon of ancient authors is the main source in the search for the most appropriate words, it is not, anyway, the only one, because expressiveness and clarity can also be obtained through everyday language fittingly used, without abstaining, when necessary, from vulgarisms and neologisms taken from colloquial Latin. All this mitigates Fronto's archaism and demonstrates that he does not deserve the criticism that he usually receives.

According to some, Fronto announces his literary criticism with the expression *elocutio novella*, which is found in a passage in which Fronto judges an oratory essay by Marcus Aurelius in this way (*ad Marcum Antoninum, De eloquentia* 5.1, p. 151.1–3 van den Hout):

Pleraque in oratione recenti tua, quod ad sententias attinet, animadverto egregia esse; pauca admodum uno tenuis verbo corrigenda, nonnihil interdum elocutione novella parum signatum. (Most things in your late speech, as far as the thoughts go, I consider were excellent, very few required alteration to the extent of a single word; some parts here and there were not sufficiently marked with novelty of expression. [translation from Haines 1930])

It has been assumed that the meaning might be the following: “I notice that, in terms of thoughts, your latest oration is for the most part excellent; there is little to be corrected, and only in the case of one word; *occasionally some parts do not conform much with our novel way of speaking.*” However, it is probable that the meaning is different (Bernardi Perini 1998, 58; Holford-Strevens 2003, 134–135, 354). *Parum signatum* is a technicality that indicates a defective implementation, and *novella* has a negative meaning: *elocutio novella* is a benevolently ironic expression and does not define the Frontonian ideal but precisely Marcus Aurelius’ essay, which had been defective from the lexical point of view. Therefore: “something, here and there, is defective because of your peculiar way of expression.”

If some criticize, in him as well as in Marcus Aurelius, certain tedious sentimentalities, they are mostly due to the unctuous formulas of epistolary style, which are also found in Cicero’s letters. The sophistic *lusus*, for which Fronto is lampooned, are short examples of style sent to his pupil, which are not worse nor different from similar exercises of the Greek sophists. In *De feriis Alsiensibus*, Fronto invents a fable on Sleep, which is parallel to that on Arion written by Gellius.

On the whole, in an age that was extraordinarily fascinated by rhetoric, the reputation of excellence that Fronto enjoyed is not undeserved. His style has been correctly defined as “manneristic” (Holford-Strevens 2003).

Fronto and Marcus Aurelius

The *communis opinio* on the relationship between Marcus Aurelius and Fronto is that Fronto, a strenuous supporter of rhetoric, started teaching the future emperor in 138 AD when the latter was aged 17, but from 146 AD Marcus Aurelius devoted himself to philosophy, to the extreme dismay of his teacher (*ad Front.* 4. 13.2, p. 68 van den Hout; it should be noted that Kasulke 2005 has criticized this interpretation). It is usually thought that Marcus Aurelius’ rejection of

rhetoric and the impulse to the philosophical conversion derived from his friendship with Iunius Rusticus and from the works of the Stoics Epictetus and Aristo of Chios. On the other hand, a profound need for ethical values and the condemnation of rhetoric as an expression of injustice, vacuous formalism, and instrument of adulation have also been postulated. However, it is evident that Marcus Aurelius, as a future emperor, that is, as a man with many duties as a public figure, could not abandon rhetoric completely, though he devoted himself to philosophy at the same time. In fact, in Fronto's correspondence, there are clear testimonies not only of a renewed practice of rhetoric, but also of a reevaluation of it on the part of Marcus Aurelius after 161 AD (cf. Front. *ad M. Ant.* 1.2.6, p. 89; Marcus Aurelius *ad Front.* 4.1; and p. 1059 van den Hout). Champlin (1980, 121–122) has also opposed the general idea that Marcus Aurelius suddenly and completely abandoned rhetoric.

Even after his accession to the throne, Marcus Aurelius devoted himself to the study of philosophy (especially Stoic philosophy), but never manifestly converted to philosophy or abandoned rhetoric. Dio Cassius (71.2; 71.36.6) and the *Historia Augusta* do not mention any detachment of Marcus Aurelius from rhetoric, though they underscore his interest in philosophy. The testimonies of Aurelius Victor (*Caes.* 16) and Eutropius (8.11ff.) are similar.

Marcus Aurelius' attitude toward rhetoric in the years after 146 AD is not different from that which he shows during the years of his reign. Rhetoric is used as an instrument of his normal practice of government. This is demonstrated by Fronto's letter *Ad Marcum Antoninum* 1.2, p. 86–91 of autumn 161. The accession to the throne should have meant for the prince a necessary revival of the rhetorical practice, because of all the official and non-official occasions on which it could be used. In the first years after 161 AD, Fronto appears again in the role of teacher of rhetoric and advisor for the public speeches of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. In Marcus Aurelius' letter, *Ad Front.* 3.7, p. 103, the prince asks his teacher to send him an anthology of Cicero's letters *ad facultatem sermonis fovendam*. In conclusion, Marcus Aurelius did not only resume his normal practice of rhetoric, but also continued, until his last years, his stylistic–literary activity in a broad sense, and this does not agree with the hypothesis of a complete rejection of rhetoric on his part, or with the idea of his exclusively practicing a kind of pragmatic and concrete rhetoric.

The letters *de eloquentia* are not crucial for choosing either philosophy or rhetoric. On the one side, Marcus Aurelius left to rhetoric all its rights in the practice: at the beginning, he might have contemplated the rejection of it, but Fronto's remarks led him to abandon that plan. On the other side, Fronto never took into

consideration a justification of philosophy. He recommends the emperor to make philosophy the topic of his speeches, as long as the correct linguistic form is guaranteed. Even his attacks against Stoicism are not due to a Weltanschauung, but to purely aesthetic and linguistic observations against Stoic dialectic and logic.

Aulus Gellius

Aulus Gellius was famous, especially in the Middle Ages (when his name was adapted into *Agellius*) and in the Renaissance; but already in Late Antiquity his *Noctes Atticae* had provided compilers such as Nonius and Macrobius with abundant material. Information on Gellius' life is even scarcer than what survives on Fronto: only Gellius' work reveals that he was a contemporary of men and events that place him in the second century AD. He was born between 120 AD and 130 AD and died about 180 AD, and was probably of African origin: in fact, in his work, he is often in the company of learned Africans, such as Fronto and his friends, whom we have already discussed earlier. There are epigraphic testimonies on the existence in Africa of a *gens* Gellia; his work is related to one by the African Apuleius (*De Mundo*); only Gellius (NA 19.9.11–14) and Apuleius (*De magia* 9) know the erotic epigrams by Valerius Aedituus, Porcius Licinus, and Lutatius Catulus. According to Holford-Strevens, Gellius and Apuleius were in contact with each other, as is also attested by linguistic similarities in their works, and exchanged information concerning literary history (Holford-Strevens 2003, 22–26). Perhaps Gellius knew the Punic language, to which the lemma of NA 8.13 seems to testify.

Gellius' teachers in Rome were the grammarian Sulpicius Apollinaris and the rhetors Antoninus Iulianus and Titus Castricius, and he was associated with Fronto's circle. He went to Athens in order to perfect his studies, as was usual (Apuleius also went to Greece and to Athens). In Greece, Gellius was a pupil of the middle-platonic philosopher Calvisius (or Calvenus) Taurus and the sophist Herodes Atticus. From his *noctes* of study in Athens (which he certainly idealized) originates his work, entitled *Noctes Atticae*, in 20 books. He also knew in Rome or in Athens the sophist Favorinus of Arles, the poets Iulius Paulus and Annianus, grammarians and scholars.

Aulus Gellius is the chronicler of the culture of his time; he provides a lively portrait, which is detailed and even more fascinating in its disjointedness, of the world in which he lived. The *Noctes Atticae* do not constitute an organic work, but appear to be a collection of notes, or *commentarii*, which follow one another without a deliberate

plan (*praef.* 3), but on the basis of the different occurring opportunities to relate facts, people, or readings. Gellius writes an erudite miscellany, also rich in *mirabilia*, which intends to supply materials for a further elaboration or suggest inspiration for a development of the arguments by enriching and making the reader's *otium* pleasant, especially that of his children (*praef.* 1). Gellius is a scholar in the best sense of the word, and has care to distinguish his miscellany from analogous ones by Greek and Latin authors, whom he accuses of accumulating materials of different origin without any selection, for the sake of quantity only. He aims at quality, though many chapters of the *Noctes Atticae* appear to be a collection of erudite reports, and shallowness and generic knowledge of facts are not always avoided. Naturally, the best fields of his competence are those of poetry, grammar, language (what we may define as "textual criticism").

Gellius should not be reduced to a mere spokesman of other people more famous than him: he assumes the attitude of the pupil and follower of people that he admires, but he states his personal views. He expresses his own opinion on the archaist obsession of his times by attributing to Favorinus a harsh reprimand addressed to a young man, who tried to embellish his language with words so obsolete that they were incomprehensible. Favorinus exhorts him in this way (NA 1.10.2):

Vive ergo moribus praeteritis, loquere verbis praesentibus atque id quod a C. Caesare, excellentis ingenii ac prudentiae viro, in primo de analogia libro scriptum est, habe semper in memoria atque in pectore ut "tamquam scopulum sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbum." (Live by all means according to the manners of the past, but speak in the language of the present and always remember and take to heart what Gaius Caesar, a man of surpassing talent and wisdom, wrote in the first book of his treatise *On Analogy*: "Avoid, as you would a rock, a strange and unfamiliar word" [translation from Rolfe 1961])

Therefore, Gellius' attitude is similar to that of Fronto's: if the archaic words, which a writer uses, are not intelligible, the surprising effects falls short, so that it is better to replace them with everyday words. Gellius is even less archaizing than Fronto: words that are not in use any longer must be abolished; Caesar's precept to keep away from *inauditum atque insolens verbum* is polemical toward archaism too. In NA 11.7, a lexical obsession similar to that of the young archaist we have just seen is considered to be the result of a makeshift and false culture, according to which obsolete words are extraneous to usage not less than new words, because both are *inaudita*.

In conclusion, Gellius' archaism, with its need to follow usage, fits in with Fronto's moderation, who asserted the fundamental requirement of the clarity of expression. With a similar attitude, Gellius does not hesitate to criticize renowned teachers such as Sulpicius Apollinaris (NA 12.13) or Favorinus (NA 2.22.27), or the great learned men of the past, from Nigidius Figulus to Varro (NA 2.20.9; 3.14), whereas, even though he agreed with the stylistic trends of his time in the criticism against Seneca, he does not exclude in him the presence of certain artistic qualities (NA 12.2.1–13).

Augustine (*De civ. Dei* 9.4) considers Gellius to be *vir elegantissimi eloquii*, besides being a man of great culture in every genre. In accordance with his literary rules, his style is not made heavier by archaisms: some certainly exist, but they cohabitate effortlessly with neologisms in a pleasant and balanced prose. Gellius' best qualities are especially evident in narratives (e.g. the narrative of the myth of Arion, on which see Anderson 2004).

The structure of the work excludes originality *a priori*, but Gellius wants to relate things belonging to others through his direct reading or personal hearing or private conversations, so the *Noctes Atticae* are a work of great variety. Informal notes can be found in it, as well as notes richer in details and more or less thorough and analytical discussions. This variety is due to the need, expressed by Gellius, of the *ordo fortuitus* (*praef.* 2) and *disparilitas* (*praef.* 3), that is, of casualness and heterogeneity applied to the forms as well as the contents, in order to avoid the danger of monotonousness.

Gellius' merit, which ensured his survival in the Middle Ages and his success in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, has been that of being, as he said, "like a buttry of cultural foods" (*praef.* 2). Without Gellius and his toils, which constitute the priceless treasure of the *Noctes Atticae*, our vision of Latin civilization would be much more limited (Bernardi Perini 1996). However, this is not all: he is seen by a sympathetic scholar such as Holford-Strevens almost as a precursor of the modern man of letters, without his apprehensions or intellectual or moralistic pretensions, and Astarita (1993) thinks that Gellius followed the ideal of an ample and non-specific culture, which was able to include technical knowledge as well.

Apuleius

Apuleius can be considered to be the greatest writer and man of letters of the second century. Other contributors in this collection discuss his *Metamorphoses*; here, I am concerned with his other works.

Apuleius was born in Madaura, on the border between Numidia and Getulia (*Apol.* 24) in about 120 AD and died sometime during the decade 170–180 AD (see Harrison 2000, 1–3). The only certain date of his life is the trial that he faced after being accused of practicing magic, in which he defended himself in Sabratha before the proconsul Claudius Maximus (158 AD); on this basis and the fact that he should have arrived in Carthage 3 years earlier, we gather that he got to know Pudentilla in winter 156–157 AD, and his consequent marriage—the reason for the accusation of magic—occurred a few months later. Of all this and his origin, his social status, and his education, first in Carthage and then in Athens and in Greece, Apuleius himself reveals in the *Apologia* and *Florida*; according to Coarelli's hypothesis, he was in Ostia between 140 and 150 AD, taking the name *Marcellus*, in honor of his *patronus* Q. Asinius Marcellus, who is mentioned as priest of Osiris in the *Metamorphoses* (11.27). Such a hypothesis, though attractive, seems speculative. On the other hand, information on the last years of his life is extremely scanty.

Apuleius wrote a large number of works, the majority of which is now lost: poems (*Ludicra*), novels (besides the *Metamorphoseon libri XI*, an *Hermagoras*), an *Eroticus*, dialogues, scientific works on mathematics, astronomy, music, and medicine (for more on these works, see Harrison 2000, 14–38).

The Speeches

Both for the variety of his interests and his prevalent practice of epideictic oratory, Apuleius is defined as “a Latin Sophist” by Harrison and others (contra Swain 2004, 12). The most important speech, and the only one of judicial character, is the *Apologia* or *De Magia*,¹ in which he defended himself against the accusation of practicing magic. Apuleius, also in accordance with his interests as a sophist, gave his judicial speech the quality of epideictic oratory, of conference, so that *Apologia* is similar, in many respects, to the other speeches by Apuleius (e.g. the *Florida*) or the contemporary Sophists. Apuleius knows philosophy, natural science, rhetoric, and poetry, that is, the culture that constituted the objects of his exploits as a sophist. *Loci communes* of rhetoric and *ekphraseis* (digressions), such as the praise of tooth powder, to which he dedicates a well-crafted poem, and of the mirror, are not different from those by Fronto. In addition, with erudite explanations destined to receive the applause of the listeners, Apuleius boasts that he knows the sciences too, that is, botany, physics, and medicine.

However, the foundation of Apuleius' defense is constituted by literature and philosophy. Besides a knowledge of magic, Apuleius exhibits the entire philosophical erudition of a rhetorician of the second century: Aristotle's works on physics (known through the use of manuals and not directly), the biographies and apophthegms of philosophers, *chreiai* on the value of poverty and the negative aspects of wealth, and quotations from the most famous works by Plato, such as *Phaedrus* and *Timaeus*. In addition to philosophy, he shows a command of Roman and Greek history, known in detail and in the *exempla*, that is, the characters most renowned for their morality, such as Phocion and Solon, Cato and Scipio. As a man of letters, Apuleius knows grammatical and erudite details, such as the actual names of women loved by famous poets (the Lesbia of Catullus was Clodia, the Cynthia of Propertius was called Hostia, the Delia of Tibullus was Plania). As a poetry critic, Apuleius is competent; like Fronto and Gellius, he is a follower of archaism, so that he knows and quotes especially poets of the pre-ciceronian age: Plautus, Terence, Caecilius Statius, Afranius, the pre-neoterics (Ticidas and Laevius), and the neoterics (Valerius Edituus and Catullus). Apuleius' knowledge of poetry, just like Fronto's and Gellius', seems to stop with Virgil, who seems to have been quoted because of his fame rather than because he was esteemed and known in detail. Undoubtedly, Apuleius' preference goes to the neoteric poets, in whose style he composes a series of erotic poems in elegiac distiches. In them, Apuleius appears to be a versifier of great elegance and grace.

The *Apologia* was certainly submitted to a revision after the trial, so that it might be destined to publication and reading: only in this way its length can be justified, and this was a normal procedure. The revision allowed Apuleius to underline the learned and erudite character of his speech and give it that tone of assurance, which is typical of one who knows he has already won, and could appear only after the end of the trial; the verdict had to be favorable to him, otherwise it would have been difficult for Apuleius to publish his speech and continue his career as an orator. Since the *Apologia* was a judicial speech, it is natural that Apuleius took into consideration Cicero as a model: some think that the *Pro Caelio* was the most similar speech to that by Apuleius because of its lively and brilliant style, its irony, and its exhibited culture. However, Apuleius' eloquence shows affinity to that which is examined in the *Dialogus de oratoribus*: an oratory which, on a Ciceronian basis, inserts many embellishments and *flosculi* derived from rhetorical schools. The language of the *De Magia* is, therefore, typical of "modern" oratory, according to the division that we know through the *Dialogus de oratoribus*; the lexicon is often poetical, exhibits neo-formations, rare and obsolete words, and a

moderate predilection for rhythmic structures, which will be intensified both in the *Metamorphoses* and in the *Florida*.

Just being accused of practicing magic, despite his acquittal, meant that Apuleius probably could not prevent his reputation as a magician from spreading, although he obtained public honors as a rhetorician. More than two centuries after his death, he was still famous as a magician in Africa. The last, stubborn supporters of paganism refer to Apuleius, and oppose Jesus' miracles with those of *Apuleius magus*. This is an interesting moment in the history of popular religiosity of the late empire, an episode in the clash between the old and the new religions: Augustine mentions those pagans who opposed Christ with Apuleius (*epist.* 102.32; 136.1; 136.18; 137.13), and in the *De civitate Dei* (Books 8 and 9) he destroys the reputation of Apuleius, the symbol of African paganism.

Florida

The title *Florida* can be translated as “anthology” (Harrison 2000, 90–94), since the work consists of a series of excerpts taken during Late Antiquity,² from a collection probably compiled by Apuleius himself of his conferences. This material is gathered in four books, which modern editors have divided into 23 *excerpta* on the basis of their topics. To the excerpts of the *Florida*, five must be added, which were transmitted, and usually published, as a prologue to *De deo Socratis*, but have nothing to do with it. The length of these excerpts varies from few lines to some pages; they probably functioned as *progymnasmata*, that is, as preparatory exercises for the orator.

Some of these orations are later than the *Apologia*, but we cannot exclude the hypothesis that others were earlier. Their contents are various and occasional: *ekphraseis*, encomia, exhibitions of culture, and artistic skills. Apuleius follows the rules of epideictic oratory of the second century with a large and variegated system of rhetorical devices: poetical language, assonances, and internal rhymes. In the *Florida*, however, Apuleius expounds his philosophy and proclaims himself *philosophus Platonicus*.

De deo Socratis

Among the treatises of Apuleius, one has been transmitted in its entirety. It is entitled *De deo Socratis*, and its purpose is to explain to a Latin audience who the demon was that accompanied Socrates and, as Plato relates, admonished him and dissuaded him from doing

something, but never pushed him to a certain action. Such a theme was part of what German scholars call “Popularphilosophie,” and expounds the middle-platonic demonology that Apuleius followed. Also, the contemporary Maximus of Tyre had pronounced a *dialexis* (n. 9), entitled “Who was the daemon of Socrates”: probably both Apuleius and Maximus follow the same source, that is, the tradition of middle-Platonism. To this tradition belongs Plutarch, who wrote *De genio Socratis* and was another philosopher much considered by Apuleius and mentioned in the *Metamorphoses* (1.2; 2.3). In this work, Apuleius discusses other moral topics besides pondering the demon of Socrates. Probably, *De deo Socratis* belongs to the last years of Apuleius’ life.

Philosophical Works

As a platonic philosopher, Apuleius made a translation of the *Phaedo* (now lost), and wrote two philosophical works, *De Platone et eius dogmate* and *De mundo*. *De Platone* focuses on Plato’s biography and doctrine; the philosophical content is taken from manuals of the platonic tradition. Apuleius presents in this work a notable attempt at making Platonism the constant paradigm of his activity as a man of letters. For many centuries, during the Middle Ages, before Plato’s original works were rediscovered, Plato’s doctrines were known largely thanks to Apuleius’ *De Platone*. The exposition of platonic doctrine shows us how Apuleius fits in perfectly with the philosophical trends of the second century. Scholars often emphasize the fact, however, that he does not bring to contemporary Platonism any contribution of particular originality; these scholars do not consider that the historical significance of a philosopher need not always be measured by the criterion of originality; nor do they consider that Apuleius’ innovation consisted in his being both a platonic philosopher and the author of *De Magia* and *Metamorphoses*.

De Platone is in two books: the first concerns the exposition of platonic physics, and the second of ethics; a third book, which should have discussed logic (and was announced in 1.4.189), was not composed or is not extant: perhaps it was lost like the final section of the second book of *De Platone*.³ The work shows a strong resemblance to *Didaskalikos* by the otherwise unknown Alkinoos; it was once thought that both Apuleius and Alkinoos were pupils of the middle-platonic philosopher Gaius.

De mundo is a translation of a treatise (*Peri kosmou*) attributed to Aristotle, which some scholars consider to be genuine. *Peri kosmou*

had been written between the first century BC and the first century AD, when some Aristotelian doctrines could fit into teleology. The Greek work explained the different manifestations of the sensible world, and their seeming contradictions, by attributing the variety of the contingent to the transcendent god. Such interpretations could be accepted by Apuleius' philosophy. His translation is actually an adaptation in Latin with numerous additions by Apuleius himself, who, for instance, speaks in a passage (17.327) of a volcanic phenomenon that he had witnessed in Hierapolis in Phrygia. Another addition by Apuleius is that of *De mundo* 13.318–14.321, which he presents as a reworking from a tractate of Favorinus on winds, while it heavily depends (some scholars have used the word “plagiarism”) on Gellius 2.22.

Both *De Platone* and *De mundo* show an idiosyncrasy: the use of the so-called *cursus mixtus* (i.e. a combination of the tonic accent with the usual Latin prosody) in the *clausulae*, and the so-called “Scheinprosodie,” so that the final syllable, usually a long one, is shortened in order to make the *clausula*; both phenomena date from late antiquity, which puts their genuineness into question. A possible solution to this radical conclusion has been proposed by Harrison, who hypothesized that the two works by Apuleius might be written at the beginning of the change from *clausulae* based on syllabic quantity to the *clausulae* based on accents, a procedure that is already found frequently in Cyprian, who wrote about 80 years after Apuleius and was from Africa as well (see Harrison 2000, 178–179). On this basis, therefore, it must be supposed that the two philosophical works belong to the last years of Apuleius' life.

Poetae Novelli

As the negative sense of the Frontonian expression *elocutio novella* was misunderstood, as if it indicated Fronto's “new style” that had influenced, thanks to his authority, the prose of his age, so at the end of the nineteenth century a new misunderstanding occurred on the basis of some passages by Terentianus Maurus (another African), grammarian and poet, who wrote a treatise in verse between the second and third century on phonetics, prosody, and metrics, and by Diomedes (a grammarian of the fourth century). Since they discuss poets and poems with the addition of adjectives such as *novellus* or *neotericus*, it was thought that an actual school of *poetae novelli* or *neoterici* existed during the age of Fronto. However, neither Terentianus nor Diomedes ever used those expressions in a technical sense, nor did they intend to identify with those adjectives a specific

school or poetical trend; they simply wanted to indicate that a certain poet examined by them was "more recent" than others. In fact, Terentianus defines as *novelli* the authors of the Greek New Comedy in comparison with those of older comedy. In the same way, there is no reason to suppose that the poets contemporary to Fronto and the Frontonians formed a school and were called *novelli*; finally, chronology itself contradicts such hypothesis, since some of them (and almost certainly one of the most significant, Septimius Serenus) might at least belong to the age of the Severi.

These poets, nevertheless, though they cannot be grouped into a structured and formalized movement, have in common certain essential characters of language, style, content, and form, which can be attributed to the mannerism that not only relates them to Frontonian archaism, but also finds its antecedents in the age of Trajan and extends to the age of the Severi. It is therefore useful to continue to use the term *poetae novelli* because these second-century poets carry out an actual imitation of the *poetae novi*, including the so-called "pre-neoteric," since the formal experimentalism is of the highest importance for the *novelli*, and the neoteric themselves did not constitute any real poetical school; finally, the tag of *novi* or *neoterici* was drawn later from ironic contexts, which did not intend to propose a technical term.

Pliny the Younger celebrates certain poets, now unknown, who imitated Catullus and Calvus: Pompeius Saturninus (*Epist.* 1.16.5) and Sentius Augurinus wrote *poemata*. The latter is described by Pliny with terms that already preannounce the poetry of second century: *multa tenuiter, multa sublimiter, multa venuste, multa tenere, multa dulciter, multa cum bile* (*Epist.* 4.27.1); then Pliny quotes some verses by Sentius Augurinus, in which he claims to imitate Catullus, Calvus, and the *veteres* (4.27.4). Pliny himself states (*Epist.* 7.4) that, in his youth, he wrote poems in different meters, but finally arrived at the *hendecasyllabi*. It is evident, therefore, that both Pliny and his contemporaries tended to a poetical style that did not stop at the Augustan models, but went back to the first century BC. As a consequence, in the age of the Antonini, as a parallel to neosophistic Atticism, archaism, and Frontonian mannerism, within the context of the rules valid for prose, a kind of poetry with characteristics similar to those of the age of Trajan developed.

The emperor Hadrian is among the first *poetae novelli* who came after Pliny's time. For him and all the poets of his circle, poetry was a parallel and secondary activity, a *lusus* in the style of the neoteric, which assumes, in some cases, the aspect of an exercise in futility. A dozen of the verses by Hadrian, perhaps belonging to the collection entitled *Catachanna*, are extant: the title is a strong Grecism—

indicating a plant with multiple grafts, it wants to symbolize the multiplicity of forms and contents. The *lusus* can also be picked in the famous thrust and parry (two quatrains of anacreontics, the typical verse of the pre-neoteric Laevius) between Hadrian and the poet Florus, who had made fun of his passion for traveling. A greater profundity is shown by the brief poem consisting of five short verses (iambic dimeters) in which the emperor wants to express, in a sentimental tone, his departure from life: the accumulation of diminutives, irrationally distributed on the adjectives besides the noun to which, logically, they should be applied, creates an accumulation of short syllables (nine out of ten in the first verse) (fr. 3 Morel):

Animula, vagula, blandula,
Hospes, comesque, corporis;
Quae nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigida, nudula?

(Soul sweet and shifting, guest and companion to my body, now you will depart for places pale, harsh, and barren, and you will not make sport as before. [translation from Fantham 1996])

Florus may be identified with the historian who wrote the *Epitome* (*Abridgement*) of Livy's History or with the rhetorician who wrote *Whether Virgil was an orator or poet*. These verses ironically address Hadrian:

"I don't want to be Caesar, please,
to tramp round the Britons, weak at the knees,
[one line lost]
in the Scythian frosts to freeze."

And the emperor answered him:

"I don't want to be Florus, please,
to tramp round pubs, into bars to squeeze,
to lurk about eating pies and peas,
to get myself infested with fleas."

(translation from Birley 1997)

In addition, Florus wrote 26 trochaic tetrameters, which are preserved in the *Anthologia Latina* and are divided into eight compositions under the title *De qualitate vitae*. Another composition is in five hexameters (that of a *versus longus* appears to be a quite unusual choice), and celebrates the rose and its short life. These themes are not grandiose, and are expressed with tones tending to sentimentalism, similar to that characterizing Hadrian and, before him, the poets of the age of Trajan. All these poets prefer short verses, especially the trochaic dimeter; sometimes the trochaic tetrameter, of Graecizing use, is

transformed into a septenary, of Roman use, in order to create a mix of learned and popular styles.

A contemporary of Fronto is the poet Annianus, whose name is mentioned by his friend Gellius. Gellius provides some more information, which allows us to attribute to this Annianus the very few verses that Terentianus Maurus attributes to an anonymous *Faliscus* poet; also, Ausonius mentions Annianus as the author of *fescennini*, and Marius Victorinus ascribes to him a *Faliscum carmen*. Gellius refers to him three times (6.7; 9.10; 20.8); he was a *poeta doctus* because, according to Gellius, he had enormous knowledge of ancient literature and linguistic rules (6.7.1), and had possibly been a pupil of Valerius Probus (who lived until the first decade of the second century); Gellius presents him in the act of speaking about grammar, literary criticism, and natural science. In the *Noctes Atticae*, we have no information about his poetical works; he is depicted while harvesting grapes in an estate that he owned *in agro Falisco* (20.8.1), so that the poet Annianus mentioned by Gellius was identified with the anonymous Faliscan poet mentioned by Terentianus Maurus. Very few verses by Annianus are extant, thanks to Terentianus and Marius Victorinus. They are extremely refined. They should have been taken from a work that is usually entitled *Carmina Falisca*, and seems to be dedicated to country life and vintage, in accordance (more or less justified) with the scene of grape-gathering described by Gellius.

Gellius is a precious source for the knowledge of other poets of this age. Iulius Paulus was famous for his grammatical and linguistic doctrine, and his knowledge of Roman antiquary (19.7). An unknown poet and a friend of Gellius is mentioned (19.11) as a good poet and author of 17 iambic dimeters, which are the reworking of a Greek distich attributed to Plato. It is a question of an erotic theme expounded in a jocular way (*erotopaegnion*), with an affected and sentimental tone and a language full of neoterisms and archaisms. It has been hypothesized that Apuleius might be the author of this poem, but there is no certain proof.

Alfius Avitus wrote a *Liber excellentium (vирorum or rerum)*, mentioned by Terentianus Maurus, Priscianus, and Marius Victorinus, perhaps an anthology in verses of Roman history; 11 verses (iambic dimeters) are extant. The fragments refer to the rape of the Sabine women and the episode of the Faliscan schoolteacher, both related by Livy (1.13 and 5.27). These are heroic themes expressed in verses that are extraneous to heroic topics.

Septimius Serenus was probably African and lived between the second and third century AD (according to others, he lived in the third century); to be sure, he was later than Alfius Avitus, because this is the succession fixed by Terentianus Maurus. About 30 fragments from

his poems and some testimonies about him have been transmitted to us: this means that he was a poet of some renown; unfortunately, the fragments are quite short. They are grouped under a common title, *Opuscula ruralia*; Servius seems to define Serenus as a successor of the “Faliscan” poetry of Annianus (cf. GLK 4.465.6), but it is difficult to say what this *ruralis* poetry actually consisted of, considering the variety of contents found in the fragments. Septimius Serenus appears to be different from the other poets for his notable variety of meters: some are ancient and rare, others, on the other hand, new and created through changes made on the dactylic meter. It can be said, therefore, that this poet devoted a particular attention to metric experimentation.

The most famous poem composed in the second century is the *Pervigilium Veneris*, which is also preserved in the *Anthologia Latina*. It consists of 93 trochaic tetrameters, grouped into ten strophes; 11 verses are constituted by a refrain: *cras amet qui numquam amavit quique amavit cras amet*.

The date of this short poem is uncertain: second, third, or fourth century. The attribution to the second century, which I accept, is the traditional one; Alan Cameron (1984 and 1980) supposed that the poem might be attributed to Tiberianus, a poet of the Constantinian age. In support of the second century as the date for the poem, it has been observed that it shows many affinities with the poetry of that century: lexical preciosities and use of Grecisms, rare terms, interest in an unusual meter (in this case, the trochaic tetrameter is never treated as a septenary). The poet is a *poeta doctus*; knows well Lucretius, Catullus, Virgil, and Statius too; and is also interested in aspects of popular culture, both in the lexicon and the syntax, and in his depiction of the festival.

The *Pervigilium Veneris* describes the eve of a religious festival in honor of Venus Iblaea, which takes place in Sicily during three days and three nights. Venus is the goddess of love, and the event of the festival coincides with the coming of spring, which is the season of love. The poem describes the birth of Venus and her procession, and celebrates the goddess and the deities who accompany her (Cupid and the nymphs). Venus is celebrated because she is a cosmic goddess, protects Rome, the countryside, and cattle; she is present not only in human beings but also in animals.

Other Authors

I end this look at Latin authors of the second century with brief

mentions of lesser-known authors. A friend of Fronto was Gnaeus Claudius Severus Arabianus, ordinary consul in 146 AD; he was an expert in peripatetic philosophy, and tutored Marcus Aurelius when he was still Caesar. He was interested in history and political doctrines, as we learn from Marcus Aurelius himself (1.14.1) and *Historia Augusta* (Marcus 3.3).

Lollianus Avitus was ordinary consul in 144 AD and proconsul of Africa in 157–158 AD. He was the personification of the classical ideal and an expert in eloquence. His letters to Fronto show a particular appeal and culture, and a careful work of selection in the lexicon. Apuleius speaks of him in enthusiastic tones in the *Apologia*, asserting that Avitus collected together all the qualities of the best orators (*Apol.* 24), and reads one of his letters in the course of the trial (*Apol.* 94–95), underlining the pleasantness of his style.

Claudius Maximus was the successor of Lollianus Avitus (158–159 AD) in Africa, and his friend. We know him especially in the trial against Apuleius, which was held in Sabratha. He was a philosopher and a friend of Apuleius himself, who celebrates his virtues, erudition, and common interest in philosophy. Maximus is able to recognize Apuleius' allusions to Plato, Aristotle, and all the ancient philosophers. He is the example of the union of philosophy and action: *tam austerae sectae tamque diutinae militiae* (*Apol.* 81.2): in fact, Claudius Maximus was a soldier who had already distinguished himself in Trajan's Parthian campaign, a teacher of Stoic philosophy, and a friend of Marcus Aurelius, who especially praised his humanity (1.15). "The gulf between rhetoric and philosophy tends to be exaggerated by polemic, not least in the writing of Fronto himself, but even he could on occasion display an interest in philosophy" (Champlin 1980, 33).

Fronto's letter *Ad amicos* 1.4 presents Iulius Aquilinus as a philosopher and sophist. Aquilinus is erudite and elegant at the same time, and a concrete example of this union of intellectual endowments is given by his discussions on Plato. Erudition and *elegantia* are, to Fronto, the distinctive mark of eloquence, that is, an enviable deployment of words and a great reserve of *sententiae*. Also, Iulius Aquilinus was a respectable member of African society (of Sicca Veneria), which was characterized by wealth, culture, and faithfulness to the Empire. The philosopher had fulfilled his duties in life as judge and prefect of a cohort.

Notes

- 1 The title *Apologia* is of humanistic origin, while *De Magia* is found in the manuscripts, where it seems, however, to have been suggested by the fact that it was useful to give that name to the

work: in fact, the title in the manuscripts is *De Magia liber*, and certainly *liber* had not been given by the author; cf. Harrison 2000, 42–43 and 39–88, for an analysis of this work.

2 A possible hypothesis is that these excerpts were prepared by Crispus Sallustius, the editor of the *Metamorphoses* and *Apologia*.

3 *De interpretatione* is attributed to Apuleius by manuscript tradition (probably to fill the gap caused by the absence of a tractate on logic, announced by Apuleius in *De Platone* 1.4.189, but not composed), but is from much later, and probably comes from the circle of Marius Victorinus.

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CHAPTER 33

Mimet(h)ic *Paideia* in Lucian's *True History*¹

Peter von Möllendorff

Identity and Role-playing

Recent research on Lucian often addresses the ways in which this author could shape and convey his identity in the various discourses of the “globalized” world of his time (Goldhill 2002, 60–107; Whitmarsh 2001, 90–130). The sophist from Samosata could well have felt marginalized in the socio-cultural structure of the Second Sophistic: he was a Syrian whose mother tongue will have been neither Greek nor Latin, he came from a small town near the Eastern border of the Roman Imperium, and belonged to a family that probably was neither wealthy nor influential. Yet, attributing such a self-perception and ambitions to Lucian might be too modern. In the sophistic society, success is linked to a talent for a special, unique performance (e.g. the famous performances of Herodes Atticus, Favorinus, Polemon, and the many anecdotes told by Philostratos in *The Lives of the Sophists*), to an excellent grasp of the Attic language of the fifth and fourth century BC, and to an extensive refined education (παιδεία) focusing on the arts, literature, rhetoric, historiography, and philosophy of said time. This education aims at fashioning one's personality into an embodiment of *paideia* in the sense of a complete identification with the requirements of classical ideals.

In his works, Lucian explicitly depicts human life as a theater that compels everyone to play one or several roles as well as possible (e.g. *Nec.* 16, *Salt.* 82f., *Pisc.* 31f). This identity, this perfect identification with a role, is what counts: the “naked” person behind the mask, on the other hand, is not unique but simply one of many and therefore

not of special interest (*Nec.* 16). Seen this way, the role of the “poor Syrian,” too, was nothing but another role that had to be performed convincingly. Privileging this role as his defining identity and therefore as the one Lucian wanted to convey to his works would mean misunderstanding him and his intentions. For, as has been claimed by Said (1993), it becomes quite obvious in Lucian’s works—not least by his choice of different *personae* (Lukianos, Parrhesiades, Tychiades, Syros, Lykinos)—that he saw his creative challenge in the multiple auctorial roles rather than in the focused portrayal of one, however impressive, personality.

Constructions of *Paideia* and the *Pepaideumenos* in the *Imagines* and the *Somnium*

The learned and cultivated man (πεπαιδευμένος) in Lucian’s construction is a hybrid figure whose striking resonance is largely due to the coexistence of different roles.² This becomes apparent in two texts in which Lucian sketches representative depictions of *paideia*. The first are the *Imagines* with the description of beautiful Panthea at the center, the second is the *Somnium*, a pseudo-autobiographical preface (*prolalia*) where “Lucian” gives an account of his rise to sophistic renown.

In the *Imagines*, Lykinos tries to describe the appearance of an unknown beautiful woman to his friend Polystratos. However, he is unable to do so in a straightforward and holistic way. He therefore chooses to describe her part for part by drawing on five classical statues and four classical paintings, complemented by Homeric *epitheta* for female beauty (*Im.* 4–8). After Polystratos realizes that the woman is Panthea, the emperor’s mistress, he adds an appraisal of her intellect and character to the description, again drawing on ideal models (*Im.* 12–21). Bretzigheimer (1992) has recognized that, despite referring to a historical person, in combining a perfect outward appearance with equally exceptional inner qualities, the woman portrayed here is a personification of *Paideia*. The impossibility of giving a uniform, totalizing description of her beauty is a significant indicator of Lucian’s conception of *paideia* (Möllendorff 2004). Reversing a well-known anecdote about Zeuxis (when Zeuxis was asked to paint a portrait of Helen for the people of Croton, he had the five most beautiful women of the place line up and, since he found all

of them lacking absolute beauty, he picked the most perfect part of each woman's body as model for his painting [Cic. *De Inv.* 2.1]), for Lucian there are indeed people who are an embodiment of ideal *paideia*, yet its concept can be understood and described only as a hybrid combination of individual heterogeneous elements. Indeed, Lucian's position is by no means idiosyncratic, since the objects of imperial *paideia* are, on the one hand, highly accredited for their indebtedness to classical ideals and, on the other hand, completely diverse with regard to genre, medialization, style, and aesthetics.

Hybridity is characteristic for the representation of the *pepaideumenos* as well. Lucian's account of his call to a career as a sophist in the *Somnium* may serve as an example for this: the core of this "autobiographic" story is the dream about being given a life-defining choice by the ladies "Education" (Παῖδεία) and "Craft" (Τέχνη)—clearly an allusion to Prodikos' story of Heracles at the crossroads as told by Xenophon in the *Memorabilia*. Furthermore, after "Lucian" decides to pursue a career under the guidance of Paideia, the rest of the dream—a journey through the sky in a winged chariot and the blessing of humanity with *logoi*—refers to a vision of a journey through the sky in the didactic poetry of Parmenides and to the myth of Triptolemos. The story includes several other more or less obvious allusions: in his edition, Macleod points out the biographical writings on Socrates, the myth of Prometheus, the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, Homer, Plato, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Diogenes Laertius, and Pausanias as sources for motifs and phrasing. This multitude of entangled allusions makes it impossible to reconstruct a sound historical, autobiographical substructure. In the end, the speaker is a figure solely constituted by the text(s) whose "identity," if the term is still to be used, consists in the hybrid agglomeration of literary references.

Still, just as Panthea in Lucian's dialogues on *eikones*, this figure does not remain a lifeless construct. *Pro Imaginibus* shows Panthea in a discussion with Lykinos, where she no longer is—as in the *Imagines*—an object of the desiring male gaze, but the subject of ethically relevant statements, however mediated they might be presented. This ethical dimension evokes an important part of education, which is striving for ideal and valuable ways of interacting with the world and other people. This is the touchstone that reveals whether *paideia* is merely the maximization of an archive of knowledge, or whether it has actually fashioned a *human being*. In the *Somnium*, the ethical dimension unfolds from an inversion of motifs in the allusion to the Heracles-myth of Prodikos (Möllendorff 2010). The description of the allegorical figures of Paideia and Techne, who appear to "Lucian" in his dream, complicates their relation to Prodikos' "Virtue" (Ἀρετή) and

“Badness” (Κακία): while the description of respectable *Techne* who promotes effort, diligence, and moderation matches Prodikos’ *Arete*, Paideia with her promises of easy labor and quick success matches Prodikos’ *Kakia*. A recipient who has a closer look at the allusion to Xenophon will not only recognize the allegory, but also remember Xenophon’s exact wording so that he can compare it with the *prolalia* even during their presentation. Such a recipient is indeed a *pepaideumenos* who has earned this title. Yet, the decoding of the allusion discredits the promises of Paideia—in reality, they are fruits that can be plucked by few, and only with great effort. Above all, the recipient has to understand the difference between appearance and reality and, consequently, reflect upon his own life: whether this is the right choice of career or whether he should not pursue another path, keeping in mind that following Paideia will mean giving up on other things. This passage as well as the dialogues on Panthea gives insight into Lucian’s concept of *paideia*. It is not a direct admonition that motivates the recipient’s ethical reflection. Instead, it is a process based on an initial intellectual effort drawing on erudite knowledge, since to uncover the ethical value of the text the allusions have to be decoded first. So if these texts aim at the formation or modification of an ethical position, they require previous knowledge, which in turn guarantees that the recipient himself is responsible for their effect. Or, in other words: if the quest for *paideia* fails, it is not the teacher but rather the student who is to be blamed.

Two aspects of Lucian’s concept of *paideia* have become clear. First, education and erudition cannot merely consist of an accumulation of knowledge, methods, and competence, but the *pepaideumenos* will have to find a harmonious combination of these elements. This alone is common enough in the concepts of *paideia* in the Second Sophistic. But furthermore, *excellent paideia*—and this is new—is realized as aesthetic perfection, in the successful combination of the most heterogeneous components of the products and configurations of *paideia*. Lucian exemplifies this in the *Bis Accusatus*, more extensively and theoretically in the *prolaliae*, *Prometheus es in verbis*, and *Zeuxis*, and in his hybrid creation of comedy and philosophical dialogue (cf. Möllendorff 2006 and the vivid analysis of Zweimüller 2008, 79–88). Panthea, whose description is based on both the evocation of most diverse works of art and layers of equally diverse intertexts, and who appears as a radiant embodiment of excellent erudition, may serve as an example of this concept of hybrid *paideia*. Second, the focus on the work of a *pepaideumenos* is important. The destination of his arduous, time-consuming pursuit lies in a distant future—even more, the recipient has to become aware that the journey itself is the reward, and any promises to the contrary should not be trusted. The

pepaideumenos himself is responsible for the process of his education.

Mimetic Constructions of *Paideia* and the *Pepaideumenos* in the *True History*

These two aspects, the aesthetic perfection of mimetic hybridity and the responsibility of the *pepaideumenos*, can also be found in a text which I would like to regard as Lucian's most important and elaborate monument of his conception of *paideia*: the *True History*. It is the longest of his works and has often been read (e.g. by Rütten 1997, 80–93) as a parody of false stories in classical literature, which are incriminated by the speaker of the prooemium, or at least as a parody of philosophical musings (Rütten 1997, 63–79; Georgiadou and Larmour 1998a), historiographical discourse (Georgiadou and Larmour 1994 and 1998b, 28–32; also Rütten 1997, 47–62), and the contemporary travel novels (among others, Jones 1986, 53, and more detailed Rütten 1997, 94–110). These readings are usually strengthened by pointing to the second part of the prooemium in which selected “victims” are criticized: Ktesias’ *Indika*, Iambulos’ description of the islands of the sun, paradoxographical travel literature in general with Homer’s Odysseus as its founder, and finally the philosophers, which probably mainly refers to Plato’s myths (1.3f.). However, this approach neglects two aspects. Firstly, “Lucian” uses the names listed in the preceding text as generic paradigms in order to summarize the previous narrative and historiographical literature and speculative philosophical argumentation that was more or less explicitly obliged to veracity. If the allegations of falsehood were serious, the all-out accusation in every direction would make it less effective. And, indeed, “Lucian’s” accusations lead to a final ironic auto-destruction when he emphasizes that his own accounts, too, are lies, but that he adheres to the truth by calling them lies (1.4). Clearly, the allegation of mendacity here refers to a metaliterary topos, namely the ancient literary debate about truth (ἀλήθεια) and falsehood (ψεῦδος) of literature, a forerunner of the later discussion on fictionality in literature (for a summary of this debate in antiquity, see Möllendorff 2000, 525–534). These and other topics of a refined discourse, indeed of literary theory *avant la lettre*, appear to be the motivating forces behind the following account of a fantastical journey.

Second, and in correspondence with this, the first part of the prooemium stresses both the role of the learned reader and the mimetic quality of the account of the voyage. The reader is promised a broadening of his education: the story would contribute to his future endeavors (1.1 f.)—what else could this refer to but to the refined performance, the active command of Attic Greek, and the perfect mastery of classical knowledge? This learning success is a result of the reader’s decoding of all-encompassing allusion: every single detail of the narration alludes to the ancient poets, prose writers, and philosophers, which the educated reader will find out for himself (1.2). This defines the highest performance target—whoever can decipher most of the allusions will profit the most from his or her reading—and at the same time requires the reader’s responsibility.

In the following, I would like to discuss two examples from the travel account of the *True History* in order to demonstrate the literal extent of allusion “in every single detail,” both in regard to individual motifs and whole narrative structures. Thereby, it will become clear that a metapoetic topic—the traditional discussion about the ontological status, about “truth” and “mendacity” of literature—lies behind the continuous mimetic harmonization of the various elements alluded to. A third example will show that the *pepaideumenos* as well is integrated by Lucian into his *True History* with a special focus on his ethos, a motif conveyed through the earlier-mentioned discussion on truth and mendacity.

Lychnopolis

Instances particularly rich with examples for Lucian’s allusive technique are two stops of the Lucianic ship. At the beginning of the first book, it was hurled to the moon by a storm, and after various adventures in space the travelers are passing two cities on their way back to earth (1.29): Lamptown (Λυχνόπολις) and Cloud-Cuckoo-Land (Νεφελοκοκκυγία) (for an extensive discussion, see Möllendorff 2000, 193–205). It is evening when the travelers reach Lychnopolis. There, they encounter lamps walking around on the *agora* and near the port. The lamps have houses and can speak. An invitation to dinner is declined by the travelers who are afraid to eat or sleep. In the center of the city are the administrative headquarters, where an *archon* is calling forth each lamp by name during the night. If it does not come in time without a valid excuse, it is treated as a deserter and suffers the death penalty (extinction). “Lucian” also meets his own house lamp and is informed about the situation back home on earth.

Lamptown, a darkly fantastical place, is constructed out of about

15 allusions to older texts and traditions of different origin: astronomy (cf. Aldebaran [gr. Λαμπαδίας] as the brightest star of the constellation Tauros), popular beliefs about stars (for the belief that the stars were the deceased, cf. Aristophanes *Peace* 832–841; for the notion that every human being had a star, cf. Pliny *NH*. 2.28f.), cult practice,³ comedy,⁴ and even specific grotesque lamp forms (for ancient figural lamps, cf. Bailey 1975–1996, *passim*). No detail of this description was invented by Lucian. Instead, his description is based on the combination of minute motifs connected with lamps in the material and epistemic tradition. It is not the individual motif that is original but the combination of heterogeneous elements to a completely new and, despite its heterogeneity, consistent narrative whole. The nocturnal events observed by the travelers are not just incomprehensible, but also uncanny: the lamps come from earth, can speak, but apparently have left their designated place in the house when they were unobserved. Consequently, we come to the understanding that even in our home we are not surrounded by useful objects but by independent creatures that might pursue their own affairs and be absent when we would need them to light up the dark. Both incomprehensibility and uncanniness force the reader to question the rules and the meaning of this secret world. If there is an *archon*, an *agora*, and a law against deserters, if you can call at a port and be invited to dinner, there has to be a *raison d'être*, a justification for existence, an inherent meaning as well, which resembles our notion of an institutionalized and civilized society and is comprehensible. Yet, such a meaning can be disclosed neither by studying the narrative syntagmatic structure of the story nor by following the allusions of the paradigmatic details. This could propel us to accept Herodotus' solution of the dilemma in his account of the festival of lamps in Sais and locate the meaning in secret mysteries, an inaccessible ἰπὸς λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ λεγόμενος (*Hdt.* 2.62.2)—if Lucian had not pointed out in his prooemium that nothing of his accounts was true. Under such circumstances, the process of decoding allusions suggested to the reader is inconclusive: all the texts integrated via allusion that had been meaningful in their original context now refer to their new combination—and this combination in turn is merely the result of the compatibility of its elements and their imitation of real cultural practices (which do not facilitate understanding). Seen this way, the central topic appears to be a presentation of the possibilities, range, and methods of combinatory mimesis.

Nephelokokkygia

While the Lychopolis-episode draws on a variety of traditions, the following episode in Cloud-Cuckoo-Land uses a seemingly more simplistic allusion to one explicitly mentioned model. In Aristophanes' comedy *Birds*, staged in 414 BC, Peisetairos turns his back on human civilization and, with the help of birds, builds a city in the clouds (Nephelokokkygia), thereby cutting off the gods' supply to sacrifices. In the end, Zeus abdicates and Peisetairos takes over world domination in his place. Although we would like to know what might happen after the *exodos* of the comedy, Lucian informs us about three things only: that the airflow prevents the travelers from landing, that another king rules now in Cloud-Cuckoo-Land, Κόρωνος (not Κόρων, as the name is given by Georgiadou and Larmour 1998b, 155) ὁ Κοττυφίωνος, and that Aristophanes must have been a wise and truthful man (σοφὸς καὶ ἀληθής) whose descriptions have been unjustly doubted.

The most interesting information is the reference to the change of rulers. It continues the timeline and story beyond the end of the comedy, since in the *exodos* Peisetairos leaves Nephelokokkygia (*Birds* 1755–1758: ἔπεσθέ νυν γαμοῦσιν, ὦ / φῦλα πάντα συννόμων / πτεροφόρ', ἐπὶ πέδον Διὸς / καὶ λέχος γαμήλιον), which invites the question who would succeed him on the throne of the established city. There would have been several possible candidates. Lucian's choice of Koronos is surprising, although plausible when considered more closely. Both Peisetairos' original companion Euelpides and the hoopoe, who appoints himself as the official promoter of Peisetairos' project at the beginning of the comedy, would have died in the approximately 18 generations between the founding of Nephelokokkygia and Lucian's own time. Crows (κορώναι), on the other hand, were traditionally known for their longevity. Hesiod ascribes them a lifespan nine times the length of human life (cf. *fr.* 304.1f. M.-W., and *Ov. Met.* 7.274). Supposing an average human lifespan was c. 60 years, this would exactly fill the 18 generations mentioned earlier (cf. *Plut. Def. Orac.* 415C–E postulating an average lifespan of 54 years); Plutarch also puts the maximum of Hesiod's γενεά at 108 years, which would explain the passage in the *Birds* that places the crow's lifespan at no more than five human generations (for the crow's lifespan, cf. also Bömer 1976, 275). Therefore, a crow as successor of Peisetairos and current ruler of Cloud-Cuckoo-Land is entirely probable. If it is also taken into consideration that it was a crow who led Peisetairos to the very place (*Birds* 5f., 23, 49), Lucian's choice becomes entirely feasible and is indeed a congenial mimetic continuation of the Aristophanian fiction.

One could still take a step further, for several specific metaphors in Greek are based on the crooked beak of the crow. Among others, there

is the technical term *κορωνίς* for the curlicue ornament that marks the end of text parts or the whole text in manuscripts, and is seen as a symbol for the completion of a written work (cf. e.g. Plut. *Quom. adul.* 66E, *De Alex. magn. fort. aut. virt.* 334C, Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 510, AP 11.41 [Philodemos], Luc. *Hist. conscr.* 26). An Imperial-educated reader would have editions where the *Birds*, too, were signed off with the final sign of the *koronis*. Hence, it could have been as well this sign that created the new, and in this case also eternal, ruler Koronos.

Therefore, the Nephelokokkygia-episode also facilitates a metapoetic focus on classical mimesis, which in this special case is also strengthened by a corresponding design of the model text. The *Birds* lead the recipient to the notion that the city of the birds is a purely verbal construction and thus a fiction, a “lie” (ψεῦδος). The immense building project (*Birds* 1124–1167) is described to such an extent that the city could hardly have been presented on stage, maybe not even visually hinted at (also, Euelpides is sent πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα [837] to participate in the construction of the city [837–846]). Even Peisetairos doubts its existence: ἴσα γὰρ ἀληθῶς φαίνεται μοι ψεύδεσιν (1167)—“truly, this looks like lies.” This paradoxically pointed phrase matches the suspicion that arises even at the beginning of Peisetairos’ plans, that the conception of the city, as has been claimed by Dobrov (1988) and Möllendorff (2002, 112f.), is nothing but a verbal construct: ὅτι δὲ πολεῖται τοῦτο καὶ διέρχεται / ἅπαντα διὰ τούτου, καλεῖται νῦν πόλος. / ἦν δ’ οἰκίσσητε τοῦτο καὶ φάρξηθ’ ἅπαξ, / ἐκ τοῦ πόλου τούτου κεκλήσεται πόλις (*Birds* 181–184: “Here while the heavens revolve, and yon great dome / Is moving round, ye keep your Station still. / Make this your city, fence it round with walls, / And from your Station is evolved your State” [translation from B. Rogers 1924]). The logic of this argument can be questioned (see Dunbar 1998, 145), and—as long as a “real” building of a wall is supposed—is completely irrelevant for the further development of the plot. Instead, the recipient is rather led to the belief that the city had sprung from a pun on the assonance of τόπος (*Birds* 180)—πόλος—πόλις.⁵ Lucian’s description of Cloud-Cuckoo-Land is merely a mimetic continuation of something already inherent in Aristophanes’ thematic concentration on the capacities of language: a metapoetic reflection leading to the core of Lucian’s central topic in the *True History*—language and literature in the tension between truth and lie. Here, the notion that language, although in itself not concrete, can constitute reality becomes a literary motif. Correspondingly, the airflow, which is nothing but the metaphorically enhanced breath of inspiration, does not let the travelers stop. Cloud-Cuckoo-Land is a construction of fluffy language and therefore cannot be entered. Since this is already written in Aristophanes’ text, he was indeed a “wise and truthful man”

who was “unjustly doubted.”

Truth, Lies, and the Pepaideumenos

The two examples of Lychnopolis and Nephelokokkygia will sufficiently show how Lucian successfully integrates the most diverse areas of knowledge from different media into an aesthetically perfect ensemble. The connecting element, the core topic which these constructions adjust to and find cohesion in, is the reflection on the capability of language to both denote what is and create what is not: the field of tension between “truth” and “lie,” ἀλήθεια and ψεῦδος. This ancient pair of terms (important works on this topic: Weinrich 1966, Kannicht 1980, Rösler 1980, Booth 1983, Romm 1992, Pratt 1993, Gill and Wiseman 1993, Puelma 1995) does not only pertain to questions of semiotic concepts but also to ethical implications inherent in these. Since language influences action and thus the actual shaping of reality—not to mention that speech itself can be action—anyone who uses language has to consider the consequences following his actions. It might have been due to exactly these implications that ancient theory never really coined a special term for “fiction,” but continually used ψεῦδος to speak of both lying and fictionalizing.

For Lucian, “truth” and “lie” are first of all standardized and traditional categories of literary criticism. It is their metapoetic character that is placed at the center of Lucian’s employment of motifs in the *True History*. Some other examples should be mentioned at least briefly. The river of wine that the travelers cross at 1.7 is a motif typical for the per-definition-false paradoxographical literature, but as a sympotic motif it first of all recalls the speaker’s obligation to truth. The storm that attacks the travelers several times, carries them first into the wide ocean, then to the moon, and in the end to the ἑτέρα γῆ in the farthest west (1.6; 1.9f.; 2.47), represents, as τυφῶν, obscurity, and lies, but, as πνεῦμα, inspiration. The travelers’ forced sojourn in the giant fish (1.30–2.1) alludes in several individual motifs to Plato’s theories on the constitution (*politeia*) and the soul, but also to central elements of his Analogy of the Cave and thereby to a basic discourse about truth, which here is woven into classic sailor’s yarn. On the island of dreams (2.32–35), the travelers have to continue their way through either a door of horn or a door of ivory, traditionally representing truth and lies (cf. *Od.* 19.560–569; the analogy is based on the seeming similarity of κέρας [horn] and κραίνω, “fulfil,” and ἑλέφας, “ivory,” and ἐλεφαίρομαι, “deceive”). However, as the reader is not told which one they choose, he seems to be encouraged to differentiate between lies and truth, while at the same time he is not

able to do so.

This is the same distinction the reader is called to make in the twofold request of the prooemium: on the one hand, he is supposed to decipher the allusions in the text (1.2), and on the other hand he is told that the text contains lies only, and the only truth is the open advertising of lies. The exercise in decoding relates to the reader's erudition; to call this erudition false and therefore inferior is hardly possible in the era of the Second Sophistic. If the allusions are still labeled as lies, then this can only ironically refer to their fictional status. This status is therefore explicitly marked, which leaves the reader free to regard the following account not as a fictional story but as an argumentative, in a sense also allegorical, discourse on the literariness of the individual motifs.

The learned reader, whose *paideia* also includes the ability to undertake critical reflections on literature, here encounters motifs from the context of "speaking about literature" realized as literary motifs, a transformation that is highly refined but in the end playful and without purpose. Both relaxation and intellectual progress are supposed to result from this encounter. The confrontation with a highly hybrid text that requires intense decoding first of all promises to enhance one's literary erudition. Yet, in his other works, Lucian emphatically demands an ethical competence as well, a distinction between right and wrong behavior, and most of all a pledge to an honest way of life that is not interested in superficial appearances; analogically at the end of the prooemium of the *True History*, he characterizes the striving for fame as κενοδοξία (1.4). Considering this, the vehement insistence on the motif of truth and lies also seems to carry the ethical dimension of *paideia* and pertains to the person of the *pepaideumenos* himself.

The Selenites

Of course, the figure of the *pepaideumenos* would not openly appear in a text such as the *True History* that is constructed as a composite mimesis *par excellence*. Likewise, we would expect it to be an enigma and a hybrid construction. This corresponds with Lucian's presentation of himself in his works: not as a clearly defined person with a directly associated identity but as an ensemble of various masks behind which the biographical Lucian is obscured. This specific mimetic design matches the allegory of *Paideia* in the two dialogues on *eikones*. While the multiplication and fragmentation of Panthea is already on the verge of the grotesque, the fragmentation and hybridization of the *pepaideumenos* in the *True History* is hyperbolically

intensified.

This can be exemplified in the description of the people of the moon. Carried to the moon by a storm, the travelers are drawn into a war between the Selenites and Heliotes (the inhabitants of the moon and the inhabitants of the sun), and are given the opportunity to explore the characteristics of life on the moon and of its inhabitants. The description of the anatomy and physiognomy of the Selenites (1.23–25) is quite significant: they consider baldness beautiful and hate longhaired people (κομηῆται), who are in turn highly regarded on the comets. The Selenites wear their beards down to their knees, their toes are shaped like the hooves of horses, a long sprout-like tail grows from the small of their backs, they use their fur-lined zipped belly as a bag, and they have removable eyes.

Every grotesque detail in this description can be traced back to one or several sources often connected directly to ancient notions on the moon and its life or to metapoetic motifs (cf. Möllendorff 2000, 164–178). However, most fascinating is the model the whole imagery is based on, which Lucian, primarily by integrating other motifs, distorted into a grotesque one: this model is obviously the Silen. He has similar horse-like characteristics—ears, tail, facial hair, round eyes, hooves—and from the fifth century BC onward he is supposed to be bald and pot-bellied (Hartmann 1927, Demont 1996). He belongs to the followers of Dionysus—and like Dionysus, the Selenites are born from the thigh (1.22). Having accepted these analogies, one wonders about the reason for choosing the Silen as a model. Two reasons can be given. The first may well be the easily audible assonance of the (in Lucian's spelling) almost identical Σελήνη (moon) and Σειληνός (Silen). The second reason might lie in the appearance of the Selenites, which may have reminded the reader of the most famous of all “Silens,” Socrates, who used to be compared to these horse-like mythical creatures on account of his similar physiognomy (cf. Giuliani 1996, Scheibler 1989, Zanker 1995, 38–45, for the reasons of this equation see 44f.; Vogt 1999, 77–87; the *locus classicus* is the speech of Alcibiades in Plato *Symp.* 215b3–216c3, v.a. 215b4–6).

Now, the characteristics of Silen and Socrates, especially the receding hairline and the beard, had been, since Hadrian and up to the late Antonine times, part of an ideal self-fashioning of the members of the intellectual elite. A regular “face of the contemporary intellectual” (Zanker 1995, 190–251) had evolved, based on Socrates and other philosophers such as Diogenes and Antisthenes, most of them Cynic and therefore close to Socrates. In the last quarter of the second century AD, the choice between baldness and hair seems to have been the topic of an intellectual discussion on fashion. Lucian

might refer to that when he puts this very question at the center of a quarrel between the inhabitants of the comets and the Selenites (1.23), although the pretext is, of course, the pseudo-physiognomic contrast between the appearance of the full moon and a comet. That the κοσμηταί, annually appointed administrators for the gymnasia, can be regarded as a prime example for such kinds of imperial self-fashioning is probably more coincidence than a reason for Lucian's choice; cf. Zanker (1995, 209 and 116f. with illustration 21) for the resemblance of cosmetes to Silen and Socrates. The ever-growing beard of the Selenites, too, may correspond to an intellectual ideal of the late second century (Zanker 1995, 211).

This goes well with the high level of interest in physiognomic questions displayed by the intellectuals of the Second Sophistic, who were after all schooled in performance. According to the sophist Polemon of Laodicea, special emphasis was put on the eyes, since they are an unmistakable source of information about the true nature of the man they belong to (Polemon's φυσιογνωμικά are edited in the Arabic and Latin versions in the *Scriptores Physiognomici* vol. I, ed. Richard Foerster, Leipzig 1893, 98–294; the importance of the eyes is well captured in Gleason 1995, 33–52). The eyes of Lucian's Selenites are removable, therefore exchangeable: this poses the danger of utmost deception, and in this way the main topic of the *True History* is touched upon yet again. The other physiognomic details are relevant as well in discussing the question of who is seen as a true or false *pepaideumenos*, or in other words: how are discursive authenticity and falsehood manifested, and how can you tell the difference? In turn, this leads to the Socratic question of knowledge and ignorance and its consequences on right behavior, which is the central question of ethic philosophy.

Conclusion

Lucian's concept of *paideia* is genuinely hybrid. Typically for the Second Sophistic, it is based on an emphatic postulate of mimesis, but it also accentuates the possibility to intensify one's own intellectual endeavors by integrating as many objects of the most heterogeneous nature as possible. The consistent tension of such diverse mimetic operations creates the specific feature and originality of *paideia*. This corresponds with Lucian's portrayal of the *pepaideumenos*—as seen in the example of Panthea from the dialogues on *eikones*—by multiple allusions that obscure a specific identity and complicate defining him by fixed models and patterns of behavior. Moreover, Lucian used the

same method for his own portrayal—as seen in the autobiographical subject of *Somnium*—and hid his biographical person behind a variety of auctorial masks. In the second part of this chapter, I analyzed three episodes from Lucian's *True History*. Here, the method of mimetic compilation became apparent in its extreme versions. Furthermore, the core topic of this work became obvious: the metamimetic imagery of categories of thought and discussion that at the same time serves also as a reflection about the ethical configuration of the *pepaideumenos*: the ancient and well-known opposition of truth and lies.

Finally, why did Lucian conceptualize *paideia* in precisely this way, as a hardly systematic, primarily associative structure of classical knowledge operating with distant and surprising relations on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a constellation of heterogeneous figurations that do little to invite admiring identification? From an epistemological perspective, Lucian's concept is unusual because it is diametrically opposed to a concept of *paideia* that is orientated to the antithesis of canonical conformism and non-conformism. For Lucian, everything is relevant if it can be worked, via association, into combinations full of tension and rich with imagery. From an ethological perspective, in such a construction of an ideal *pepaideumenos*, the reader is not faced with characters whose behaviors he can agree or disagree with, but whose ethical impact has to be decoded in the first place. This puzzling enigma (αἰνίττεσθαι: *VH* 1.2) enforces the constructive participation of the recipient. This turns a mere acknowledging of ethical idealism into an active discussion of it and intellectually involves the reader in the process of ethical education.

Notes

1 I am very grateful to Maria Rossdal for translating this contribution into English.

2 Lucian is not the only sophist of this time who seeks to found his exceptionality on multiple roles. Dion of Prusa appears to have spent part of his life as a travelling cynic preacher (cf. *D. Chr. or.* 13.9–11 and 12.1–20; Philostr. *VS* 488): For the question of fictionality and reality in these accounts, see Brenk (2000, especially 269 f.). Favorinus of Arelate was flirting with his image as a sexually active eunuch and feminized man and his Celtic origin (cf. Philostr. *VS* 489). The combination of these contradictory characteristics was intended to create an unsettling effect and also attracted the enmity of Polemon of Laodikeia, who in turn emphasized his own exceptionality by a perfect stylization of his

wealth, power, and influence (cf. Philostr. VS 532, 535). Lucian appears to have staged his complex role-play on a literary level only, which allowed for more diversity.

3 Λαμπαδηδρομῖαι were important cultic events in some Greek cities. There are several mentions of Athens, such as for the cult of Bendis in the Piraeus, where they took place under the direction of a Λαμπαδάρχης (cf. among others Arist. Pol. 5.1309a19). According to Hdt. 2.62, the festival of Λυχνοκαΐη was celebrated in Egyptian Sais, which, during the festival, must have looked like a city of lamps.

4 Apart from the allusion to Arist. *Peace*, one might think of allusions to the λύχνων ἐρημία in *Birds* 1482–1493 and to the prologue of the *Ecclesiazusai* 1–288, especially 7–13, 27f., 49f., 19–27 (belated appearance), 35–40, and 53–55 (excuses).

5 Place (“pole”) city. Likewise, there is a pun on the name of the city, Νεφελοκοκκυγία, which is based on clouds and lofty celestial phenomena (*Birds* 818f, ἐκ τῶν νεφελῶν καὶ τῶν μετεώρων χωρίων / χαῖνόν τι πάνυ). νεφέλαι and μετέωρα in particular are common terms of Aristophanes’ comedies, representing the flexibility and instability of language (cf. *Clouds* 226–230 and 345–355, especially 348: [sc. αἱ νεφέλαι] γίνονται πάνθ’ ὅ τι βούλονται). They are prominently used in the *Clouds*. The second and extant version of this play was staged between 420 and 415 AD, possibly in close proximity to the *Birds*; cf. Storey (1993).

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CHAPTER 34

Reimagining Community in Christian Fictions

Judith Perkins

Roman imperialism and its social and economic reconfigurations helped set the stage for the development of the prose fiction genre in the late Hellenistic and early Roman imperial period. This period saw the emergence not only of polytheistic Greek and Roman fictions, but also of Christian and Jewish ones, as different social groups adopted the narrative fiction form to assert themselves in the new times of empire. In this chapter, I argue that a central theme of the early Christian fictions, the apocryphal *Acts* of the apostles, in particular their repeated emphasis on converting elite persons and folding them into the Christian community as benefactors, was both a reaction to the erosion of the traditional civic ideal caused by the political and economic transformations of the period and an articulation of a desire for closer multi-status civic interrelations and a less bifurcated community. At the same time, by reconfiguring elite munificence into Christian almsgiving, the *Acts* construct a role that allowed a newly wealthier imperial understratum—traders, merchants, and artisans—to understand themselves as mimetically related to civic euergetists.

Arjan Zuiderhoek's *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire* (2009) provides a foundation for my reading of the early apocryphal *Acts* in the context of the larger economic and social transformations of the early imperial period. Zuiderhoek (2009, 3) offers a political explanation for the extravagant and unprecedented civic generosity practiced by elites in the early empire, a period he describes as being of “breathtaking inequality.” Indeed, the accelerating economic disparity between the elites and others in the period informs Zuiderhoek's explication of the euergetic impulse. He notes (2009, 56) that the non-elite did not become poorer in the period; rather, the landowning elite became “truly vastly richer” than the others in their

communities. This growth in elite wealth was largely a result of Roman imperialism. As Peter Bang writes, “The Roman Empire appears to have worked like a powerful revenue pump” (2008, 110; cf. 2007, 30: “Empire was a mechanism for mobilizing wealth. ... [It] was about tribute first and foremost”). For those sharing its benefits, imperialism proved very lucrative. The provincial elite’s supervision of their cities enabled them to win imperial favor and promote their own political and economic interests, and such efforts resulted in significant financial gains for the elite across the empire.

Zuiderhoek (2009, 13) proposes that, in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, the elite’s increasingly exorbitant wealth and monopolization of political power threatened to expose as a “fiction” the traditional civic ideal that the cities were communities in the classical mode, bound together by shared citizenship and isonomic relations. And, he argues (2009, 71) that euergetism allowed the elite to perpetuate the illusion that the cities remained citizen communities even as it helped to reshape the civic model into one informed by hierarchy.

In Zuiderhoek’s view (2009, 56), elite munificence provided a mechanism to defuse the inherent potential for social violence that otherwise might have been provoked by the elite’s accelerating wealth and political power. It smoothed over social tensions both by begetting citizens the traditional pleasures of urban life and by showcasing the benevolence of the elite and their right to rule. The elite’s generous donations to their communities allowed them to impress upon the understratum the continuing benefits of citizenship and to demonstrate their own commitment to supply the non-elite with everything necessary for the enjoyment of a proper urban civic life. By providing the understratum with access to the amenities associated with the “citizen good life—gymnasia, baths, theatres, temples, games, festivals, distributions,” civic munificence fostered in poorer citizens a continuing commitment to the civic order, as it simultaneously legitimated and naturalized the privileged position of the elite in the city’s increasingly unequal civic structure (Zuiderhoek 2009, 74).

Zuiderhoek contends that elite munificence did its job in mollifying the social tensions arising from the inequality of the period and even garnered public affirmation (munificence was recognized by public validation of the elite’s position, and when the assemblies agreed to the inscriptions honoring donors, they were testifying to their consent to the elite’s preeminence; see Zuiderhoek 2009, 121–122). He writes, “No disaffected non-elite group ever tried to replace it [the oligarchic system] with a different, perhaps more egalitarian, political system” (2009, 151). Having said this, however, in his conclusion, Zuiderhoek turns his attention to the third-century decline in civic munificence

and considers whether Peter Brown's suggested date for Christianity's "revolution in the social imagination," which resulted in the shift from the "civic model of society" with its civic beneficence to a Judeo-Christian model premised on an unrestricted community informed by charitable relations between the rich and poor, may be dated too late. Brown had noted that this revolution "could only come to the fore ... when the ancient 'civic' sense of community was weakened," and he dated it to the period 300–600 CE (Brown 2002, 5–6; Zuiderhoek 2009, 156–159). Zuiderhoek considers whether this imaginative shift may have occurred earlier, in the mid-third century, the period seeing a decline in civic munificence. And he muses whether Christian ideology, as well as the changing economic situation, may have contributed to the falloff in both civic benefaction and epigraphic activity in the third century.

Zuiderhoek's speculation seems plausible that the imaginative shift, making the poor an integral part of a community's social template, began earlier than the fourth century. In his recent magisterial study of the role of wealth in the making of Christianity, Brown explicitly emphasizes the long tradition of Jewish and Christian concern for the poor as a group in need of support and its refashioning in late antiquity (2012, 528–530). In the early imperial era, some Christians may indeed have made up the "disaffected group" suggested but discounted by Zuiderhoek that helped to refigure the illusory civic ideal of community that elite munificence attempted to support.

Before turning to the Christian fictions and their refigured vision of a civic community attentive to the claims of the poor, I will briefly review how much this perspective differs from that of the contemporary polytheistic novels. Like elite munificence, the early Greek and Latin narrative fictions also functioned to legitimize the elite's superior position. All the extant novels except the incomplete *Satyrica* share a similar plot, described by William Fitzgerald as "a story of deracination and restoration" (2000, 95). They feature elite protagonists uprooted from their privileged lives and forced to experience hardships and social privations. By each narrative's conclusion, however, all the protagonists have regained their status as wealthy and honored individuals. This reiterated plot serves to validate the contemporary social hierarchy. Those at the top must obviously deserve their place, for unlike common people, no matter what disasters or adversities befall them, they always regain their prosperous and happy lives in the end (cf. Perkins 1995, 57–58; and 2009, 72–84, on the upper-stratum perspective in the Greek romances).

As part of their elite perspective, the novels also tend to offer a rather hazy picture of the non-elite, displaying little interest in or

sympathy for their actual circumstances or attitudes (see Scarcella 1977, 2003, on the novels' representation of social and economic groups; and Whitmarsh 2008, 72–87, on class in the novel; Whitmarsh notes that novels tend to reflect upper-class values, although the *Satyricon* complicates the reading of class in its narrative). Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* has been offered as an exception.¹ Fergus Millar (1981, 65), for example, comments on Apuleius' depiction of the emaciated, ragged men toiling at a wheat mill (*Met.* 9.13): "It is undeniable that the novel expresses a rare and distinctive level of sympathy with the working lives of the poor" (cf. Greene 2008, 184: "Lucius' moralistic reaction to the pitiable condition of man stands out prominently from an otherwise fictional story in the mill scene especially."). This sort of reaction to Apuleius' novel seems to me anachronistic, colored by the shift in the social imagination identified by Brown, rather than based on textual support. Contemporary readers more likely reacted to the depictions of the harsh life experienced by Lucius and the others working at the mill not with sympathy, but with gratitude that they did not share their position. This is the sort of joyous relief that infuses the endings of the Greek adventure romances. In Xenophon's romance, for example, the beautiful hero and heroine have endured real hardships, including slavery, torture, near crucifixion, and sexual consignment to a goatherd, among other tribulations. When the couple finally returns to Ephesus, they immediately dedicate themselves to a festive life free from cares (5.15.3):

καὶ [τὴν] γραφὴν τῇ θεῷ ἀνέθεσαν πάντα ὅσα τε ἔπαθον καὶ ὅσα ἔδρασαν...καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ διήγον ἐορτὴν ἄγοντες τὸν μετ' ἀλλήλων βίον (They set up an inscription to Artemis recounting all that they suffered and experienced...and they lived the rest of their life together as one long holiday.)²

The tenor of this conclusion with its anticipation of the couple's long and happy lives puts their past sufferings decisively behind them and seems to open little space for identification with those who regularly suffer adversities. The whole point of the novel's plot is to impress that hardships are for other people, not for the elite protagonists. And, although the Isiac conversion has complicated readings of the conclusion of Apuleius' novel, there is no doubt that its protagonist, like the heroes and heroines of the Greek novels, in the end reclaims a prosperous and even enviable style of life as a devotee of Isis and Osiris and a wealthy Roman advocate who indicates no concern for those "others" still enduring social sufferings.³

Niall Slater provides the proper frame for interpreting Apuleius' depiction of the social suffering at the mill. He suggests (2008, 235) that insufficient attention has been paid to Apuleius' decision to write

a narrative that takes both its plot and its narrator from an earlier text and refigures these to his own ends. Apuleius apparently derived the basic form of his narrative from the lost *Metamorphoseis* of Lukios of Petrai described by Photios (see Mason 1994; 1999a; 1999b for a discussion of the relation of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* to the extant *Onos* and the lost *Metamorphoseis* described by Photios). And since the extant *Onos*, an epitome of the *Metamorphoseis*, includes a brief scene of Lukios the ass working with other animals at a mill, and the *Onos* does not appear to supplement the *Metamorphoseis*, it is safe to assume that Apuleius appropriated his mill scene from his model (Hall 1995, 48).

By so fashioning his narrative, Apuleius firmly situates himself in the mimetic and competitive culture of the contemporary Second Sophistic rhetorical culture (see Harrison 2000 for Apuleius as sophist). Second Sophistic orators regularly appropriated the persona and themes of earlier orators for their declamations in order to showcase their proficiency and match themselves against renowned orators from the past. These imitations were not intended to be mechanical, but creative and competitive, expanding and redirecting their models (Webb 2006). Working off his model, Apuleius has created a pathetic and moving description of the animals and humans onerously toiling at the flourmill. He describes the human workers (*Met.* 9.12.3–4)4:

Dii boni, quales illic homunculi vibicibus lividis totam cutem depicti dorsumque plagosum scissili centunculo magis inumbrati quam obtecti, nonnulli exiguo tegili tantum modo pubem iniecti, cuncti tamen sic tunicati ut essent per pannulos manifesti, frontes litterati et capillum semirasi et pedes anulati. (Good gods. What poor creatures were there! Their skin was completely painted with livid welts and their beaten backs shaded, rather than covered by a torn patchwork. Some had thrown on a tiny cloth that just covered their groin, but all were dressed so that their bodies were visible through their rags. Their foreheads were tattooed, their heads half-shaved, their feet shackled.)

E.J. Kenney (2003, 161) identifies this passage as an example of a favorite Sophistic rhetorical figure, a vivid description conjuring up a scene in the mind's eye, the *ecphrasis* (see also Webb 2009, 2).

Although the nature of the mill scene in the *Metamorphoseis* is not recoverable, the scene in the *Onos* (42) is brief and lacks a description of the humans working at the mill. Apuleius may well have added this dimension for its potential to allow him to craft a scene more vivid and poignant than his model. Rather than being motivated by a special sympathy for the wretched workers, the pathetic depiction

allows him to strut his artistic skill and take his model in new emotional directions. The text itself supports this kind of motivation for the episode. As Kenney has delineated, the narrative specifically calls attention to an artistic impetus for this episode. Lucius describes how, although he was exhausted and nearly starving, he was overcome by his habitual curiosity (*familiari curiositate attonitus*) and ignored his food in order to observe with “a certain pleasure the regimen of the terrible workplace” (*inoptabilis officinae disciplinam cum delectatione quadam arbitrabar*; 9.12.2). The pleasure felt by Lucius appears to be that of the artist suddenly inspired (*attonitus*) by a scene worthy of “every colour in his rhetorical palette” (Kenney 2003, 161). That the focus in this scene is on artistic achievement emerges even more clearly when Lucius, fearing that he may die at the mill, consoles himself by recalling what he had gained from his wretched experiences as an ass: he had been able to satisfy his curiosity because everyone acted and spoke freely in his presence (cf. *Met.* 9.15).

Next, Lucius turns to Homer and his assessment of Odysseus, and then, for the only time in the novel, Lucius/narrator as a human reflects on his difficult period as an ass and what he learned from the experience (Kenney 2003, 160, 161–163; I paraphrase Kenney’s persuasive argument here based on his analysis of *Met.* 9.13.3–5):

Nec inmerito priscae poeticae divinus auctor apud Graios summae prudentiae virum monstrare cupiens multarum civitatum obitu et variorum populorum cognitu summas adeptum virtutes cecinit. Nam et ipse gratas gratias asino meo memini, quod me suo celatum tegmine variisque fortunis exercitatum, etsi minus prudentem, multiscium reddidit. (*Met.* 9.13.4–5) (Very rightly did the divine originator of the ancient Greek poetry, when he wished to define a consummately wise man, sing of one who attained supreme virtue by visiting many cities and acquainting himself with many peoples. Speaking for myself, I am devoutly grateful to the ass that I once was, for it was he, when I was concealed under his hide and was buffeted by so many tribulations, who rendered me, no wiser, I must admit, but very widely informed. [translation from Kenney 2003])

The author Lucius breaks into his narrative here and expresses his gratitude for the many turns of fortune that he experienced while concealed in his ass body that enabled him to be, “no wiser ... but very widely informed.” *Multiscium* is a word unique to Apuleius, who uses it five times, and in every case, as Kenney notes, the emphasis is on a “polymathy” related to cultural or artistic activities.⁵ The narrator/author Lucius is explicit here about his life as an ass and what he learned from it—it was all material, “grist to his literary mill”

(Kenney 2003, 161).⁶ His sufferings as an ass provided him with a multifarious experience of the world and its doings that he can draw upon to delight his readers. He admits he did not become wiser or more moral, but he did see and hear numerous things to enliven his art. Lucius consoles himself for his time at the mill because it has allowed him to craft such an affecting picture and exhibit his verbal virtuosity. Kenney (2003, 163), I believe, correctly identifies this Lucius *auctor* with Apuleius *auctor* and Sophist. And neither author appears as concerned with the tragic figures doing their rounds at the mill as they are with the literary hay they can make of them.

Elizabeth Greene contests Kenney's position that the major focus of the mill scene is artistic achievement and stylistic panache. She holds that Lucius offers a "moralistic reaction" to the human degradation he sees at the mill, and she argues for a dual reading of the passage, one that combines "pure entertainment" and a sense of "social criticism" (2008, 184, 181; Greene wishes to locate the *Metamorphoses* within the satirical traditions; for the problems of using satire for social *realia*, see Braund 1989 and Woolf 2006). It would be easier to accept this mill scene as having serious social overtones if Apuleius did not specifically appear to play with it in ways that undercut its poignancy. In an acute reading, William Fitzgerald (2000, 107–109) shows how Apuleius crafts an intertextual relationship between the description of the miserable toilers at the mill and Lucius' seduction of Fotis, the slave girl, to the point that the mill slaves offer a "hideous parody" of the seduction scene. Fitzgerald points to the emphasis on clothes and circular motions in both scenes. When Lucius comes upon Fotis making dinner, he describes her neat attire with a red band pulling up and accentuating her nipples (*pupillas*) as she turns her cooking dish in circles (*vasculum ... rotabat in circulum*), shaking it in a circular motion (*in orbis flexibus*) while also sinuously moving her body (2.7.3–5). Lucius addresses the girl: "How charmingly, I said, my Photis, you turn your little pot with your ass" (*Quam pulchre, quamque festive, inquam Photis mea, ollulam istam cum natibus intorques; Met. 2.7, 5*).⁷ The vocabulary and imagery in this scene link Fotis' cooking undulations with the toil at the mill, where Lucius first notices the animals turning (*intorquebant*) massive millstones in repetitive circles (*multivii circuitus*, *Met. 9.11.1*). Lucius himself experiences these endless circles of the onerous work (*ut in orbe termini circumfluentis 9.11.3*). That Apuleius plays with and parodies the mill workers' experiences by verbally juxtaposing their hard labor, beaten backs, and exposed bodies with Fotis' sexy red ribbon, accentuated breasts, and provocative movements complicates reading this passage as a social critique. While Apuleius takes his theme from his Greek model, he recasts it to showcase his ludic talent and artistry. Real sympathy

for or identification with the mill workers would seem to be undercut by such literary play.

Apuleius' lack of concern for the lives of the destitute is not an anomaly, however, but reflects the cultural norm. As Anneliese Parkin states (2006, 61), "Elite writers are simply not interested in the dregs of their society and their survival mechanisms." Parkin makes this statement in her project to contest Paul Veyne's assertion that "[Ancient] paganism had abandoned without much remorse the 'starving, the old and the sick'" (2006, 70, citing Veyne 1990, 3). She finds evidence for pagan almsgiving, but primarily by the non-elite. In making her case for some pagan almsgiving, Parkin also confirms the elite's essential separation and detachment from the destitute. The "really" poor existed outside the lens of polytheistic ancient literature, off to the side, ignored. When the elite speak of poverty, they usually appear to be referring to some sort of lack of wealth, not penury (Woolf 2006, 92–94). In the period's culture of munificence and steep stratification of wealth, it was easy for even the well-off to feel poor (Hopkins 1998, 211). In his *Apology*, Apuleius, for example, insists that his poverty (*pauperitas*) is real (*Apol.* 19). And he praises the poverty of some of the early Roman generals as shown by their few slaves (*Apol.* 17; see McCreight 2008 with references for Apuleius' *Laus Pauperatis*). His philosophical framing of riches and poverty further evidences how far elite conceptions of poverty are from the realities of the destitute poor:

namque is plurimum habebit, qui minimum desiderabit; habebit enim quantum volet qui uolet minimum. (*Apol.* 20) (For whoever desires least will possess most, since you have what you want, if what you want is only little. [translation from Hunink 1997])

That Apuleius can frame poverty in terms of a modulation of desires and that he describes himself as poor, although he has shared in a sizable inheritance with his brother and acquired an expensive education (*Apol.* 23), indicates how profoundly the realities of abject poverty fail to register in the elite thought world.

The five major apocryphal *Acts* of the apostles, the *Acts of Paul*, *Acts of Peter*, *Acts of John*, *Acts of Andrew*, and *Acts of Thomas*—Christian prose fictions written likely between the mid-second and the first quarter of the third century—share motifs and themes with the ancient novels (see Söder 1932 for shared motifs, and Bremmer 2001b for chronology; see Bowie 2002 for the chronology of the early Greek novels; he places all of these in the first centuries CE). In these narratives, however, the poor and their needs are a central focus.⁸ The *Acts* all present a model for a more integrated multi-status community with an imperative for the wealthy to support and care for

the poor. They also feature episodes showing the high civic elite, persons who would typically have been euergetists, making large gifts to support the community's poor (Finn 2006, 130). The emphasis in these narratives on the elite's learning to attend to the poor functions as a simile, I suggest, for a desire that the imperial elite attend to and have more interaction with all those below them in general, not just the down-and-out. In the apocryphal *Acts*, the "poor" are more an occasion for generosity and shared social commitment than subjects. Except for the apostle, the poor in the *Acts* remain as objectified as they were in the romances.⁹ Rather, the construction of the poor in these narratives offers a means for unifying a more status-integrated community that downplays prestige as the prime criteria of worth. This may have had particular appeal for the artisans, tradesmen, and merchants who are suggested as early converts to Christianity and whose economic status was improving in the early centuries CE.¹⁰ Andrew Jacobs has pointed the way to my reading of the *Acts* as imagining and championing a refashioned social community. He delineates how frequently in the *Acts* an elite conjugal couple, functioning as a "microcosm of the (aristocratic) society," is subsumed within a common Christian kinship group led by the apostle (1999, 132; he also emphasizes how often this group is presented as a kinship [*sungeneia*] group; I interpret this emphasis on kinship to metaphorically indicate the social community). The *Acts of John*, written likely in the mid-second century, already deploys the ideal of a community comprising mixed statuses joined together to succor the needy.¹¹ This incomplete text opens *in medias res* when the apostle John, prompted by a vision, goes to Ephesus to heal the wife of Lycomedes, who the text stipulates is the powerful praetor of the Ephesians (19.1). When Lycomedes takes John to Cleopatra's sickbed, he becomes so distraught at her condition that he falls to the ground lifeless (ἄνους) (21.18). At this turn of events, John first fears for his own life but quickly realizes that many Ephesians will convert if the couple can be raised up. He prays to the Lord, "O physician who heals for nothing" (22.5), and emphasizes that he desires not riches but just to raise the couple for the conversion of many (22.13–14). The apostle minimizes the power of wealth. After Lycomedes and Cleopatra are resurrected, they beg the apostle to remain with them until he finally agrees (25). Crowds gather into Lycomedes' home to hear John preach (26.1). In this vignette, powerful and prestigious persons are depicted as begging to live in community with those of lower status. These sorts of mixed-status communities are highlighted throughout the *Acts*. John also preaches and raises up a dead priest of Artemis in Andronicus' house (46.1). Earlier in the narrative, Andronicus had been described as "a praetor (στρατηγός) and a leading citizen of

Ephesus” (31.7).

The cultural construction of the poor as a crucial social category is well under way in the *Acts of John*. John sets out with Cleopatra and Lycomedes to care for the old women of the city. He is appalled when he learns that so many of these are in poor health (see Krause 1995 for widows in Christianity). He chastises the Ephesians: “Oh, what slackness of those living in Ephesus. What a collapse, what a weakness toward God” (Ὁ ἀτονία τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ οἰκούντων· ὦ πράγματα ἐκλελυμένα καὶ ἀσθένεια ἢ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, 30.9–11). He directs that all the sick women be brought to the theater to be healed. At the theater, John offers a speech indicting the Ephesians for their love of riches, their pride in their beauty, their arrogance, their delight in gold, ivory, jewels, and soft clothing—in essence, for their wealth (35–36). John’s message includes a warning (35.5–8):

ὁ δὲ τοῖς δεομένοις μὴ κοινωνῶν, ἔχων δὲ χρήματα ἀπόθεται,
ἀπαλλαγείς τοῦ σώματος τούτου καὶ δεόμενός τινος ἐλέους
ἐν πυρὶ
φλεγόμενος οὐχ ἔξει τὸν ἐλεοῦντα.

(You who give nothing to the needy, although you have money put away, when you depart from this body and are burning in the fire, begging for mercy, will have no one to pity you.)

John then heals all the old women. This episode demonstrates that Christian discourse by the mid-second century was already refiguring the social imagination to include the needy. The narrative represents John’s gathering the city’s poor, sick women into the Ephesian theater and making a veritable civic spectacle of them (32). He literally thrusts the needy onto center stage. This scene articulates the basic elements of Christian redemptive almsgiving (cf. Garrison 1993). By providing alms to the needy, donors will obtain favor and mercy for themselves in the next world. The popular *Shepherd of Hermas*, written likely around the same period as the *Acts of John*, articulates this same role for the poor: “For the poor person is rich in his petition and confession and his petition has great effect before God” (*Sim.* 2.5–6).¹² The prayers of the needy will count with God in the donor’s favor at the Judgment. (The Christian Scriptures also emphasize care for the poor; in the early second century, the form of these documents was still evolving. The *Acts of Paul*, the *Acts of Peter*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas* also were included in some lists of the books accepted as scriptural into the fourth century [Metzger 1987, 165–189].)

This exchange described in the *Acts of John* and the *Shepherd* appears to conform to the “semiotics of patronage.” Patrons give to forge a relationship of gratitude; they expected something in return (Parkin 2006, 62). This is also the semiotics of civic munificence.

Traditionally, the truly impoverished were excluded from the patronage system and from the city's self-representation and self-understanding of itself, because they had nothing with which to reciprocate (Brown 1992, 84; Woolf 2006, 85). In John's public exhibition of the poor, as in the *Shepherd*, however, a place is made for the abject poor within a refigured reciprocity system underwritten not by the city, but by the Christian community. This realigned patronage system would lay the financial foundation for the institutionalization of Christianity and its continued flourishing.

In the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, a wealthy and well-connected woman, Tryphaena of Antioch, a relative of the emperor (36:263.3), also is depicted as a Christian benefactor. After Thecla survives her trials in the arena, Tryphaena assigns to her all her possessions and listens to the word of God (39:265.5–6). Even after Thecla leaves Antioch, Tryphaena continues to act as a Christian donor. She sends clothing and gold to Thecla so that she can “leave many things to Paul for the service of the poor” (41:267.6–8).¹³

Members of the imperial elite are also a focus in the *Acts of Peter*, where Marcellus, a Roman senator, plays a central role.¹⁴ Paul converts Marcellus, and the senator becomes such a generous supporter of the poor that the emperor warns he will never appoint Marcellus to an office, “lest you exploit the provinces to benefit the Christians” (8.55.5–6). After Paul's departure, however, induced by Simon Magus, Marcellus abandons Christianity. The narrative emphasizes the close nexus linking faith to charitable giving (Misset-van de Weg 1998). When Marcellus renounces his faith, he also renounces his charity; he beats off with a stick anyone coming to his door for alms (*Marcellum omnes pauperi patronum vocabant; cuius domus peregrinorum et pauperorum vocabulum habebat*; 8.55.17). When Peter arrives in Rome, the Christian community begs him to show mercy to Marcellus. They extol the senator's former charity, “All the poor called Marcellus their patron and his house was called (the house) of pilgrims and the poor” (8.55.3–4). When the senator reconverts, he immediately resumes his former generosity. He informs Peter, “And now, most blessed man, I have told the widows and the aged to meet you in my house ... that they may pray with us and each of them will be given a piece of gold (*singulos aureos*) on account of their service” (19:66.13–15).

An early episode in the *Acts of Thomas* also represents the apostle creating a community that joins together elite and understratum as believers. In the narrative's second episode, an Indian king Gundaphorus and his brother Gad become Christians in another scene that displays a Christian enterprise to reframe the traditional patronage system to include the destitute. When the apostle Judas

Thomas, the twin brother of Jesus, arrives in India enslaved and working as a carpenter, King Gundaphorus hires the apostle to build a palace (πραιτώριον) for him (see Hilhorst 2001 and Ries 1987 on this episode).

To pay for the project, the king gives the apostle considerable money, which Thomas gives to the poor (πένησιν) and needy (τεθλιμμένοις; 19:128.6–7). In time, reports reach the king that Thomas has not built anything but only “gives to the poor, teaches a new God, heals the sick, drives out demons, and performs many miracles” (καὶ εἴ τι ἔχει πάντα δίδωσι τοῖς πένησι, καὶ διδάσκει θεὸν νέον ἕνα, καὶ νοσοῦντας θεραπεύει καὶ δαίμονας ἀπελαύνει καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ποιεῖ παράδοξα, *Act. Thom.* 20:131.1–2). The outraged king sends Thomas off to prison to be killed. That night, however, the king’s brother Gad dies and is taken to heaven, where angels show him a magnificent building. He learns that it belongs to his brother. He is told that Thomas built the mansion for Gundaphorus. Gad is allowed to return to earth to try to persuade the king to sell him the palace. When the king hears Gad’s request, he realizes that he has received the eternal benefits (αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν) that Thomas promised him. He releases the apostle and asks him to intercede with Jesus for him, so he may learn to become worthy of his heavenly home (24:138.11–12).

This episode displays Gundaphorus learning that, by distributing to the needy on earth, he earns a payoff in heaven. In return for their gifts, the poor provide donors with the opportunity for redemption and divine reward. Gad and Gundaphorus continue to follow Thomas and are described as “never leaving him and supplying the needy, giving to all and relieving all” (26:141.12–13.). The episode ends with the brothers asking to receive from Thomas the seal (σφραγίς), that is, to partake in the rites of incorporation and join the Christian community. Divine approval sanctions the brothers’ membership in the community. During their sealing ceremonies, a voice from heaven is heard, and a young man (the Lord) appears, holding a bright torch (27:142–143). The narrative also notes that not only the royal brothers but also many other believers were added to the community on this occasion (27:143.14). The *Acts* configure a status-eclectic Christian community of all those who believe in Thomas’ message.

By the second century, Christian fictive narratives already were offering a realigned “civic ideal” to replace the one attenuated by the growing stratification of the imperial state. In the *Acts*, “fellow believers” replicate the commonality of “fellow citizens” to forge a unified community across status lines (intrinsic inequalities likely inform every polity, even the classical Greek city, but the “veil of power” was increasingly tattered in the Roman east in the early

centuries CE). At one level, the depictions of Roman senators, wealthy civic magistrates, and Indian royalty joining Christian communities suggest a desire by the *Acts*' authors and readers for a more status-inclusive notion of community—a multi-status model more in line with the traditional civic ideal. At the same time, the Christian fictions also appear to aim their appeal to a specific social conglomerate taking shape in the early imperial period, an emerging group of newly wealthier non-elite that included traders, manufacturers, and artisans.

Recent economic studies propose that the early imperial period, likely as the result of imperialism, experienced an overall increase in per capita income and standard of living.¹⁵ Dennis Kehoe (2007) submits that this economic growth would have allowed significant numbers of non-elite persons to experience an increase in wealth during the period. Kehoe notes, however, that it is unlikely that these non-elite entrepreneurs ever achieved sufficient position to rival the “political and social ascendancy of the landowning elite” (2007, 569). The strict social divisions in early imperial society between the elite and the others, between the *honestiores* and the *humiliores*, was premised on style of life, education, and high status—criteria that acted as a check on the social and political ambitions of even wealthy non-elite.

Christian fictions, in contrast, provide a vehicle for some members of a newly wealthier under-elite to envision themselves as the equivalent of the elite euergetists in their communities. The apocryphal *Acts* represent the high elite—senators, magistrates, royalty—learning to perform roles that coincide exactly with those that wealthy Christians were called upon to enact in their communities: opening their houses and purses to the poor and needy. I argue that the *Acts*, by conflating in their narratives elite donors and Christian behaviors, permitted early Christian benefactors to understand (and romanticize) themselves and their actions as similar to elite benefactors and their gifts.

The popular *Shepherd of Hermas* points to both the presence of wealthy Christian businesspersons and the vigorous promotion expended to entice them to perform charitable acts (both Irenaeus *Ad. Haer.* 4.20.2 and Origen *Comm. in Rom.* 10.31 speak respectfully of this text, with Origen even saying it was “divinely inspired”). The *Shepherd's* depiction of Christians as often harassed and distracted by business affairs suggests their involvement in the risky economic undertakings of the entrepreneurial class. The narrative, for example, frequently refers to Hermas' failings on account of being focused on business matters (*Vis.* 2.3.1; 7) (see Osiek 1983, 39–45, for a list of all references to wealth and poverty and business distractions). It also describes other Christians as so devoted to their business that they are

not properly committed to the community (*Sim.* 8.8.1; 74). Even more culpable are the Christians who lose any opportunity for repentance because they were so worried about their businesses that they blasphemed and denied the Lord (*Sim.* 8.8.2; 74). However, some of the Christians described as doing “lawless works” because of their over-involvement in business are more fortunate. The narrative notes that they never actually fell away from God because they “bore his name gladly and gladly welcomed the slaves of God into their homes” (*Sim.* 8.10.2–3; 76; Maier 2002, 61, argues for this comment being interpreted in the context of *Sim.* 8.9.3; 75.3 and its reference to business harassments). Again, good works are shown to redeem flawed behaviors. Peter Lampe suggests that a motivation for the *Shepherd’s* theme of allowing for a single post-baptismal repentance may have been financial: “the reintegration of the secularized wealthy into the active church life, so that financial resources for the care of the Christian poor will again flow” (2003, 94).

The *Shepherd of Hermas* warns its Christian audience that if they wish to prepare houses and goods for the future life, they must use their wealth not for earthly possessions, but to purchase afflicted souls and take care of widows and orphans (*Sim.* 1.8; 50). This is the same lesson that Gundaphorus was made to learn in the *Acts of Thomas*. The shepherd explains that this is why God makes Christians wealthy—to care for the afflicted and poor. Then, in a passage that seems to invoke (as it redirects) the context of civic munificence, the shepherd praises Christian charity as a good kind of extravagance (Wudel 2004, 44; Lipsett 2011). *Sim.* 1.10–11; 50):

αὕτη ἡ πολυτέλεια καλὴ καὶ ἰλαρά, λύπην μὴ ἔχουσα μηδὲ φόβον, ἔχουσα δὲ χαράν. τὴν οὖν πολυτέλειαν τῶν ἐθνῶν μὴ πράσσετε· ἀσύμφορον γάρ ἐστιν ὑμῖν τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ· τὴν δὲ ἰδίαν πολυτέλειαν πράσσετε, ἐν ᾗ δύνασθε χαρῆναι. (This kind of extravagance is good and makes one glad; it has no grief or fear, but joy instead. And so, do not participate in the extravagance sought by outsiders; for it is of no profit to you who are slaves of God. But participate in your own extravagance in which you can rejoice. [translation from Ehrman 2003])

Here the narrative appears explicitly to position Christian almsgiving as an alternative to elite munificence, just as the apocryphal *Acts* do when they depict the civic elite exchanging civic munificence for Christian charity. In the hierarchical society of the early imperial period, this representation of wealthy Christian almsgivers as the equivalent of elite benefactors might have had valence with the rich traders and merchants excluded from the social and political mechanics of civic munificence. The apocryphal *Acts* of the apostles

should be recognized as texts not only helping to enlarge the social imagination to include the poor, but also specifically aimed at recruiting and affirming Christian donors. As the prose fiction form evolved in the early imperial period, one of its roles seems to have been to allow different social constituencies to project their social vision. The apocryphal Acts offer a template for a reordered civic ideal: a multi-status community of fellow believers unified around a common agenda, the care of the poor and afflicted. This agenda would provide the basis for the institutionalization of Christianity and for its growth.

Notes

- 1 Hall 1995, 49, suggests that the Greek *Onos* presents a realistic depiction of the understratum's situation, but she recognizes that the narrative projects a social "double vision." The narrator as ass, in his "unfreedom and subjection," shares the perspective of the "dregs of society," but this perspective is "counter-posed to his unrelenting social snobbery and unquestioning allegiance to the ruling class."
- 2 When not otherwise attributed, translations are mine.
- 3 *Met.* 11.30. *Liberali deum providentia iam stipendiis forensibus bellule fotum..., incunctanter gloriosa in foro redderem patrocina, nec extimescerem malevolorum disseminationes, quas studiorum meorum laboriosa doctrina ibidem exciverat.* ("had I not through the generous providence of the gods prospered by my forensic practice ... [and Osiris bid] that I continue as now to win fame as an advocate in the courts and not fear the slanders of malevolent persons aroused there by my industrious learning and studies"). See Shelton 2005, 328, for Lucius' undeviating commitment to a hierarchical system that privileges elite men, and for the Isiac cult as replicating a similar hierarchy. Alvares 2007, 7, also sees Lucius as retaining the viewpoint of his class and status throughout the narrative and showing support for the Roman imperium. Finkelpearl 2006, 2007, argues for a more critical stance toward Rome being displayed in the narrative.
- 4 I borrow from Helm's text (1959) and citations that use Robertson and Villette's (1940) text divisions.
- 5 Kenney 2003, 162. *Multiscium* occurs here in the *Metamorphoses* (9.13), once in the *Apology* referring to Homer (31), and three times in the *Florida* (for Apollo, 3.9; for Hippias, 9.15; for Protagoras, 18.19).
- 6 Kenney 2003, 168–78, examines the meaning of *prudentem* and

understands *multiscium* and *prudentem* as “antithetical, opposing the sophist to the philosopher.” Also, he reads *minus prudentem* to mean Lucius was saying he was “no wiser.” Kenney agrees with Winkler that Lucius’ lack of wisdom continues even after his conversion and up to the time of his writing: “His experiences have not profited him morally” (176).

7 Freudenburg 2007, 247, points to the explicit sexiness of the viewing in this scene. In the Greek romances, “the lover’s eyes are usually set much higher on the beloved’s frame, especially on the eyes and face.” Lucius, however, details “everything he sees from ‘nipples’ (*papillae*) to ‘ass’ (*nates*).” See Morales 2004 for the politics of viewing in Achilles Tatius and the importance of vision and its constitution in the wider culture of the Second Sophistic.

8 I omit the *Acts of Andrew* from my survey, although Stratocles’ disavowal of his wealth would support my argument until I sort out the questions raised by Roig Lanzillotta 2007 on the various chronological strata of the text.

9 Hence, Holman 2001, 54, describes the recipients of alms in the redemptive almsgiving model as “essentially symbols, their bodies representing holy containers by which the *donor* may be lifted up to God” (emphasis in source).

10 See Meeks 1983, 51–73, for converts. See Kehoe 2007 and Jongman 2009 on economic growth in the early imperial period. See Scheidel 2006 for a sizable number of persons with financial resources falling outside the *honestiores*. Longenecker 2009 provides a helpful model for mapping economic gradations in the early empire, moving away from the binary-model rich and poor and suggesting a sizable middle between the extremes. I am grateful to David Downs for sharing with me his paper on almsgiving given at the Rome International SBL 2009 (Downs 2011), which focused on almsgiving and economic stratification in 2 *Clement*, and which pointed me to studies of poverty and wealth in the New Testament.

11 There is some dispute about the dating of *Acts of John*. Junod and Kaestli 1983, 695, place it in the later second century, but Bremmer 2001b and Lalleman 1998, 270, suggest the second quarter of the second century. Junod and Kaestli’s text is used, and my translations of all the apocryphal *Acts* in this paper are from Schneemelcher and Wilson 1992, with some modifications.

12 ὁ πένης πλούσιός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ἐντεύξει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξομολογήσει, καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχει παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἢ ἐντεύξας αὐτοῦ (51 *Sim.* 2.5). For the *Shepherd*, I cite Ehrman’s 2003 Loeb text and his translation, and follow his decision to use both the traditional citation method indicating visions, commandments, and

parables and Whittaker's 1967 consecutive numbering. The *Shepherd* is usually located in first half of the second century (Osiek 1999, 18–20), but see Maier 2002, 58, for a date near the end of the first century. For a discussion of rich and poor in Hermas, see Osiek 1983 and Lampe 2003, 90–9.

13 ἡ μὲν οὖν Τρύφαινα πολὺν ἱματισμὸν καὶ χρυσὸν ἔπεμψεν αὐτῇ, ὥστε καταλιπεῖν τῷ Παύλῳ εἰς διακονίαν τῶν πτωχῶν (41). The *Acts of Paul* is usually dated to the late second century. The Lipsius-Bonnet text is used. The *Acts* includes evidence for some non-elite benefaction. Paul is described as selling his clothes to buy bread for Onesiphorus' children (23).

14 Much of the *Acts of Peter* survives only in a single Latin manuscript (*Actus Vercellenses*). This translation appears to have been made in the fourth century from a Greek text of the late second century. Baldwin 2005 argues against the notion of a written *Acts of Peter* on the scope of the *Actus Vercellenses* before the mid-third century. See Spittler 2008, 126–30, for a synopsis of the textual questions and dating of the *Acts of Peter*. I use the text from Lipsius and Bonnet 1891.

15 Willem Jongman 2009, 124, enumerates the underpinnings for this perspective that sees evidence for a “dramatic” growth in economic activity, exceeding what might be expected from population increases alone. More shipwrecks and metal pollution in the Greenland ice core point to more shipping and smelting of metals. Increased building, meat-eating, fish sauce consumption, and human body size round out the evidence for real economic growth during the period. See also Jongman 2007 with citations to his earlier work. See Bang 2007 and 2008 for other articulations of the benefits of empire in the early period.

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CHAPTER 35

The Poetics of Old Wives' Tales, or Apuleius and the Philosophical Novel

Stefan Tilg

Introduction: The Narrative Situation

Although the long story of *Cupid and Psyche* told in the middle of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* has attracted a great deal of scholarship (see Kenney 1990; Zimmerman et al. 2004; Binder and Merkelbach 1968; Zimmerman et al. 1998; Walsh 1970, 190–223), comparatively little work has been devoted to the narrator of this tale, an anonymous old woman running the household of a robber band. Apart from some general studies of the topos of old wives' tales, only van Mal-Maeder and Zimmerman (1998) and Graverini (2006; 2007, 105–132) have discussed her role in greater detail. Van-Mal Maeder and Zimmerman give a narratological analysis in which they unravel the various “voices” in the old woman's discourse. Graverini looks into the function of the old woman narrator in Apuleius' larger literary rationale, and this is the direction that my own study will follow. Kenaan (2000) also provides some discussion, but focuses more generally on later readings of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* in literal and allegorical terms (with the literal readings often being associated with the uneducated old woman narrator).

Only the barest outline of the events preceding the appearance of the old woman narrator is needed here. After Lucius, the protagonist of the *Metamorphoses*, has by mistake been transformed into an ass, the house of his host is attacked by a band of robbers. Lucius the ass

falls into their hands and is taken as a pack animal to their hideout in the mountains (4.5). Following an elaborate description of the robber's den, the old woman has her first appearance and is introduced as their housekeeper (4.7). However, the heap of abuse that they yell at her makes clear that she is not held in high regard:¹

etiam ne tu, busti cadaver extremum et vitae dedecus primum et
Orci fastidium solum, sic nobis otiosa domi residens lusitabis nec
nostris tam magnis tamque periculosis laboribus solacium de tam
sera refectione tribues? quae diebus ac noctibus nil quicquam rei
quam merum saevienti ventri tuo soles aviditer ingurgitare.
(4.7.2) (You last corpse on the funeral pyre, life's foremost
disgrace and Orcus' sole reject! Are you just going to sit idly
amusing yourself at home all day, and not offer us some late-
evening refreshment after all our dangerous labours? Day and
night all you do is greedily pour strong drink into your insatiable
belly.)

At first sight, the robbers' scorn suggests that their housekeeper really neglects her duties, but this idea turns out to be no more than tough robber's talk. In fact, the old woman is well prepared and presents them with every comfort from a lavish meal to a hot bath. At no point in the story is there any doubt about the housekeeper's loyalty to "her" robbers. Their low opinion of her derives rather from her old age (artfully paraphrased in the expletives *busti cadaver extremum et vitae dedecus primum et Orci fastidium solum*) and her predilection for wine (*quae diebus ac noctibus nil quicquam rei quam merum saevienti ventri tuo soles aviditer ingurgitare*). Her old age is also pointed out earlier by the narrator, Lucius, as he introduces her to the reader (4.7.1: *anum quandam curvatam gravi senio ... compellant*: "they accosted an old woman, bent with extreme age"). From the very beginning, then, there is a strong, not to say grotesque, focus on the old woman's age and her drunkenness—a stark contrast to the beautiful fairytale that she is going to tell.

Nevertheless, back to the events: the robbers are joined by other members of their band, and Lucius overhears a number of stories they tell each other. After that, they make another plundering raid (4.22.5) and return with a beautiful young girl, abducted from her family to extort a ransom (4.23.2–5; the name of the girl, Charite, is revealed only after the story of Cupid and Psyche, in 7.12.2). Since Charite is inconsolable and keeps weeping, they instruct their housekeeper to comfort her. Waking up from a nightmare, Charite tells the old woman the story of her calamity (4.26.3–8): shortly after her marriage, she was abducted by the robbers and separated from her husband, whom she had just married; her mother's hope for

(grand)children (4.26.6) came to nothing. Now she has relived this experience in that nightmare (recounted in 4.27.1–4), in which her husband was even killed by the bandits. In response to this, the old woman first briefly explains that dreams often turn out to be false (4.27.5–7). The real remedy for Charite’s distress, however, is her narration of the story of Cupid and Psyche, which is introduced as follows: *sed ego te narrationibus lepidis anilibusque fabulis protinus avocabo* (“But right now I shall divert you with a pretty story and old wives’ tales”; 4.27.8) (Hanson 1989, unlike most translators, prefers “an old wife’s tale,” which does not clearly bring out the proverbial use of *aniles fabulae* in Latin literature, on which see more in the following text). Lucius makes a similar comment when the old woman has finished her story:

Sic captivae puellae delira et temulenta illa narrabat anicula; sed astans ego non procul dolebam mehercules, quod pugillares et stilum non habebam, qui tam bellam fabellam praenotarem. (6.25.1) (So ran the story told to the captive girl by that crazy, drunken old woman. I was standing not far off, and by Hercules I was upset not to have tablets and stilus to write down such a pretty tale.)

Much of my further discussion will revolve around these remarkable comments. For the time being, however, I would like to draw attention to three issues surrounding Apuleius’ choice of the old woman narrator: first, the apparent incongruity between her and the story she tells; second, the striking parallels between her introduction to *Cupid and Psyche* and Apuleius’ introduction to the *Metamorphoses* in his prologue; and third, the topos of old wives’ tales manifestly evoked on the one hand by the narrative situation in which an old wife tells a story, and on the other hand by the fact that she explicitly characterizes her story as *aniles fabulae*.

Implications and Difficulties

Incongruity

In the narrative situation outlined in the preceding text, it is clear why the old woman tells *some sort of* story—she was asked to comfort Charite, and telling a story in response to Charite’s story seems a natural reaction. Moreover, there is good reason for the old woman to tell a story like *Cupid and Psyche* because its plot can be read as an

optimistic variant of Charite's sad story. The story is about the young princess Psyche, and her love for the god Cupid. After a tragic separation and many complications, all ends well with the couple's wedding in heaven. A daughter is born to them, and they live happily ever after among the Olympian gods. Of course, this tale would suggest to its narratee, Charite, that her story, too, will eventually have a happy ending, that she will be reunited with her husband, and that they will have the children they hoped for. We do not hear a reaction from Charite when the story is finished, but since Charite's distress is then no longer an issue for the narrator (who turns his attention to other events), the comforting effect of it seems to be implied.

Still, there is a problem with the fact that the old woman does not narrate *some sort of story like Cupid and Psyche*, but *the story of Cupid and Psyche* that we actually read in the *Metamorphoses*. In this form, the length of the story—running to about two books—is unrealistic and disproportionate; consider that Charite's story took up no more than a page or so. An even greater worry is the style and theme of the story, which deals in a sophisticated manner with noble characters, gods, and ideal love, mixed with a note of allegory and Platonic philosophy (on which see further in the following text). The idea that such a story could be told by a “crazy, drunken old woman” running a robber's den seems absurd, and this incongruity has often been noticed by scholars.² At the same time, it is difficult to think of unawareness or lazy composition on the part of the author. On the contrary, Apuleius seems to employ the old woman narrator deliberately and even gleefully (so Dowden 1982, 429: “Having, as is often remarked, incongruously and gleefully employed *delira et temulenta illa anicula* to relate the Cupid and Psyche tale...”) by overdoing her unfavorable traits (cf. the robber's curses and Lucius' comment at the end of her story). This is not least suggested by a comparison with his Greek model: in the extant Greek counterpart of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, Ps.-Lucian's Λούκιος ἢ Ὀνος (*Lucius, or the Ass*; henceforth: *Onos*), we find an old woman (20: γράῦς) in the robbers' den, but she does not tell the captured girl a story. The scholarly consensus is therefore that the common model of Apuleius and the *Onos*, the lost Greek *Metamorphoseis* by so-called Loukios of Patrae (cf. Photius, *Cod.* 129), contained neither the story of *Cupid and Psyche* nor the old woman in the role of narrator, though if it did, the issues discussed in this chapter would not disappear, but rather shift to Apuleius' model, or apply to both the model and Apuleius' adaptation. Nowhere in the *Onos* is the old woman called drunken or given any of the grotesque characteristics known from Apuleius—in his model, it seems, she is simply an old woman.

Parallels with the prologue

A larger agenda in Apuleius' choice of the old woman narrator is suggested by the fact that, in the very first sentence of the prologue, he closely associates her introduction of *Cupid and Psyche* with his own introduction of the *Metamorphoses*. The parallels between the two phrases have long been noted, and are too pronounced to be explained by coincidence:

At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram auresque tuas benivolas lepidio susurro permulceam... (1.1.1) (But I would like to tie together different sorts of tales for you in that Milesian style, and to caress your ears into approval with a pretty whisper.)

sed ego te narrationibus lepidis anilibusque fabulis protinus avocabo. (4.27.8) (But right now I shall divert you with a pretty story and old wives' tales.)

There are no less than six clear correspondences on a basic verbal and conceptual level, following with some modification Winkler (1985, 53): (i) the opening words in the sequence: (a) adversative conjunction (*At/sed*), (b) personal pronoun in first person (*ego*), (c) personal pronoun in second person (*tibi/te*); (ii) the category of fiction (*fabulas/fabulis*); (iii) the disreputable label attached to the fiction (*Milesio/anilibus*; *Milesio* alludes to the then notorious *Milesian Tales* of Aristides c. 100 BC, a work containing bawdy low-life stories; *anilibus* implies the topos of old wives' stories, discussed further in later text); (iv) the fiction is said to be "charming" (*lepidio/lepidis*); (v) it is characterized as seductive (*permulceam/avocabo*); (vi) it is announced in the plural (*varias fabulas/narrationibus ... fabulis*). Quite obviously, the old woman in her role as narrator is modeled on the main narrator of the *Metamorphoses* (with the author, Apuleius, lurking behind both of them). No matter how we interpret the old woman narrator, then, our reading will also bear on the narrator and the narration of the *Metamorphoses* as a whole.

Topoi about old wives' tales and old women

If there is a topos of old wives' tales and we have a story not only told by an old wife but also characterized as *aniles fabulae*, it is difficult not to think of an instantiation of that topos. Now, that topos was clearly

current in Apuleius' time. Its history and intellectual context are well explored, so I confine myself here to the most essential characteristics (the best survey is Massaro 1977; cf. Ziolkowski 2002 and Renger 2005, especially for later periods; Bremmer 1987 for the social and historical background – for the topos itself 200–2). Talking and thinking about old wives' tales entered Greek literature with Plato, who used similar phrases and images throughout his works. The meaning of these phrases is clearly derogatory in itself. They are employed to disqualify an idea or a story as lacking reason, coherence, and usefulness. In *Theaetetus* 176b, for instance, Socrates refutes as ὁ λεγόμενος γραῶν ὕθλος (“what is commonly called ‘old wives’ gossip”; Plato is already drawing on a proverbial use among the Greeks—for similar proverbial uses, especially of *anilis fabula* among the Romans, see Otto 1890, 28, s.v. *anus*, no. 2) the popular idea that *being just* equals *seeming just*. Similarly, in *Lysis* 205d mythological poems and speeches for a loved one are compared to ἄπερ αἱ γραῖαι ᾄδουσι (“what old wives sing”). However, Plato's use of the topos is not always free of irony and not always plainly negative in context. In the *Hippias maior* (286a), for example, it is said that the Spartans listen to Hippias' lectures on antiquities as enthusiastically as children listen to the sweet tales of the elderly (καὶ χρώνται ὥσπερ ταῖς πρεσβύτισιν οἱ παῖδες πρὸς τὸ ἡδέως μυθολογῆσαι); and in the *Laws* (10.887d), the anonymous Athenian (whose character is reminiscent of Socrates) is even indignant at people who do not believe in the gods and the stories about them told by nurses and mothers (οὐ πειθόμενοι τοῖς μύθοις οὓς ἐκ νέων παίδων ἐτι ἐν γάλαξιν τρεφόμενοι τροφῶν τε ἤκουον καὶ μητέρων; cf. *Republic* 1.350e and 2.377a–378d, leaving open the possibility that old wives' tales *may* be fruitful under certain conditions). One passage in particular, from the end of the *Gorgias*, provides a clear parallel with Apuleius in that Socrates himself tells what appears to be an old wives' tale (527a: μῦθος ... γραός). I discuss this passage in the following section titled “‘Milesian’ Platonism.”

After Plato, even the slightest positive notion of old wives' tales is rare: the topos is mostly used in the fields of philosophy and theology (sometimes also in historiography and geography), by writers who polemically attack their rivals in the search for truth (for the important exception of Horace's *Satires* 2.6.77–78 see below). Thus, Cicero in *De deorum natura* 3.12 has his stand-in Cotta dismiss as *aniles fabellae* the suggestion that the dead could rise again and fight in battles. Even Apuleius himself uses the topos in this polemical sense when, in *Apologia* 25.5, he says that the charge of magic against him was made *per nescio quas anilis fabulas* (“with the help of some old wives' tales”).

Finally, we should keep in mind that the old woman as a character type of ancient literature has, in one way or another, always been the object of scorn and derision, the invectives of the *Vetula-Skoptik* found in Horace and Martial being only the grossest example (Watson 2003, 288–292; Richlin 1992, 109–116; briefly, Bremmer 1987, 202–203). Perhaps, Apuleius is picking up on that larger tradition in the *Metamorphoses* when he reinforces the apparent disparagement of the old woman's *anilis fabula* by lending her the additional traits of craziness and drunkenness. He exploits two further topoi about old women, saying that they were feeble-minded and that they were alcoholics (cf., e.g. Otto 1890, 28, s.v. *anus*, no. 1 and 4; briefly, Bremmer 1987, 201–202). For the first aspect, we may compare a number of passages in which we find a *delira anus* as in Lucius' comment at the end of *Cupid and Psyche* (e.g. Cic. Div. 2.141: *an tu censens ullam anum tam deliram futuram fuisse...*; Tusc. 1.21: *quae est anus tam delira quae timeat ista...*; Gell. NA 1.19.6: *Tarquinius ... dixitque anum iam procul dubio delirare*); for the second, the proverb *anus rursus ad armillum* ("the old woman returns to the (wine) jug"), adapted in a more general sense by Apuleius in *Met.* 6.22.1 and 9.29.1 (generally for the topos of the drunken old woman Bremmer 1987, 201–202, with further literature).

The incongruity of the story and the old woman narrator, the parallels of the old woman narrator with the main narrator of the *Metamorphoses*, and the denigrating topoi about old wives' tales and old women in general make Apuleius' choice of the old woman as narrator of *Cupid and Psyche* a startling one. It seems an open admission of writing nonsense, not only the story of *Cupid and Psyche*, but the whole of the *Metamorphoses*. Clearly, Apuleius' choice was open to being used against him, and indeed this happened, for instance, in the well-known example of the biography of the (counter) emperor Clodius Albinus contained in the *Historia Augusta* (after 360 AD). In this biography, a letter by Clodius' rival, Septimius Severus, to the senate is quoted, in which Severus complains about the senators' fondness of Clodius and casts a number of aspersions on him. One of them refers to Clodius' apparent writing of Milesian tales (*Clod.* 11.8: *Milesias nonnulli eiusdem esse dicunt, quarum fama non ignobilis habetur, quamvis mediocriter scriptae sint*; "He is said to have written a number of Milesian tales, whose reputation is held to be not undistinguished, although they are rather mediocre"):

illum pro litterato laudandum plerique duxistis, cum ille neniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus inter Milesias Punicas Apulei sui et ludicra litteraria consenesceret. (*Clod.* 12.12) (you have deemed him to deserve praise as a man of literature, when he was busied with some old wives' lullabies and was growing senile amongst

his Apuleius' Punic Milesian tales and such literary trivialities) The *Metamorphoses* is here referred to as *Milesias Punicas*, on the one hand because Apuleius introduces his novel as *sermo Milesius*, on the other hand because he was of African—and hence by metonymy “Punic”—origin. The pun works well as Clodius was African, too, and he is imagined to share both origin and literary taste with “his” Apuleius. The fact that this is meant to be an insult is emphasized by the description of Clodius' Milesian tales as *neniae aniles*, reminiscent of the *aniles fabulae* of the old woman narrator in *Met.* 4.27.8. Thus, the author of the biography exploits the parallels between the old wife narrator and the prologue speaker, and he readily accepts Apuleius' invitation to reject his novel as trivial nonsense.

Clearly, it is unlikely that Apuleius would extend such a self-belittling invitation without an agenda behind it. The polemical reference to Apuleius in the biography of Clodius Albinus made no effort to analyze this agenda. A number of modern scholars did more justice to it.

Modern Approaches

The allegorical and philosophical approach

Cupid and Psyche has a long history of allegorical interpretation (see Moreschini 1999). The first extant example of this approach is Fulgentius' *Mythologiae*, c. 500 AD, in which the pagan myths of classical antiquity are read allegorically and in line with Christian values. The story, whose consideration in the *Mythologiae* is remarkable (3.6, p. 66.19–70.20 Helm; *Cupid and Psyche* is the only story written by a particular author among a large number of anonymous myths), centers this reading on the relation of Psyche (Soul) to Venus (Lust) and Cupid (Desire). There is no need to go further into the allegory at this point. What matters here is the general interpretative procedure, which attempts to uncover a serious, but hidden, meaning behind the apparent frivolity of the story. In modern times, such readings were usually not Christian—Christianity obviously not providing the right historical framework for Apuleius—but philosophical, especially Platonic. This makes sense against the backdrop of Apuleius' philosophical leanings: he wrote a number of Platonic treatises, and was arguably the most prominent Latin

Platonist of his time.

While allegorical interpretations of the story are comparatively easy, it is difficult to assign the old woman narrator a place in any consistent allegory. Her vulgar and grotesque persona seems to disturb a “clean” philosophical reading, and it is no surprise that, again beginning with Fulgentius, most proponents of this approach simply ignore the narrator of *Cupid and Psyche* in favor of the narrative. Some exceptions can be found; Kenney (1990; 13, 22–3), for instance, reads the phrase with which the old woman introduces the story as a sort of dramatic irony and a “sardonic comment on his [sc. Lucius’] failure to profit from his experience.” While at least the second reader (who knows the ending of the *Metamorphoses*) would recognize that *Cupid and Psyche* tells the story of Lucius’ own predicament—there are a number of shared motifs, especially the disastrous meddlesomeness (*curiositas*) of both Lucius and Psyche—his superficial comment at the end of the tale would imply that he is taken in by the old woman’s story. Ultimately, her introduction would be a hermeneutical marker that brings the issue of reading the *Metamorphoses* as a whole to mind. For just as Lucius is fooled by the old woman’s promise of “charming stories” (4.27.8: *narrationibus lepidis*), the reader may be fooled by the prologue speaker’s promise of telling stories “with a charming whisper” (1.1.1: *lepido susurro*). Strictly speaking, the old woman narrator is here not part of the philosophical reading but a red herring that the reader should be able to eliminate. Even if the old woman narrator receives some consideration, then, the allegorical approach tends to detach her from what is seen as the serious core meaning of the text.

The only exception here seems to be Massaro’s 1977 study of the topos of old wives’ tales in antiquity. He argues that Apuleius drew on a device known from “mystical” authors (*i mistici*) who protect their teachings from outside views by casting them in the form of allegories. On a superficial level, such allegories may seem absurd—like old wives’ tales—but, given the right interpretation, they reveal themselves for what they are. The specific link with the topos of old wives’ tales is created by two references to the Neo-Platonist philosopher Iamblichus (third/fourth century AD), who writes that the secret *symbola* (“symbolic sayings”) of the Pythagoreans may seem *γραιώδης* (“old-wife-like”) to the non-initiated, but that they are meaningful to those who know how to interpret them.³ However, Massaro’s evidence is not convincing. Iamblichus postdates Apuleius, and there is no suggestion that the topos of old wives’ tales played a particular role in hermetic writing before him. Rather, both Apuleius and Iamblichus are indebted to the Platonic tradition of this topos, on which I say more in the later section titled “‘Milesian’ Platonism.”

The comic approach

Another approach is the reading of *Cupid and Psyche* (and with that the whole *Metamorphoses*) as mere literary entertainment. Here, the old woman narrator is seen as a marker of comedy, which signals to the reader that the following story does not have any deeper meaning but should be enjoyed as a lighthearted piece of literature or even as a parody of serious concepts. This view is taken, for instance, by Purser (1910, xlv–xlv) in the first separate commentary on *Cupid and Psyche*:

The story is to be regarded rather [than as philosophical allegory] as a mere fairy-tale, tricked out with all the airs and graces of Apuleian style. Look at it in that point of view, and everything becomes plain, especially the dramatic setting of the whole story—an old woman (*delira et temulenta anicula*, 6.25) tells the tale to a girl who has been carried off by robbers, in order to amuse her and take her mind off the trouble into which she has fallen.

Harrison, today's main proponent of a comic reading of the *Metamorphoses*, has argued that the robber's tales preceding *Cupid and Psyche* recall and parody the Platonic *Symposium*. In this context, the old woman narrator would take the role of the priestess Diotima whose teachings are reported by Socrates at the end of the *Symposium*.⁴ Diotima claims that Love is the greatest god because he draws man toward the soul, his true object. Clearly, the story of Cupid, the god of love, and Psyche, "Soul," could be inspired by this claim. The fact that this story is now told not by a dignified priestess but by a "crazy, drunken old woman" would draw attention to the status of the *Metamorphoses* as literary entertainment rather than a novel of ideas (Kirichenko 2008, 95, suggests a simpler comic reading, drawing only on the "blatant conceptual mismatch" between the person of the old woman narrator and her narrative). Regardless of what we think about the seriousness of the *Metamorphoses*, Harrison's reading is an important step toward understanding the old woman narrator as a marker of poetics, signaling Apuleius' ideas about the status of his novel. I shall return to this idea later.

The serio-comic approach

There are several ways of combining the serious and comic approaches to the old woman narrator. A special case with which I would like to begin is the postmodernist reading of Winkler (1985, 50–56), in which the old woman narrator warrants an alternative reading of *Cupid and Psyche* as a tale of deception. While the story in itself is a beautiful fairytale, the fact that it is told by the old woman

in order to keep a captive girl quiet would reveal a sinister purpose. The parallels between the old woman narrator and the main narrator of the *Metamorphoses* would then draw attention to the larger issue of how to read Apuleius' novel: as a piece of straightforward entertainment or as a deceptive, cunning text that sells a religious ending under comic wrappings (cf. Winkler 1985, 56: "And if her *avocabo* ... is perfidious, what are we to make of his *permulceam* ...?"). Winkler's is not an easy reading and seems to me developed *ad hoc* to fit in with his larger interpretation of the *Metamorphoses* in which a comic and a religious take are played off each other (with the point being that neither take is authorized and that Apuleius intended exactly this ambiguity). Comparing the allegedly "cynical" and "cruel" agenda of the old woman narrator (why not see it as pity?) with a hermeneutical strategy of the author is a stretch, and I do not see how the issues "comic vs. religious" on the one hand and "entertaining vs. cunning" on the other could be convincingly aligned.

A more plausible reading has recently been put forward by Graverini (2006), who builds on Massaro's (1977) study of the topos of old wives' tales. Massaro's investigation revolves around a single passage from Horace's second book of *Satires* (2.6.77–78): *Cervius haec inter vicinus garrit anilis / ex re fabellas* ("Amid this talk my neighbor Cervius prattles away telling old wives' tales that are to the point"). The context is a banquet in a country house, with simple food but good discussions about happiness, friendship, and the nature of the Good. At this point, one of the guests, Cervius, tells the fable about the town mouse and the country mouse, implying that the simple and peaceful country life is superior to the more comfortable but stressful town life. This fable takes up the remainder of the satire, and it is an appropriate conclusion considering that it makes a point the guests were discussing in their conversation. Its introduction as an old wives' tale that is "prattled away" is here clearly not derogatory but due to good-humored irony that conveys its message in an undogmatic and amusing way.

Massaro sets out to demonstrate that Horace's adaptation of the topos of old wives' tales is special in that it preserves a touch of self-deprecatory Socratic irony, otherwise only found in Plato's dialogues. Massaro distinguishes Horace's adaptation from the polemical tradition of the topos, but also from Apuleius, who in his opinion is indebted to a more dogmatic strain of hermetic philosophy. The suspicion remains, however, that Massaro overstates the case for Apuleius as a dogmatic philosopher to save the uniqueness of Horace. This is where Graverini comes in with his idea that Apuleius' old woman narrator adopts a self-deprecatory stance known from satire. Horace is the most prominent example, but the topos of old wives'

tales is similarly used in late-antique (Menippean) satirists: Martianus Capella (fifth century AD) addresses his son of the same name at the end of the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (9.997) with the words: *habes anilem, Martiane, fabulam...* (“take this old wives’ tale, Martianus”; *anilem* is here a conjecture of the Teubner editor, J. Willis, for the far-better-attested *senilem*, “old man’s-like”—a *lectio difficilior* that would fittingly adapt the topos to the old Martianus making fun of his age). Even more clearly, Fulgentius addresses his dedicatee in the prosimetric prologue to his *Mythologiae* (p. 3.13–17 Helm):

additur quia et mihi nuper imperasse dinosceris ut feriatas
affatim tuarum aurium sedes lepido quolibet susurro
permulceam: parumper ergo ausculta dum tibi rugosam sulcis
anilibus ordior fabulam. (and because you have recently seen fit
to command me to soothe the seats of your ears when they are
sufficiently free of business with whatever graceful whisper I
could; hear me then awhile as I begin to weave for you a tale
wrinkled with an old wife’s furrows...)

This is evidently borrowed from Apuleius, and, more precisely, constitutes another conflation of the prologue to the *Metamorphoses* (1.1.1) and the introduction of *Cupid and Psyche* by the old woman narrator (4.27.8). The relevance of these late-antique testimonies, however, seems to me dubious. Both Martianus Capella and Fulgentius postdate Apuleius. Fulgentius manifestly depends on him, and bearing in mind that Martianus takes inspiration from *Cupid and Psyche* in his introductory myth (describing the ascent to heaven, apotheosis, and marriage of Philology to Mercury; cf. Carver 2007, 36–41), it seems very likely that his final comment on his *anilis* or *senilis fabula* is also borrowed from Apuleius. What is more, both Martianus Capella and Fulgentius were Africans and therefore likely to have a particular interest in the works of their fellow countryman Apuleius. For these reasons, it is difficult to argue for a satiric tradition specifically of the topos of old wives’ tales. No further examples seem to be known, so we are left with Horace as far as possible satiric models for Apuleius are concerned.

Given that Horace’s *anilis fabella* is an Aesopic fable, it also seems worthwhile to look into the fable genre as an inspiration to Apuleius. Graverini here points out as structural parallel that the “low” fable genre is nevertheless aware of its moral utility and may draw attention to this in a self-deprecatory way. An excellent example is Phaedrus’ fable of the poet, in which he warns against underestimating his writing (4.2.3–4): *Sed diligenter intueri has nenias: / Quantam sub titulis utilitatem reperies!* (“But take a careful look into these trifles: what a lot of practical instruction you will find in tiny

affairs!”) There is not a single example from the fables, however, which takes up the topos of old wives’ tales. We should also take into account that fables, because of their mostly obvious *fabula docet*, were perhaps a low, but generally respected genre that had its official place in education. This cannot be said of the ancient novel, let alone of the disreputable low-life novel that traced its origins back to the *Milesian Tales*.

Graverini ends with the intriguing suggestion that the Platonist Apuleius, too, had something to teach, although his teaching is rather ironic and can no more be put in a convenient formula than a Platonic dialogue can. As to the old woman narrator, Apuleius would have followed the lead of satirists and fable writers and adopted a self-denigrating stance to draw attention to the seriocomic nature of his writing, characterized by both a certain philosophical claim and narrative entertainment that undermines any dogmatic creeds.

“Milesian” Platonism

In this last section, I present a reading that is not far from Graverini’s conclusion, but looks at the problem from a different angle. I have already laid out some reasons why I do not consider satire and fable as particularly significant factors in Apuleius’ choice of the old woman narrator (although nothing of what I am going to say rules out these factors as an influence). Add to these that an ironic self-deprecatory stance is in itself not suggestive of one or two particular genres, but a widespread gesture in literature: apart from satire and fable, we find it, to name but two further examples, in the way in which Catullus refers to his poetry as *nugae* (“trifles”), or in the prefatory topos of modesty (of which Apuleius’ prologue speaker, referring to himself as *rudis locutor*, “raw talker,” provides an example). I would rather go back directly to Plato and argue that Apuleius adapted the Platonic topos of the old woman narrator at least as cleverly and successfully as Horace did. The Platonic model, I think, can also provide a more detailed answer as to the nature of Apuleius’ philosophical attitude in *Cupid and Psyche* and the whole *Metamorphoses* (this topic could be expanded, but I only discuss Platonic aspects surrounding the old woman narrator). Based on this attitude, I discuss the idea that Apuleius self-confidently used the old woman narrator as an emblem of what seemed to many a contradiction in terms: a philosophical novel.

The key passage for Apuleius may well have been Socrates’ story of the afterlife, told at the end of the *Gorgias*. It is introduced as a “very

beautiful” *logos*, which, however, might appear to Socrates’ interlocutor, Callicles, as a *mythos* (523a):

Ἄκουε δὴ, φασί, μάλα καλοῦ λόγου, ὃν σὺ μὲν ἡγήσῃ μῦθον, ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον· ὥς ἀληθὴ γὰρ ὄντα σοι λέξω ἃ μέλλω λέγειν. (Hear then, as they say, a very beautiful story (*logos*), which you, however, will regard as a myth (*mythos*), as I think, but I as an actual account (*logos*); for what I am about to tell you I mean to offer as the truth.)

Then Socrates tells his story about how Zeus instituted a new procedure for judging the dead, no longer according to their external appearance while they were living but according to the righteousness of their soul (ψυχή). Many who seemed good before will now be sent to the Underworld, where they will suffer the punishments they deserve. Sometimes, however, a virtuous soul will be spotted, in particular the soul of a “philosopher who has minded his own business and has not been a busybody in his lifetime” (φιλοσόφου τὰ αὐτοῦ πράξαντος καὶ οὐ πολυπραγμονήσαντος ἐν τῷ βίῳ). This soul is sent to the Island of the Blessed, and this is the way that Socrates wishes to go on the Day of Judgment—hence his austere way of life and his search for the truth. Socrates concludes with another suggestion that his interlocutor has misjudged the story, and this time he uses the topos of old wives’ tales (527a): “Possibly, however, you regard this as an old wives’ tale, and despise it” (Τάχα δ’ οὖν ταῦτα μῦθός σοι δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι ὥσπερ γραῶς καὶ καταφρονεῖς αὐτῶν). The remaining page or so of the dialogue is filled with Socrates’ argument that there is in fact nothing to despise in his story and that virtue must be followed.

I think there are clear echoes of Socrates’ story in both the content and the narrative setting of *Cupid and Psyche*. First to the content: in one way or another, both stories are about the “soul” (ψυχή / Psyche) after “death”—the oracle at the beginning of *Cupid and Psyche* predicts a “funereal wedding” (4.33.1 *funereus thalamus*) and commands that Psyche’s parents abandon their daughter at the top of a steep mountain crag. There she would be sacrificed to a “monster” (which eventually turns out to be Cupid). The preparations for this sacrifice are represented as a funeral, and when Psyche is carried by gentle winds from the mountain top to Cupid’s palace, she has come to a realm that is at least beyond that of ordinary mortals. Later, she will in actual fact visit the underworld and finally find her place—if not on the Island of the Blessed—in heaven among the Olympian gods. Furthermore, it could be argued that she manages to do so because she has atoned for her curiosity, the πολυπραγμονεῖν, which the Socratic philosopher worthy of a happy afterlife avoids.⁵

Concerning the narrative setting, both stories are framed by comments on their appeal, their nature, and their credibility: compare μάλα καλοῦ λόγου (“very beautiful story”) in *Gorg.* 523a with *narrationibus lepidis* in *Met.* 4.27.8 and *tam bellam fabellam* in *Met.* 6.25.1; the generic characterizations as *logos* and *mythos* with *narratio* and *fabula*; and the suggestion that the respective stories are nonsense, as obvious from the doubts attributed to Callicles and from Lucius’ comment about the *delira et temulenta ... anicula* in *Met.* 6.25.1. Finally, this idea materializes in the image of the old wife, utilized as a “mere” proverbial topos in Plato, and brought to life in Apuleius. The embodiment of the topos as a character in the *Metamorphoses* is in line with a larger pattern of Apuleius’ literary technique. Plaza (2006, 73) has shown in a number of cases that Apuleius has a “manner of turning a two-dimensional expression saying something into the three-dimensional showing of much the same thing” (the idea is touched upon, with reference to Plaza, by Graverini 2006, 103; also see Panayotakis 1997, who argues that three dangerous encounters awaiting Psyche in the Underworld—a lame ass with his lame driver, a dead man, and some old crones—are abstract notions of Old Age and of Mortality turned into flesh). An example, for illustration, is the sententious *utres inflati ambulamus* (“we walk about like inflated wineskins,” known from Petronius 42.4), from which Apuleius arguably weaves his famous scene of the walking wineskins at the end of the second book of the *Metamorphoses*.

However, the Platonic associations of the old woman narrator are not exhausted with the model of the *Gorgias*. *Cupid and Psyche* is not only a story about Psyche, but also about Cupid, and this brings us back to the *Symposium*, in which the discussion is about the nature of Love. In Diotima’s crucial speech, Love is a demon, a being that intermediates between humans and gods. *Mutatis mutandis* this is also the role of Cupid in Apuleius, in that he takes Psyche away from her mortal family and leads her to heaven and the Olympian gods. Demons and demonology were a favorite subject of middle Platonism, the philosophical current to which Apuleius subscribed. In his theory about demons, he is clearly influenced by Diotima’s speech (*Soc.* 6.132–3 and *Apol.* 43.1; for the influence of Diotima’s teachings, see Beaujeu 1973, 215–216, on *Soc.* and Regen 1971, 5–6, on *Apol.*). It is very likely, therefore, that the old woman narrator, too, is to some extent indebted to Socrates’ teacher, Diotima. This can be read, as Harrison does, as mere parody and literary entertainment, but I think there is more to it, not least because of the links between *Cupid and Psyche* and the religious ending of the *Metamorphoses* in the Isis book. Many of these links, most prominently the motif of curiosity, are well known. Against the backdrop of Diotima’s demonology, I would like to

add here that both *Cupid and Psyche* and the Isis Book tell the story of a soul or person (Psyche / Lucius) led by the intervention of a demon-like intermediate being (Love / Isis) to spiritual happiness among the gods (the Olympians) or in the service of the highest god (Osiris). In this light, the old woman narrator turns out to be a match for the main narrator of the *Metamorphoses*, not only in the formal aspects discussed earlier but also in basic Platonic implications of their stories. More than that, both narrators could have taken a cue from the “mystical” language in which Diotima casts her intention to initiate Socrates into the matters of love (209e–210a; Riedweg 1987, 1–29, for mystery terminology and larger patterns of imitation in the *Symposium*):

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐρωτικά ἴσως, ὦ Σώκρατες, κἂν σὺ μνηθείης· τὰ δὲ τέλεα καὶ ἐποπτικά, ὦν ἔνεκα καὶ ταῦτα ἔστιν, ἐάν τις ὀρθῶς μετῇ, οὐκ οἶδ’ εἰ οἷός τ’ ἂν εἴης. ἐρῶ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ἐγὼ καὶ προθυμίας οὐδὲν ἀπολείψω· περὶ δὲ ἔπεσθαι, ἂν οἷός τε ᾖ. (“Into these love-matters, even you, Socrates, may be happily initiated; but I am not sure if you could approach the rites and revelations to which these, for the properly instructed, are merely the avenue. However, I will speak of them,” she said, “and will not stint my best endeavors; only you on your part must try your best to follow.”)

Like Diotima, both the narrators of *Cupid and Psyche* and the *Metamorphoses* tell love stories, the philosophical implications of which may not be fully grasped by their readers. Nevertheless, they tell the stories, confident that their readers will try to follow as well as they can. Notions of initiation and mysteries, implied in many passages of *Cupid and Psyche* (e.g. Merkelbach 2001, 451–484, although surely exaggerating the evidence), manifestly take shape in the Isis book.

It seems there is a significant philosophical dimension to the old woman narrator. I do not claim that this dimension is particularly profound, let alone detailed, but some essential lines of Platonic philosophy materialize in her story and its narrative setting. Whether this is ultimately sincere or parodic depends on how we generally read the *Metamorphoses* and especially its religious ending—a question far too large to approach here in any detail. My opinion is that it can only be answered in the context of Apuleius’ oeuvre, and here we sometimes see a dogmatic philosopher and sometimes a brilliantly witty orator, but always a committed advocate of Platonism. I do not think that this attitude is radically different in the *Metamorphoses*. It rather is only refracted in and through the medium of low-life prose fiction—in which Apuleius first stumbled upon the old woman when

reading the Greek *Metamorphoseis*.

I propose that Apuleius' Platonic rewriting of "Milesian" fiction accounts for the curious conflict between the old woman's appearance and her story. At the same time, this makes her a metaliterary emblem of Apuleius' larger poetics. This is not only suggested by the parallelism between the old wife's introduction of *Cupid and Psyche* and the main narrator's introduction of the *Metamorphoses*. There are two further remarkable intrusions of the author in the context of *Cupid and Psyche* and its narrator. The first occurs shortly after the beginning of the tale, in 4.32.6, where Psyche's father asks the oracle of Apollo at Didyma near Miletus about a future husband for his daughter. The narrator then explains, tongue in cheek, why the oracle was given in Latin rather than Greek: *Apollo, quanquam Graecus et Ionicus, propter Milesiae conditorem sic Latina sorte respondit* ("Apollo, although a Greek and an Ionic Greek at that, answered with an oracle in Latin to show favor to the author of this Milesian tale"). It is not entirely clear whether *Milesia* here refers to the *Metamorphoses* in general or to *Cupid and Psyche* in particular. However, clearly, the voice alluding to authorship is that of Apuleius lurking behind the voice of the old woman narrator (Van Mal-Maeder and Zimmerman 1998, 89–90). The second intrusion is Lucius' comment at the end of *Cupid and Psyche*, in 6.25.1, where he pretends to be "upset not to have tablets and stilus to write down such a pretty tale." The joke here is, on one level, that Lucius wishes to do what Apuleius has just done, and the reader is invited to identify the two. On a second level, however, the narrative of Apuleius is identified with that of the old woman because he has in fact written it down and brought it to the reader. Surely these are reasons enough to extend the significance of the old woman narrator in the narrower context of *Cupid and Psyche* to the poetics of the whole *Metamorphoses*? She is a fitting metaliterary emblem of a novel that brings an unusual philosophical interest to low-life fiction (for the paradox of the idea of a "philosophical old woman," see Lucius Verus to Marcus Aurelius, quoted in *SHA Avid. Cass.* 1.8: *te [sc. M. Aurelium] philosopham aniculam, me luxuriosum morionem vocat*; "[Avidius Cassius] calls you a little old woman philosopher, and me a voluptuous fool"). Considering that such a philosophical interest was not a typical characteristic of ancient novels, let alone Apuleius' professed stylistic model, Aristides' *Milesiaca*,⁶ I suspect that it was this innovation that the Platonizing old woman narrator was intended to suggest.

To illustrate this point and conclude this chapter, I would like briefly to discuss an instance of reception. It comes from a much later time, the early modern period, but makes a similar claim of innovating the genre by employing the (clearly Apuleian) narrative

device of the old woman narrator. The work is the voluminous Latin novel *Nova Solyma* (1648), written by the English lawyer and politician Samuel Gott (1613–1671) (see Morrish 2003 generally on Gott and his novel, and Morrish 2005 on its use of the old woman narrator; an English translation can be found in Begley 1902, who wrongly attributed the novel to John Milton). In this utopian and romantic novel, two students from Cambridge visit “New Jerusalem” (*Nova Solyma*), a Christian city built on the site of old Jerusalem. There, a complex plot unfolds in six books packed with descriptions of local customs and institutions, romantic affairs, and discussions about education, philosophy, theology, and other subjects. Gott’s poetics is self-referentially explored in various passages, most prominently in the discourse of the schoolmaster Alphaeus (Gott’s fictional *persona*), who explains the function of different pens attributed to different genres (Morrish 2003, 258–271). It clearly emerges from these passages that Gott’s project is an apology of the novel genre—then mostly held in low esteem, but deeply appreciated by Gott for its potential—by giving it a Christian and philosophical dimension.

Gott’s *Nova Solyma* is a sophisticated work that draws on a vast range of classical and early modern models. One of the models with which the author shows himself thoroughly familiar is Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*, and one of the instances in which this becomes most obvious is the insertion of an old wives’ tale into the novel.⁷ It occupies about a quarter of the first book and is told by an *anilis matrona* (line 4) to her pupils, Auximus and Augentius, the sons of the patriarch of Nova Solyma who were entrusted to her for their primary education. Just as *Cupid and Psyche* is overheard from a distance by Lucius, the ass, Gott’s old wives’ tale is overheard from another location by the protagonists, the two young Englishmen and their native guide, Joseph.

The old woman narrates a dream of hers in which her pupils were abandoned on an indeterminate island, divided into the jurisdictions of an aged king, Philoponus, and his two children, Philocles and Philomela, the latter born of a concubine. The clearly allegorical story tells of Auximus and Augentius’ escape from the depraved jurisdiction of Philomela and their reception in the virtuous jurisdiction of Philoponus and his son, Philocles. It is decided that action against Philomela must be taken and, when she is finally defeated in battle, the old woman’s story has come to an end because this was the end of her dream. As in Apuleius, there is regret that the story has not been written down (Auximus begs her in lines 387–388: *atque utinam nobis perscriptam* [sc. *fabulam*] *dares*). And, as in Apuleius, we hear the reactions of the hidden listeners. To Joseph’s suggestion that *tales nugae* (“such trifles,” line 393) are not worth listening to, Eugenius,

one of the Englishmen, responds in the old wife's defense (lines 337–340):

Nugas esse dicis ... quae non ineruditam voluptatem cum tanta utilitate componunt? Neque sunt hae similes anilium fabularum quibus memini me puerum adeo delectatum; atque ob id magis miror unde haec fingeret: an hic anus quoque philosophantur? (Can you call those things trifles ... which pair not uninstructed pleasure with such utility? They are very unlike the old wives' tales that delighted me when a boy, and it makes me wonder all the more whence she borrowed them. Do even old women talk philosophy here?)

In the following discussion, the protagonists agree that the tale of the old *matrona* was both pleasant and useful, and they praise the merits of allegorical fiction.

As in Apuleius, then, we have an old wife as the unlikely narrator of a long and more or less philosophical story, strikingly in contrast with the familiar topos of old wives' tales. The parallels in narrative setting are such that Eugenius' question about the origin of the old wife's tale in *Nova Solyma* might even be read as an allusion to Apuleius' model. In any case, it can be argued that Gott adopted Apuleius' old woman narrator as an emblem of a hitherto rather unphilosophical genre. Morrish (2005, 296–297) concludes her piece on Gott's old woman narrator with the suggestion that the latter is defended because she mirrors the author's poetics and his upgrading of the novelistic genre. I have argued for a similar mirror function of the old woman narrator in Apuleius, where this is, in principle, obvious from the parallel of her introduction of *Cupid and Psyche* with the first words of the prologue speaker. Granted, Apuleius is different from Gott in that he does not supply us with explicit discussions about philosophical elements, and in that he mischievously emphasizes the ugly appearance of his old woman narrator. However, this is a difference in literary history and personal style rather than poetics. Gott is an elegant but comparatively straightforward writer. He stands in the tradition of theoretical novels such as Thomas More's *Utopia*, in which the point is to make things explicit. Apuleius wields his pen exuberantly and punningly wherever the genre allows him to (compare, for instance, his rhetorical works). He works on the basis of the *Milesian Tales* and the Greek *Metamorphoseis*, his model for the ass story. The limits set by this material did not favor a philosophical approach, but thanks to his irrepressible humor Apuleius managed to bring it even to the "Milesian" world in which he was operating, and play the role of a "philosophizing ass" (*Met.* 10.33 *asinus philosophans*).

Notes

1 The Latin text of the *Metamorphoses* is from Helm 1955; the now standard paragraph numbers, missing in Helm, are added according to the edition of Robertson and Vallette 1940–1945; the English translation—sometimes modified—comes from Hanson 1989.

2 Cf., for example Helm 1959 in the preface to his edition of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and rhetorical works, found in the volume containing the *Florida*, vii: *inepte turpissimae anui et latronum ancillae eam [sc. fabulam] tribuit* ("he ineptly assigned this story to a most disgraceful old woman and slave of robbers"; Norwood 1956, 8: "It [sc. *Cupid and Psyche*] is told in a robbers' den by a filthy old woman: one would expect a narrative about common folk uttered in colloquial language. Instead, the author, with a lordly disregard for verisimilitude, has lavished on the lines all the richness of his thought, all the splendour of his Latin." Walsh 1970, 190: "... rather incongruously allotting its telling to the aged crone deputed to the task of bandits' housekeeper"; May 2006, 251: "It is strange that Apuleius' old woman is educated enough, despite her humble employment by the robbers, to narrate the sophisticated tale of *Cupid and Psyche* to the captured girl."

3 Iambl. VP 23.105: γελοῖα ἂν καὶ γράωδη δόξειε τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τὰ λεγόμενα, λήρου μεστὰ καὶ ἀδολεσχίας ("to those who by chance happen to hear them, these words may seem ridiculous and old wives' tales, full of nonsense and prattle"); ibid. 32.227: τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμβολα, ἅπερ ψιλῇ μὲν τῇ φράσει γράωδεσιν ὑποθήκαις ἔοικε, διαπτυσσόμενα δὲ θαυμαστήν τινα καὶ σεμνὴν ὠφέλειαν παρέχεται τοῖς μεταλαβοῦσι ("such symbols seem like old wives' advice when you just look at the bare words, but when they are interpreted they turn out to be of amazing and solemn use").

4 Harrison 1998, 57–8; 2000, 225; the idea was first touched upon in a philosophical reading by Thibau 1965, 110; also see Krabbe 2003, 24–34; an association of *Cupid and Psyche* and Diotima's speech can be found as early as the English translation of *Cupid and Psyche* by Taylor 1795.

5 The vice "curiosity" notoriously links Psyche with Lucius and sets up the whole drama of *Cupid and Psyche* because it makes Psyche violate Cupid's order never to expose him to light and to look at him; her transgression leads to the tragic separation from Cupid and a string of trials and tribulations.

6 Aristides' *Milesiaca* was known as entertaining and erotic (cf., e.g. Ov. Tr. 2.413–414 and 443–444; Plut., Crass. 32.3), but certainly not as philosophical. Among the other strains of the ancient novel

known to us and predating Apuleius, only Antonius Diogenes' fantastic travel romance *The Incredible Things beyond Thule* (early second century AD?) may have contained a committed element of (here Pythagorean) philosophy; cf., e.g. Stephens and Winkler 1995, 112–14, for a brief survey of the issue.

7 Gott 1648, 24–42; a separate edition of this tale is provided by Morrish 2005, 298–310. My quotations and the references to line numbers are from this edition.

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CHAPTER 36

Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus

Between Aristotle and Hitchcock

Martin M. Winkler

Classical narrative texts often exhibit qualities that today strike us as being practically cinematic. The first instances appear in Homer's *Iliad* (Winkler 2006). Centuries later, the Greek novels bear out Simonides of Keos' saying that painting is silent poetry—in modern terminology, literature—while poetry is painting that speaks (on Simonides and the Greek novels, especially the prologue to Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, cf. Winkler 2009, 22–26, with references). The conversation of Kalasiris and Knemon in Book 3 of Heliodorus' *An Ethiopian Story* about the festival of Apollo at Delphi makes explicit the parallels between telling a story and mentally visualizing it (Winkler 2009, 5–6). More significantly, Heliodorus' opening scene is a virtual blueprint for a screenplay (Winkler 2000–2001).

The following pages illustrate the affinity between ancient novels and the cinema by examining a specific narrative device, a shocking turn of the plot through the unexpected deaths of major characters. Two Greek novels, Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* and Heliodorus' *An Ethiopian Story*, and one film, Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho*, all with romance–adventure–mystery plots, adhere to formulaic ways of storytelling, that is to say, they are driven primarily by plot requirements, not by any nuanced presentation of their characters' psychology as in the works of the great nineteenth- and twentieth-century novelists or many modern filmmakers. If pursuit of psychological depth requires a narrative in which *character is plot*, as a common phrase has it, genre stories usually work in the opposite way: plot determines or restricts characterization: “By giving narrative emphasis to a constant flow of action, the writer avoids the necessity of exploring character with any degree of complexity” (Cawelti 1976,

19). The statement accurately describes the works of the Greek novelists. *Psycho* and most of Hitchcock's mature work, however, significantly transcend mere formula while still adhering to and playing with, but never breaking, the rules of the thriller genre.

From Aristotle to Mystery Plots

In his *Poetics*, Aristotle defends the tragic poet's use of "the wondrous" (τὸ θαυμαστόν) and the epic poet's use of "the irrational" (τὸ ἄλογον), "on which the wondrous depends for its chief effects" (Aristotle, *Poetics* 1460a11–13; Butcher 1907, 95). By extension, storytellers in all genres of fiction rely on implausible or nearly impossible plot turns in order to ensure or deepen their audience's emotional involvement with the fate of their characters. For such cases, Aristotle advises that an author "should prefer probable impossibilities (ἀδύνατα εἰκότα) to improbable possibilities (δυνατὰ ἀπίθανα)" (Aristotle, *Poetics* 1460a26–27; Butcher 1907, 95). This is because "what is possible (τὸ δυνατόν) is credible (πιθανόν): what has not happened we do not at once feel sure to be possible; but what has happened is manifestly possible: otherwise it would not have happened" (Aristotle, *Poetics* 1451b15–19; Butcher 1907, 37). As Aristotle also said (*Rhetoric* 1356b28): "what is credible is what is credible to someone." Aristotle even goes so far as to admonish spectators and readers that, "once the irrational has been introduced and an air of likelihood imparted to it, we must accept it in spite of its absurdity. ... If he [an author] describes the impossible (ἀδύνατα), he is guilty of an error; but the error may be justified, if ... the effect of this or any other part of the poem [i.e. of any narrative] is thus rendered more striking (ἐκπληκτικώτερον)" (Aristotle, *Poetics* 1460b24–27; Butcher 1907, 99). Butcher's translation of ἐκπληκτικώτερον is appropriate, but since the term derives from ἐκπλήττω ("to scare away, to scare out of one's mind"), the translation "more shocking" is also apt. The context in which the irrational or impossible occurs is decisive, for it justifies an author's use of the impossible or incredible and prepares the way for its acceptance by an audience. Aristotle concludes:

In general, the impossible (τὸ ἀδύνατον) must be justified by reference to artistic requirements, or to the higher reality, or to received opinion. With respect to the requirements of art, a probable impossibility (πιθανὸν ἀδύνατον) is to be preferred to a thing improbable and yet possible (ἀπίθανον καὶ δυνατόν). ... To justify the irrational (τᾶλογα), we appeal to what is commonly said to be. In addition, we urge that the irrational sometimes does

not violate reason. (*Poetics* 1461b9–12 and 14–15; Butcher 1907, 105 and 107)

Credo quia absurdum—to paraphrase Tertullian: *I believe it because it makes no sense whatever*. If it can be the case that the irrational does not violate the rational, that is to say, if a crucial moment in the development of a plot does not simply make us throw up our hands in frustration with the nonsense we are reading or watching, then a storyteller has succeeded in making us care, and we are willingly suspending our disbelief. As a modern scholar has put it: “Aristotle shows that an argument from probability can be drawn from the sheer improbability of a story: some stories are so improbable that it is reasonable to believe them” (Sider 1980, 417–418).

Aristotle’s “more striking” is an apt term to describe the ancient Greek novels and, beyond antiquity, all romantic-adventure fiction and most of our suspense and detective stories, whether they are told in texts or images. Modern mystery fiction has some precursors in the Greek and Roman novels. Heliodorus’ *Kalasisir* is the first “private eye” in Western literature. In escapist fiction, the plausibilities of real life are set aside in favor of striking implausibilities. The same had been the case in fifth-century tragedy, Aristotle’s subject in the surviving parts of the *Poetics*. The tragedians derived most of their plots from myths, which are by nature unrealistic and implausible to the rational and logic-minded because of the ubiquitous appearances of gods, monsters, and other manifestations of the supernatural. Aristotle provides the classic explanation in ancient literature of how the implausible functions and why it is an important, indeed crucial, aspect of narrative literature. Dorothy Sayers even advanced the thesis that Aristotle’s *Poetics* could be regarded as a kind of theoretical blueprint for such fiction:

Aristotle ... contrived to hammer out ... a theory of detective fiction so shrewd, all-embracing and practical that the *Poetics* remains the finest guide to the writing of such fiction that could be put, at this day, into the hands of an aspiring author (Sayers 1947, 222–236; quotation at 223).

Discussing verisimilitude in narrative literature, a concept akin to that of probability as outlined earlier, Tzvetan Todorov observes:

The law of reconstruction [of a fictional crime] is never the law of ordinary verisimilitude. ... The guilty man in a murder mystery is the man who does not seem guilty. In his summing up, the detective will invoke a logic which links the hitherto scattered clues; but such logic derives from a scientific notion of possibility, not from one of verisimilitude. The revelation must obey these

two imperatives: possibility and absence of verisimilitude.

The revelation, that is, the truth, is incompatible with verisimilitude, as we know from a whole series of detective plots based on the tension between them. Todorov concludes from this:

Verisimilitude is the theme of the murder mystery; its law is the antagonism between truth and verisimilitude. ... By relying on antiverisimilitude, the murder mystery has come under the sway of another verisimilitude, that of its own genre.

The author of mystery fiction “establishes a new verisimilitude, one linking his text to the genre to which it belongs” (Todorov 1978, 85 and 86–87).

Achilles Tatius: Sudden Death

Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* is a prime example of an adventure plot thoroughly imbued with implausibilities of the kind that recur in modern mystery fiction: a series of hair-raising twists and turns in the story. Aristotle might characterize such a plot as an ἐκπληκτικόν, something striking. A shocking and utterly unexpected incident occurs about a third into the novel. Clitophon, the hero and narrator, becomes a helpless eyewitness to the fate of Leucippe, his beloved, who has been kidnapped by a gang of outlaws. He recounts the scene in harrowing detail (3.15):

We could in fact see brigands aplenty and fully armed. ... They had improvised an altar of earth and near it a coffin. Two of them were leading a girl to the altar with her hands tied behind her back. ... One of the attendants laid her on her back and tied her to stakes fixed in the ground. ... He next raised a sword and plunged it into her heart and then sawed all the way down to her abdomen. Her viscera leaped out. The attendants pulled out her entrails and carried them in their hands over to the altar. When it was well done they carved the whole lot up, and all the bandits shared the meal.

As each of these acts was performed ... I, contrary to all reason, just sat there staring. It was sheer shock; I was simply thunderstruck by the enormity of the calamity. ... When the [sacrificial] ceremony was concluded ... they placed her body in the coffin, covered it with a lid, razed the altar, and ran away without looking behind them. (translation from Winkler 1989 216)

An author's killing off his heroine is an intentional violation of the one plot element with which writers of romance-adventure fiction must never tamper: the happy ending. The shocking manner of Leucippe's unexpected death in a perverted religious ritual that includes cannibalism is made thoroughly believable by its gruesome details. The moment is a thrilling example of an ἐκπληκτικόν. The story appears to be irrevocably over, especially when Clitophon is about to kill himself over the loss of his beloved (3.16–17).

Readers will be dumbfounded and stunned. How can the story possibly continue? Fortunately, they are in the hands of a master storyteller. In a plot twist that restarts the adventure plot and the protagonists' romance and that is almost equally ἐκπληκτικόν both to the narrator and his readers, Achilles brings Leucippe back to life. Within the story, this occurs on the following day; within the text, it occurs on the following page (of a modern edition)—that is to say, as soon as possible. If Leucippe's graphic death and disembowelment resemble comparable scenes in modern shockers such as slasher films, her reappearance (3.17) is akin to the apparition of a living corpse in a horror film, replete with supernatural overtones:

He [Clitophon's friend Menelaus] opened the coffin, and Leukippe rose up, a frightening (O gods!) and blood-chilling sight. The entire length of her stomach hung open, and the visceral cavity was hollow. She fell into my arms' embrace ... and then we both collapsed.... "And now," said Menelaus, "she will recover her innards, her frontal gash will grow together, and you will see her once more sound..." ... Then, as he spoke, he removed a contraption from her stomach and restored her to her original condition. (translation from Winkler 1989, 217–218)

The improbable explanation follows in minute detail (3.19–22). Menelaus' account makes what had happened not so much plausible as understandable. Everything had been fakery—engineered to save Leucippe's life, a deception played on the outlaws by Menelaus, a wily Egyptian, with the help of stage props borrowed from an actor who happened to be at hand. The sword had a retractable blade—it is the direct ancestor of countless such props used in modern plays and films. A soft animal hide filled with animal entrails had been tied across Leucippe's stomach. *Credimus quia absurdum*: we believe it because it is a perfectly good explanation from a realistic point of view. It is nonsensical but clever and appealing in its ingenuity. And that is all that counts.

So, the novel is back on track: hero and heroine are reunited, and the happy ending is possible again. However, after we have read through another third of the novel, the master storyteller sets out to

trick us again. In Book Five, he kills Leucippe a second time, again in full view of a helpless Clitophon, only to resurrect her a second time. Experienced readers will mentally have fortified themselves against their author's narrative trickery. At the end of Book Three, we can readily imagine their state of mind: *How dare he kill one of the two characters who must not be killed under any circumstances and then bring her back to life? I fell for this, but I'm certainly not falling into the same trap again!* In order to pull off his second bamboozlement of his readers, Achilles must up the ante. Tzvetan Todorov (1978, 84) helpfully explains why: "according to a general narrative law, temporal succession [of plot elements] corresponds to a gradation of intensity, so that the final episode is to be the most impressive one." This narrative law applies especially to mystery fiction and to action or adventure stories. With its increasingly bloody progression of duels and slaughters, Homer's *Iliad* is the first example in Western literature.

How does this work in Achilles Tatius? The second murder and resurrection of Leucippe and the explanation to follow must be different from the first. So they are. Clitophon reports (5.7) that Leucippe was kidnapped by pirates, but their pursuers were about to catch up:

When the pirates saw our vessel closing in and us prepared to fight, they stood Leukippe on the top deck with her hands tied behind her, and one of them cried out in a loud voice, "Here's your prize!" and so saying, he cut off her head and toppled the rest of the body into the sea. (translation from Winkler 1989, 236)

The manner of Leucippe's murder is significant: as unlikely or antiverisimilitudinous (to coin a term after Todorov) as it may appear, trickery involving death by disembowelment may just be *πιθανὸν τινί*, "credible to someone," in this case to readers of adventure fiction willing to suspend disbelief. But decapitation? No one has ever survived such a death. There is then no possibility for Leucippe to be resurrected—or so it seems to us and to Clitophon. Achilles is careful to drive home this very point. First, he has Clitophon report that Leucippe's head and torso are separated beyond question when the pirate throws her body (but not the head) into the sea. Shortly after, he has Clitophon reinforce the point in his lament, holding Leucippe's body (but not the head) in his arms: "This time, Leukippe, you are without doubt dead twice over, divided in death between land and sea. I hold a headless relic; I've lost the real you. ... let me kiss your butchered neck" (translation from Winkler 1989, 236–237). Finally (5.8), Achilles has Clitophon bury the torso (but not the head).

To Clitophon, the finality of Leucippe's death is beyond doubt. So,

at this moment, it is to readers. A narrative dead end has occurred again, this time two-thirds into the story. Achilles even stops the narrative altogether, as it were, by having Clitophon return to Alexandria and by jumping ahead in time ("Six months had now passed"). Clitophon begins to get over his loss: "Even extreme grief ... cools when it is overcome by the soothing passage of time" (5.8; translation of quotations taken from Winkler 1989, 237). Achilles' technique anticipates the cinema's: in a film, we would watch a fade-out in which this strand of the story comes to an end, albeit an unresolved one, followed by a fade-in which shows us Clitophon at a different time and in a different place.

Leucippe's two false deaths occur in full view of her beloved Clitophon, from whose perspective we follow the entire story. Like Clitophon, we are convinced that Leucippe is dead. The second instance appears to be irreversible because of her decapitation. Yes, we have fallen into the same trap twice. Still, readers suspect that Leucippe will come back, although Achilles does not let us off the hook as quickly. The first explanation of Leucippe's false death had followed immediately; now it is delayed for as long as possible. It comes shortly before the novel's very end, at 8.16 (the book's last chapter is 8.19), after we have seen her reappear in the story (5.17) and have heard about yet another death of hers. Moreover, the explanation provided is even more unlikely than the first; in Aristotle's terms, it is still more striking. Leucippe provides the solution to "the riddle of the severed head" (8.15) in her own account (8.16):

The bandits deceived a woman," she said, "one of those unfortunate creatures who sell their favors for money. ... Removing that poor woman's ornaments and clothes, they dressed me as her and put my modest little shift on her. Stationing her on the stern, where you in pursuit would see her, they sliced off her head and hurled the body (as you saw) down into the sea, but the head, as it fell, they caught and kept on the ship. A little later they got rid of this too, tossing it overboard ... they slew her in my place to deceive their pursuers, thinking they would stand to gain more profit from my sale than from hers. (translation from Winkler 1989, 281–282)

We learn that the decapitation was real enough: the victim was "without doubt dead," as Clitophon had exclaimed. It was just not the person he and we had been led to believe it was. The introduction of the unfortunate creature who has to serve as a substitute for Leucippe and her nearly simultaneous ejection from the story is a clear instance of authorial manipulation necessary in a mystery that is incompatible with verisimilitude. Achilles considerably increases the effect that the

shocking and the apparently impossible can have on the reader. Not in spite of but by means of near-impossible implausibilities, and with an increasing level of ἀδύνατα εἰκότα, he makes his story ἐκπληκτικώτερον before bringing his hero and heroine to their well-deserved happy ending. Readers who are committed to realism or plausibility are not the kind of readers Achilles is addressing.

Having twice pulled off the same trick of presenting his readers with a narrative ἀδύνατον—the impossibility for an adventure-romance plot not to have a happy ending—that incorporates two instances of the ἐκπληκτικόν, will Achilles try for a third time? As befits the complexity and anti-verisimilitude of his plot, the answer to this question is *yes and no*. Yes, there will be a third pretended death for Leucippe; but no, it is reported only verbally. In Book Seven, Clitophon is in prison, and his romantic rival Thersandros is planning revenge. Under false pretenses, Thersandros contrives a henchman of his to become Clitophon's cell mate (7.1):

The plan was that this man, on instructions from Thersandros, was very artfully to introduce the news that Leucippe had been killed. ... This fiendishly clever strategy was devised by Thersandros to throw me into despair at the death of my beloved so that even if I was judged innocent at [my] trial, I would not set out to find her.

The accomplice gives Clitophon a false eyewitness account of Leucippe's death (7.3–4). Clitophon, who might be expected to know better by now, immediately believes the lie (7.4–5) and yields to despair: “O my Leucippe, how many times have you died on me!” (7.5). His friend Kleinias tries to talk some sense into him (7.6): “Who knows whether she is alive this time too. Hasn't she died many times before? Hasn't she often been resurrected?” (translations from Winkler 1989, 260 and 261). At the end of Book 7, the two lovers are reunited (7.16) shortly after readers have found out what had happened to Leucippe this time around (7.10 and 13).

The difference between this episode and the two others involving Leucippe's death is instructive about Achilles' narrative strategy. Since he cannot expect to fool his readers a third time, he changes tactics. Death is only reported, not witnessed; in theater or film terminology, it happens off-stage or off-screen. The mystery is resolved soon after. The episode barely qualifies as an ἐκπληκτικόν, but is it a miscalculation on Achilles' part? Not quite, because the change from deaths witnessed to death told still works, at least on Clitophon. The effect on his readers that Achilles apparently aims for is more complex than the brief episode might make us think. We can imagine him saying: *If you think I cannot deceive you a third time, you are right, but I*

can still turn the screw of false deaths once more by changing the way in which I tell you about it. It is also noteworthy that, after the gruesome details in the eyewitness accounts, Achilles completely withholds how the third murder of Leucippe was supposedly committed. Thersandros' accomplice only tells Clitophon (7.4): "All I heard from the murderer was that he had killed the girl. He didn't tell me where or how!" (translation from Winkler 1989, 261).

The third death of Leucippe is anticlimactic, as Achilles must himself have known. The radical change of moving this death off-screen does not save it from being less gripping than the other two. Only an author's joy at playing narrative games with his readers can justify the inclusion of this episode. With it, Achilles does not really deceive his readers, but he does not simply give up the game of deception either.

Heliodorus: Sudden Death in a Cave

Scholarly consensus dates *Leucippe and Clitophon* to around 150–175 AD. Achilles Tatius' is the second-longest and second-most-complex Greek novel surviving from antiquity. The longest and most complex is Heliodorus' *An Ethiopian Story*, best dated to after 350 AD. Its ten books represent the apex of the extant Greek novels. Heliodorus' narrative trickery is even greater than that of Achilles, in spite of and because of the fact that both authors tell virtually the same kind of romance story in the same manner. What Todorov observes about the narrative law in a particular story applies to the genre as well: temporal succession demands a gradation of intensity. Readers want to be surprised, and clever authors take readers' generic experiences into consideration. However, they adhere to the formulaic demands of their genre. To make his plot ἐκπληκτικώτερον, Heliodorus uses a third-person narrative that contains not only first-person narrators but also narrators speaking within another narrator's account. The novel's entire first half is told by means of an intricate non-linear structure. Heliodorus contrives a strikingly fake death for his heroine as well, one that outdoes what had occurred in *Leucippe and Clitophon*.

Theagenes and Charicleia, the hero and heroine, undergo all manner of dangerous plot twists until the inevitable happy ending. In Book One, we also become familiar with Knemon and Thisbe, a secondary pair erotically linked to each other in a radically different way. In Egypt, Theagenes and Charicleia become the captives of

Thyamis, the leader of a local gang of robbers. He sets Knemon, a young Athenian, to guard the two. Knemon tells them his story (1.9–17). As he reveals, Thisbe, a slave girl, was in cahoots with Knemon's unscrupulous stepmother Demainete; both women are clever and unscrupulous connivers. On Demainete's orders, Thisbe seduced Knemon, who had earlier had to fend off the advances of Demainete. As a result of Demainete's plots against him, Knemon was exiled from Athens and left Greece for Egypt. En route, he hears that Demainete and Thisbe had started turning against each other. Demainete's machinations are exposed by Thisbe's own, and the former comes to a well-deserved end. The Athenian part of the plot is complete.

Thyamis has fallen in love with Charicleia and proposes to marry her (1.18–21). In a dream vision, he learns that he will have her and yet will not (1.18). However, the robbers find themselves under attack by a large enemy force, and Thyamis orders Knemon to hide Charicleia in a cave. Knemon does as instructed (1.27–29). After a fierce battle, Thyamis despairs of ever possessing Charicleia. In wrath and frustration, he decides to kill her (1.30–31). As the omniscient narrator tells it:

Once embarked on a course of action, the heart of a savage brooks no turning back. And when a barbarian loses all hope of his own preservation, he will usually kill everything he loves before he dies crazed with love and jealousy and anger, he [Thyamis] went to the cave as fast as he could run and jumped down into it, shouting long and loud in the Egyptian tongue. Just by the entrance he came upon a woman who spoke to him in Greek. Guided to her by her voice, he seized her head in his left hand and drove his sword through her breast, close to the bosom. With a last, piteous cry, the poor creature fell dead. (translation from Morgan 1989, 377)

Readers have been told of the presence of only one person in the cave. So it appears that, less than one-tenth into the tale, its heroine is dead, a greater shock (ἐκπληκτικώτερον) than the stabbing of Leucippe in Achilles' novel because this death occurs extremely early. However, the narrator does not actually name or otherwise identify the victim except to say that she is Greek. And this points us to the explanation. At the beginning of Book 2, the robbers have been routed. Theagenes, who does not know about the cave, presumes his beloved Charicleia dead and decides to commit suicide (2.1). Knemon, however, tells him that she is alive and leads him to the cave. "Theagenes' spirits revived," we are told, only to be informed immediately: "Little did he know what sorrow awaited him there!" (translations from Morgan 1989, 380). The narrator's comment conforms to what we know or

assume to know: Charicleia is dead; Knemon is not aware of any death in the cave. Once they are in the cave, Theagenes and Knemon immediately find the corpse and assume it to be Charicleia's. Theagenes is ready to kill himself again (2.3–5). However, from deep inside the cave, he is called by a voice, which Knemon identifies as Charicleia's. He looks at the dead woman's face and recognizes Thisbe, who is carrying a writing tablet under her arm (2.5–6).

Stunning as the identification of the corpse must be to Knemon, it is an even greater surprise to readers: *What is Thisbe doing here? How did she, last left in Athens at the end of Knemon's story, get to Egypt and into this cave?* The revelation that Charicleia is not dead after all is no huge surprise to readers familiar with such fiction; the reappearance of Thisbe, a character whose narrative function had supposedly been fulfilled before, may have struck ancient readers as nothing less than an ἐκπληκτικώτερον. Knemon himself serves as our mouthpiece when he exclaims (2.5): "What is this? O gods, you have brought about the impossible!" A little later, he comments to Theagenes (2.7): "you found that the dead woman was who you least expected it to be." Half a page on, we read (2.8): "Charicleia was astounded. 'It is not possible, Knemon!' she said. 'How can someone suddenly be spirited away ... out of the heart of Greece to the remotest parts of Egypt?'" (translations from Morgan, 1989, 382 and 383). Our questions exactly.

Unlike Leucippe's deaths, Thisbe's is real. Thyamis could not have used a trick sword and had no reason to deceive anybody. However, we do not at first know that Heliodorus is using a narrative trick to surprise us. So what led to Thisbe's presence in the cave? The explanation arrives soon enough. First, Knemon continues his own story and reports that Thisbe had left Athens to escape punishment for the death of her mistress Demainete (2.8–9). Then Thisbe's tablet solves the main part of the riddle: she had been the robbers' captive for several days (2.10). Knemon has also recognized the murder weapon still protruding from the corpse as belonging to Thyamis (2.6 and 11), so everybody now knows the essentials. The only part still unclear is how Thisbe ended up in the cave (2.11). This last piece of the puzzle falls into place when the narrator tells us in a third-person flashback that Thyamis' second-in-command Thermouthis had secretly shut Thisbe in the cave near its entrance to keep her for himself (2.12). Thermouthis is just as surprised at discovering Thisbe dead as we were a little earlier.

Credo quia complexum: the apparent death of Charicleia is the real death of Thisbe and occurs as a result of false pretenses and mistaken identity. It is at first as sudden and ἐκπληκτικόν as it is mysterious, more so because Thisbe is not the story's heroine and has already been dropped from the narrative and the readers' consciousness. Ancient

readers are unlikely to have expected a secondary character to receive such prominence in the plot, and the same is true for modern readers. How did this woman whom we had left in a faraway place end up in a different country, in an improbable place, and at a time when the heroine's life but not her own—i.e. Thisbe's—is in danger? The greater is the effect of the ἐκπληκτικόν at this point. It is evident that Heliodorus was counting on just this kind of readers' thinking to spring his narrative trap: a willing suspension of disbelief coupled with the secure, if here false, sense that secondary characters play only minor parts in stories. The extreme complexity of Heliodorus' plot and that of his presentation make it all possible, because the death in the cave is one comparatively small instance of an ἄπιστον that is fully integrated into a whole series of larger ones, all of them interconnected.

Through enigmatic foreshadowing, Heliodorus had thrown us a narrative gauntlet even before we learned of the existence of the cave, which is first mentioned at 1.28. At 1.18, Thyamis had a dream in which Isis delivers Charicleia to him: "you shall have her and not have her; you shall do wrong and slay her, but she shall not be slain." Ancient dream visions, oracles, and other prophecies routinely contained enough enigmas, illogicalities, and impossibilities to cause headaches in those blessed or cursed enough to receive them. So it is with Thyamis. His reaction to the dream is an apt summary of any mystery reader's absorption in a complex plot: "The dream caused him great perplexity, and he turned the vision over and over in his mind, wondering what it could mean. Eventually, in desperation he forced the interpretation to conform with his own desires" (translation from Morgan, 1989, 369). Readers do the same thing: perplexed, they force the kind of solution they wish to be true by trying to make sense of something that only the author can clear up. In *An Ethiopian Story*, this process is pushed even further. At the beginning of its second half, Knemon hears Thisbe's name mentioned again and assumes that she is still alive, although, as he remembers, "with my own eyes I saw and recognized her lifeless body, and with my own hands I buried her" (translation from Morgan, 1989, 446). He then overhears a woman's lament, in which she refers to her narrow escape from a violent death and calls herself Thisbe (5.2). The narrator at once provides the correct identification: "the woman he had heard lamenting was not Thisbe, but Charicleia!" The next sentence brings the explanation in a flashback: "This is what had happened to her..." (5.4; translations from Morgan, 1989, 448). Here is another ἐκπληκτικόν, made more effective by its reversal of identities: first, Thisbe had been mistaken for Charicleia, now Charicleia has been mistaken for Thisbe. Why the latter should call herself by the name of the former, whom she had not

known and of whose presence in the cave alongside her own she had been unaware, is enough to make us react as Knemon does (5.2): “he racked his brains in bewilderment and despair to make sense of it” (translations from Morgan, 1989, 446). The information that makes it all clear comes a little later (5.8).

To literate ancient readers, the kind that Heliodorus is writing for, there will have been one other aspect in the story of Thisbe that made this part of the plot even more of an ἐκπληκτικόν than it may be to many modern readers. Death by the sword near, if not in, a cave had come to another and more famous Thisbe as a result of a misunderstanding, not through mistaken identity but through incorrect interpretation of what had happened before. In his *Metamorphoses*, Ovid told the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, the star-crossed lovers from the city of Babylon (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.55–166). Ovid’s Thisbe sought refuge from a lion in a cave; Heliodorus’ Thisbe was put in a cave for safekeeping. Ovid’s Thisbe killed herself with Pyramus’ sword when she found him dead—Pyramus had rashly assumed her killed by a lion and had carried out what Theagenes is prevented from doing; Heliodorus’ Thisbe is killed by someone else. Thisbe’s name practically preordains her fate. *Nomen est omen*: Beware of caves if your name is Thisbe! Heliodorus cleverly plays with the earlier tale; he expects his readers to notice his deviations.

Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus are masters of the πιθανὸν ἄδύνατον and the ἐκπληκτικόν. In cinema, there is one other master of mystery who can claim to be the others’ equal, even if he was unaware of their existence. His most profound work we might characterize as ἐκπληκτικώτατον: “perhaps the most terrifying film ever made” (Wood 2002, 142).

Hitchcock: Sudden Death in the Shower

Alfred Hitchcock’s most famous thriller is *Psycho* (1960). Its most famous sequence is the murder of Marion Crane, its heroine, in the shower. The crime occurs a little over halfway into the film. Marion’s death is even more shocking to viewers than Leucippe’s and Thisbe’s ordeals must have been to ancient readers. The striking plot turns in Achilles Tatius, Heliodorus, and Hitchcock are high points in a long narrative tradition that uses plausible implausibilities and antiverisimilitudinous shocks as means to create thrilling stories unsurpassed at their time for their vividness and effect. How does

Hitchcock accomplish this in *Psycho*? Why is Marion Crane's death still shocking after more than half a century of murder and mayhem on our screens, most of it far more explicit than anything Hitchcock would have believed possible or necessary?

The first thing to note is that Hitchcock closely adheres to one of the basic rules for gripping narratives as outlined by Aristotle: unity of action (cf. Butcher 1907, 274–301). From the very beginning, when we are introduced to Marion Crane, we are drawn inexorably into her world, for until her death we never leave her. (I have discussed the film's opening in connection with that of *An Ethiopian Story* in Winkler 2000–2001, 175–177.) Wood (2002, 142) rightly observes about the beginning of *Psycho*: “this ... could be *us*.” Rarely does a film make a viewer's identification with a character more compelling: “So far in the film [i.e. up to her death] the spectator has shared Marion's consciousness almost exclusively” (Perkins 1972, 108; cf. Wood 2002, 144–145). Not only do we side with Marion emotionally but we also understand her when she commits a crime and hope for her escape. By the time that Marion encounters a policeman, one of the most intense scenes of the film, we have completely committed ourselves to her. First, and in a reversal of the rule that crime must never be shown to pay, we want her to go scot-free after her embezzlement of a large sum of money. Later, when in a crucial conversation with Norman Bates, the nice young man who rents her a room in his motel, she decides to return and face the consequences of her action, we hope that her punishment will be lenient or waived. We want Marion to live happily ever after with her lover. Even when she steps into her shower, we are with her and see her in close-ups. By now she has become practically inseparable from us. Then the killer strikes. When Norman sinks Marion's car with her dead body in the trunk into a nearby swamp and the scene fades out, the film seems to be over. We have no clue why Marion was killed. Our emotional bond with her had become so close that we are at a loss to understand how her story can be continued. Only later will we find out that *Psycho* is not, after all, Marion's story, or rather, not *only* her story. The fact that Janet Leigh, the most popular star of *Psycho* and prominently featured in the film's advertising, does not receive first or second billing in the credits also gives us a clue. Hers is the last of six title cards naming the cast, even if her importance is indicated by the same size of her name's letters as those of the three actors receiving star billing and by the inclusion of her character's name, which occurs only this once. And again *nomen est omen*. If your last name is Crane, beware of anyone who stuffs and displays dead birds!

Ancient authors did not give interviews, keep diaries or other notes on their creative processes or intentions, or let their readers know

what they had in mind in their works. Today, we are better off. Hitchcock repeatedly spoke about *Psycho* and its shower sequence. Concerning the two ancient novels' and the film's scenes of sudden death and their common function to make each story ἐκπληκτικώτερον, Hitchcock's words about *Psycho* are instructive. With some obvious adjustments, we could be hearing Achilles Tatius or Heliodorus.

Hitchcock comes right to the heart of the matter, the ἐκπληκτικόν: "I think that the thing that appealed to me and made me decide to do the picture was the suddenness of the murder in the shower, coming, as it were, out of the blue. That was about all" (Truffaut and Scott 1984, 268–269). The shower murder "took us seven days to shoot ... and there were seventy camera setups for forty-five seconds of footage. ... Naturally, the knife never touched the body; it was all done in the montage" (Truffaut and Scott 1984, 277). The extreme care and labor that went into the filming revealed Hitchcock's enjoyment in telling such an effective story: "It was rather exciting to use the camera to deceive the audience. ... I don't care about the subject matter ... but I do care about the pieces of film ... and all of the technical ingredients that make the audience scream. ... They were aroused by pure film" (Truffaut and Scott 1984, 277 and 283). If they could, Achilles and Heliodorus would agree: *It was rather exciting to use the stylus to deceive the readers. We care about all the ingredients that make the audience react. They were aroused by pure plot.* Hitchcock concludes about *Psycho* in particular and about his kind of thriller in general: "It's an area of film-making in which it's more important for you to be pleased with the technique than with the content" (Truffaut and Scott 1984, 283). We can imagine the ancient novelists nodding their assent.

Unlike Leucippe but like Thisbe, Marion Crane is really dead. Unlike the cases of both Leucippe and Thisbe, the main reason for Marion's death is a plot development of such deviousness that viewers will be in for a bigger shock when they receive the explanation. Hitchcock, master creator of mystery and suspense and, as here, of shocking twists, is the modern heir to Achilles and Heliodorus. Hitchcock was not a student or reader of Aristotle, Achilles Tatius, or Heliodorus. Still, he adheres to the theory of ἀδύνατα εἰκότα and the ἐκπληκτικώτερον as outlined by Aristotle; he also applies this theory in the manner practiced by Achilles and Heliodorus. The similarities and the comparable plot functions in their respective stories of a heroine's (or a comparable character's) sudden murder justify juxtaposing the ancient authors and the modern director.

Like the Greek novelists, Hitchcock was aware of the gap between fictional stories based on realism and his own thriller plots. He

repeatedly made fun of critics who objected to improbabilities in his films and sarcastically dismissed them as “our friends, the plausibles and logicians” (Truffaut and Scott 1984, 151). Disarmingly, Hitchcock added: “On the one hand I claim to dismiss the plausibles, and on the other I’m worried about them. After all, I’m only human!” His artistic creed was this: “We should have total freedom to do as we like, just so long as it’s not dull. A critic who talks to me about plausibility is a dull fellow” (Kapsis 1992, 81). In other words: “Film should be stronger than reason” (quoted from McGilligan 2003, 24). So the ἄπιστον or ἀδύνατον has become the πιθανόν. As Aristotle had said: πιθανὸν τινὶ πιθανόν—what is credible is so because it is credible to someone. Hitchcock has made *Psycho* credible to us.

Aristotle Vindicated

S.H. Butcher, one of the most perceptive commentators on the *Poetics*, concluded about Aristotle’s discussion of possibilities and impossibilities: “These so-called ἀδύνατα are the very δύνата of art, the stuff and substance of which poetry [i.e. every story] is made. ... The ἀδύνατα, things impossible in fact, become πιθανά [things credible or convincing in a narrative]” (Butcher 1907, 170–171 and 173). His words apply to Achilles Tatius, Heliodorus, and Hitchcock in equal measure.

“What is drama after all, but life with the dull bits cut out” (Truffaut and Scott 1984, 103). This definition by Hitchcock fits all narrative literature from antiquity to today, from mysteries and adventure–romances to serious epics, dramas, and novels. It also applies to narratives in images. Equally, Hitchcock’s witty description of the differences between a cinema that adheres to drab reality and probability at any price and his own work, exciting at the expense of verisimilitude, may stand as a final comment on our topic: “Some directors film slices of life, I film slices of cake” (Truffaut and Scott 1984, 339; cf. 103). Aristotle, Achilles Tatius, or Heliodorus would have had no problem understanding Hitchcock’s meaning. From an Aristotelian perspective, the striking plot turns here examined confirm the modernity of Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus and the classical timelessness of Alfred Hitchcock.

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CHAPTER 37

Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*

Literary Transmission and Reception

Maria Pia Pattoni

The Re-discovery of the Text in the Renaissance: The “Artistic” Translation

Longus seems to have left no trace of himself in antiquity. There are no papyri and no certain allusions to his novel before the Byzantine period, though some critics have found relationships with contemporary literary or artistic production, often in connection with the question of dating—for example post-Pompeian wall painting, Alkiphron, Lucian, Heliodorus—but the evidence is inconclusive (see Hunter 1983, 6–13). The first explicit reference appears in Niketas Eugenianos' *Drosilla and Charicles*, a long verse-romance of the twelfth century: in 6.439–450, the author names *Daphnis and Chloe* and gives a brief résumé of their story; he also paraphrases portions of Longus' proem (356–377), *Daphnis'* monologue (1.18), and *Philetas'* proclamation of Eros (2.7).¹

Western Europe began to read Longus mostly in the celebrated French translation of Jacques Amyot (1559), which antedated the *editio princeps* of the Greek text by Raphael Columbanus, for Filippo Giunta, in 1598. The traditional policy of French kings, at least since Louis XII, was to encourage translations, with the purpose of dignifying the national language, by putting it in contact with ancient languages. Amyot, who was already the author of a French version of

Heliodorus (1547), anonymously published *Les Amours Pastorales de Daphnis et de Chloé*: his position of *abbé* and tutor of Henry II's sons—the future kings of France, Charles IX and Henry III—must have suggested this choice to him. Moralistic scruples are visible in the deletion of some passages considered indecent for their content, such as the details of Daphnis' sexual initiation by Lycaenion in 3.18.3–4.

Prior to Amyot's translation is the Italian adaptation of Annibal Caro, which can be dated to 1537, though it remained unpublished until 1786 (Ferrini 1991, 96). In this work, more a rewriting than a translation, it is worth mentioning the passage invented by Caro in place of the great lacuna in 1.1.13–17.4 (Daphnis's bath and his competition with Dorcon). While Amyot simply omits the text lacking in his manuscript,² Caro, with manneristic indulgence, invents an exuberant description of the “*pelaghetto bellissimo*,” where Daphnis bathes (a “beautiful pond,” surrounded by many caves, and full of darting fishes). Nearby is Chloe, whom Daphnis, as a joke, tricks into believing that he wants to join the Nymphs under the waves. In fact, he hides in a cave on the shore, and the ingenuous shepherdess believes that the Nymphs, seduced by his beauty, have taken him prisoner (an echo of the myth of Hyla in Theocr. 13?): “*dolente e gelosa non cessava di richiamarlo*” (“sorrowful and jealous, she did not cease to call him”). However, here the literary *lusus* suddenly ends, and Caro declines to prolong his narrative fiction as far as the point of junction with Longus' text. A similar attitude is shown in the Lycaenion episode: if Amyot's translation simply unites the passages before and after 3.18.3–4, jumping from “as follows” to “After this lesson,” Caro enlarges this scene, especially the woman's speech, enhancing, with further details, a passage considered taboo by many translators, even after Amyot.

The first English adaptation, published in London in 1587 by Angel Day, had Amyot as his source. As Amyot did before, Day cuts Lycaenion's sex lesson from Book 3, but he removes also many of the sensuous passages that still survived in Amyot. When Philetas ends his lesson with “The only remedies are kissing, and embracing, and lying together with naked bodies” (2.7.7), Day translates: “I founde that kisses gave ease to sighes, liking to longing, and bedding eache with other after mariage concluded, the some of all our determined affection” (Jacobs 1890, 61). While Longus describes the nymphs appearing to Daphnis as “tall and beautiful women, half naked and barefooted, with their hair falling free, and like their statues” (2.23.1), Day dissolves vividness into vagueness, writing that “their attire” was “altogether Nymphlike, their countenances freyght with manifest pleasures,” as they “appeared to put forward to his reliefe many occasions of comfort” (71). Gone also are lively episodes such as the

animal-imitative dance celebrating the harvest (2.37) or when Chloe puts on Daphnis' clothes while he bathes (1.24.2). Day clearly aims to eliminate from Longus' words "the spirit of pagan sensuality that inspires them," and "to reconcile them with the requirements of Christian morality" (Pruvost 1932–1933, 488). Among many other omissions, there are also the passages in which Daphnis burst into tears (2.17.1; 2.23.1; 3.26.1): Day must have thought that these unrestrained emotional reactions did not suit his hero's virility and aristocracy. Even when his character feels grief and fear, he somehow retains his conventional *virtus* (it is probably not a coincidence that the motto on the title page says: *Altior fortuna virtus*).

Despite such omissions, Day's adaptation is at least double the length of Amyot's, since there are several additions, most of which follow the fashion of the time. Day not only enjoys amplifying all the rhetorically inviting passages, such as descriptions of days or seasons, but sprinkles his translation with the customary pastoral verse (singing contests, love complaints, panegyrics, etc.).³ Just at the point where Lycaenion should be giving her love lesson in Book 3, Day inserts a passage of prose and verse, more than 20 pages long, which is separately entitled *The Shepheards Holidiaie* and recounts the shepherds' yearly feast celebrating their virgin queen, Eliza. The evident anachronism was already announced in the bombastic title: "Daphnis and Chloe, excellently describing the weight of affection, the simplicitie of love, the purport of honest meaning, the resolution of men, and disposition of Fate, finished in a Pastorall, and interlaced with the praises of a most peerlesse Princesse, wonderfull in Maiestie, and rare in perfection, celebrated within the same Pastorall, and therefore termed by the name of 'The Shepeards Holidiaie.'"

These Renaissance "artistic" translations had an essential importance, on more than one level. First of all, they contributed to the creation of an enjoyable language for literary prose: narrative patterns, images, stylistic figures were incorporated from the Greek models into the native literary language. In addition, they invited imitation within their particular genre: an immense number of pastoral romances inspired by or imitating Longus appeared since the middle of the sixteenth century throughout Western Europe. Rediscovered in the Renaissance, this ancient novelist offered poets new possibilities for romance, breaking with the chivalric-heroic models inherited from earlier centuries.

From Translation to Emulation

Since the date of publication of Amyot's translation, Longus' influence can thus be postulated with relative confidence, while it remains uncertain if occasional analogies found in older works derive from a direct knowledge of the text.⁴ Longus' influence on the *Arcadia* composed by Sannazaro around 1485 and published in 1504, and even on Boccaccio's *Ninfale fiesolano* (about 1345), was postulated, for example by Schönberger (1989, 46); but skepticism is probably justified in this regard (Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, 77–78). Neither Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, whose basic pattern, with its prolonged melancholy and unrequited love, derives directly from the Virgilian eclogues, nor other works under the influence of Sannazaro, such as Montemayor's later *Diana*, essentially a Heliodoran romance with Virgilian shepherds, really belong in the Longus family. In turn, Montemayor was a model for Cervantes' *Galatea* (1585), whose plot partly follows also Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. In his last work, *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, published after his death in 1617, Cervantes seems to know Longus more directly, but his models are rather Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus (Billault 1992). Political and ideological reasons—due mostly to the omnipotent Inquisition—probably restrained Longus' success in Spain.⁵

In France, which was already familiar with the bucolic poetry in the Provençal *pastourelles* of the *Troubadours* or in the pastoral drama *Le jeu de Robin et de Marion* (1283) by Adam de la Halle, Longus-Amyot's influence is clear in the pastoral collection of Rémy Belleau (a member of the *Pléiade*), *La Bergerie*, composed in 1565 and revised in 1572 (Lestrigant 1986). Belleau's reworking may be considered an instructive example of the sixteenth century approach to Longus. In his revision, the author expands his "Description des vendanges" (Description of the grape harvest) from about 40 lines of the 1565 version to almost 300, with the new title "Vendangeurs: l'amour rustique" (in the *Première Journée*; in Belleau, Remy. *Oeuvres poétiques*, edited by Charles Marty-Laveaux. Tome I. Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1878, 229–238). While the first version simply describes the activities of wine-making (as Longus does in 2.1.1–3), in the 1572 expansion, this part leads to a tale of love between the shepherd Tenot and Catin, "bergère de haut pris." There follows a passage strongly reminiscent of Long. 2.3–6: an old man tells Tenot about meeting Love in his garden; the winged boy-archer escapes him like a young partridge. He claims to be of great age despite his childish appearance, and speaks of how he keeps the garden fresh. The scene does not end with Philetas' remedies for love illness, but with the old man's disclosure that Tenot's father, having heard of his hopes to marry, will endow him with many gifts. Every sensual note is eliminated: instead of the pagan philosophy of *eros*, Belleau constructs a moral tale of virtuous youths,

benevolent fathers, and honest old men.

In Italy, the first work certainly related to Longus is Tasso's *Aminta*, a pastoral drama written in 1573, a contamination of virtually all previous bucolic motifs. Like Daphnis and Chloe, Aminta and Silvia grow up together:

Oh, alas! I lived, you see,
so close to her for some time that among
two turtle doves no more faithful mates
ever were or will be found.
Our dwellings were conjoined—
but more conjoined our hearts;
our ages close—
but our thoughts closer still.
With her I set the traps for the fish
and nets for the birds
and hunted the stags and quick deer;
and our pleasures and prey were shared. (1.2.74–81; translation
from Hayward, as at [http://www.english.iup.edu/mhayward/
aminta.htm](http://www.english.iup.edu/mhayward/aminta.htm))

Aminta's pretending to be stung by a bee on the lip (1.2.131) may recall Daphnis' complaint that Chloe's kiss hurts more than a bee sting (1.18), but the motif is also found in Achilles Tatius 2.7.6 (see also Theocr. 19, *Anacr.* 35 W., and Longus, 1.14.2). In Tasso, the image returns in *Rime* 305); Tasso's Satyr repeats the bee sting image in 2.1, and his lustful lying in wait for Silvia is perhaps a reminiscence of Longus' Dorcon in the wolf skin.

A pastoral drama written few years later, influenced both by Tasso and Longus, is Giovan Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido* (1590). The play opens with an old servant's lesson on human and cosmic love, which recalls Philetas' speech in Long. 2.7, and ends with a recognition scene between father and lost son, followed by a marriage. In act 4, Silvio meets with the nymph Echo and encounters what he thinks to be a shepherd in a wolf's skin; but the shepherd turns out to be Silvio's beloved Dorinda, whom he almost kills with an arrow, a scene that seems a creative re-writing of Dorcon episode in Long. 1.20.

As in the *Arcadia* by Sannazaro, Guarini's play also contributed to form the pastoral imagery in later poets: echoes are present, for example, in John Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, a "pastoral tragicomedy" (c. 1608), and also in the anonymous Latin play acted at Cambridge in the early 1600s, *Pastor Fidus* (see Arnold 1990), which contains many motifs familiar in Renaissance romance-drama, influenced by Longus.

Longus and the Pastoral Fashion: A Brief History of a Long Passion

Since its “re-emergence” in the Renaissance, *Daphnis and Chloe* has proved to be the most durable of the Greek novels. Its impact on the development of pastoral romance in Europe has been immeasurable: some literary works from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century are directly influenced by Longus; others follow texts that may themselves lie at more than one remove; and someone even seems to prefer Longus’ pastoral source, Theocritus. Moreover, it is sometimes difficult for us to make a distinction between a direct echo and the development of a well-established literary topos. However, it is not always so important to establish with what degree of awareness an author has taken his inspiration from Longus, since, whatever may be the relationship between the Greek model and the rewriting, the novel has contributed in a decisive way to form the imagery of pastoral romance, with all its typical ingredients.

These narratives present, with varied concentration, certain common traits, already visible in Longus. Heading characters are foundlings or orphans (sometimes only one of them has been abandoned by the parents, as in Sand’s *François le Champi* and *Fadette*). Each foundling often retains a mysterious otherness, which distinguishes him/her from the rustic manners of the adoptive parents. There is usually a rival, an older youth like Dorcon. Sometimes also a sage appears, such as the love-wise Philetas with his important speech in Book 2. The narrator tends to describe idyllic peace, by contrast, as recurrently threatened by natural and human dangers (true or alleged wolves, pirates, outsiders’ attacks, kidnappings). Since isolation is almost a necessity for this kind of love story, the setting is usually an island (as in Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre’s *Paul et Virginie*, Stowe’s *Pearl of Orr’s Island*, Stacpoole’s *The Blue Lagoon*, and Mishima’s *The Sound of Waves*), or a remote community or household (as in Sand’s novels). These islands are characterized by some recurrent features: the cave, the spring, the garden, the singular tree, etc. Some analogies are also visible in the narrative technique. Most texts are relatively short, since the narration is quite simple, focusing on the couple alone, and only until the wedding. It partially preserved the tendency, started by Longus, to organize the plot by seasons, as in Shakespeare’s *The Winter’s Tale* or in Sand’s *Fadette*. A theme often assumed in these narratives is also “pathetic fallacy,” a shared feeling between nature and humans (as especially in Sand and

in Mishima). Besides these common traits, pastoral narrations share motifs that are familiar in every sort of romance: lost or concealed aristocracy, episodes of captivity, prophetic dreams, storms occurring at significant moments, etc.

In Britain, the pastoral genre becomes popular in the Elizabethan age. The *Arcadia* by Philip Sidney, “the first modern European to compose a full-scale novel in the ancient pattern” (Skretkowicz 1990, 51), combines pastoral elements, depending on the example of Sannazaro’s *Arcadia*, with a mood mainly derived from the model of Heliodorus (see Wolff 1912 and Carver 1997, who point out a predominant influence of Apuleius on the *Old Arcadia* and of Heliodorus on the *New*). Longus’ influence on British authors increases especially since 1587, the year of the publication of Angel Day’s translation. The appearance of Longus in Robert Greene’s *Pandosto* (1588) and *Menaphon* (1589) may mean that Day was his source, but literate Greene would have been himself capable of reading Amyot (Sandy and Harrison 2008, 309). Also, Edmund Spenser was influenced by Longus, especially in his unfinished poem *The Faerie Queene* (1590–1596).⁶ Through Day and Greene (or maybe Amyot himself) some of Longus’ influence reached Shakespeare, who, for example in his drama *The Tempest*, may have had *Daphnis and Chloe* among his models, and in the *Winter’s Tale* (III 3) seems to imitate the hunt episode of the Methymnaeans.⁷ The interest for pastoral drama, favored by G. Jungermann’s Latin translation (1605) and G. Thornley’s English translation (1657), lasted in Britain for several decades, sometimes also with ironical rewritings that appear far from the idealism of Renaissance romance: it is the case of Andrew Marvell’s *Daphnis and Chloe* (1657), where the couple retains very little of the mutual feeling and sweetness of the Greek model. Still, in the eighteenth century, *The Gentle Shepherd*, a pastoral comedy of the Scottish writer Allan Ramsay (1725), takes some of his inspiration from Longus (Dunlop 1888, I, 57).

In France, after the enthusiasm of the Renaissance, there was a temporary eclipse of Longus’ vogue (Barber 1989, 27–29), which chronologically corresponds, in scholarship, with the severe judgment given by Pierre-Daniel Huet (1670). Starting with the assumption that “the principal End of Romance [...] is the Instruction of the Reader; before whom he must present Virtue successful, and Vice in Disgrace” (5), Huet condemned Longus’ style and plot (simplistic because “it begins grossly in the birth of the two shepherds, and ends with their marriage,” 52), and was disturbed by the book’s immorality (“so obscene, that one must be somewhat of a cynic to read it without blushing,” 53). He acknowledged that, in previous times, many learned men had praised *Daphnis and Chloe* for its “elegance and

agreement”; nevertheless, he found in it only “simplicity, which sometimes declines to childishness and impertinence.”

This misjudgment influenced the attitude of many classical scholars, at least until the publication of Jean Baptiste Villoison’s masterful edition of *Daphnis and Chloe* (1778). In defending the Greek author against his detractors and especially Huet, Villoison finds in this novel an open sincerity and simplicity that must appeal to every class of readers; Longus’ Greek language “flows forth like a silvery stream, shaded by green woods, and is so flourishing, so vivid, so polished that every grace of word and thought is woven into it” (xxxvi). His important scholarly work, with textual notes and commentary extending for over 300 pages, had the merit of conveying a new awareness of Longus’ significance also in classical scholarship, in a period of revival of pastoral fashion in every art.

The eighteenth century marks a significant increase in interest in Longus, in part thanks to the influence of the Swiss Salomon Gessner, who had read Amyot’s translation in his father’s library. From Longus, but even more from Theocritus and Virgil, he drew his idealizing conception of the pastoral world, expressed in the poem *Daphnis* (1754) and in the *Idyllen* (1756 and 1772).⁸ Gessner, in turn, was much read and appreciated in France: his first French translation in 1760 rode a wave of fashionable pastoralism, both in poetry (such as in the *Idylles et poèmes champêtres*, 1775, by N.G. Léonard), and in prose, as in *Annette et Lubin* by J.F. Marmontels (1761), a tale of two cousins raised together who, orphaned, fall in love and make love, being unaware of the possible consequences. Like *Daphnis and Chloe*, they are inseparable, and live only for each other and their flocks: the narration recalls Longus for the atmosphere of their naive falling in love.

The influence of Longus, whether direct or mediated, is found also in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who depicts a sort of ideal Arcadia in his epistolary novel *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761). The purpose, illustrated in his *Préface ou Entretien sur les Romans*, of showing “that a man of merit, who wants to retire with his family into the country, and become his own farmer, might enjoy more rational felicity, than in the middle of the amusements of a great city,” closely recalls Longus’ conclusion: after marriage, *Daphnis* chooses to live in the country with his family, becoming his own farmer.⁹ Rousseau, together with Longus, became a model for Bernardin de Saint-Pierre’s *Paul et Virginie* (1787): the novel tells the simple and genuine life of two youths—in the innocence of nature, far from corrupt civilization—on the tropical island of Mauritius (the sunny landscape and the ingenuous passions of the main characters earned the work the title of “*Le Daphnis et Chloé français*”: see Billault 1985).

Among Gessner's French admirers there was also Jean-Pierre Florian, who introduced into Gessner's idealized Arcadia a deep attachment to actual places, the idyllic landscapes of his homeland, in the south of France: "I will celebrate my country"—he announces at the beginning of *Estelle* (1787)—"I will paint those pretty lands where the green olive, the red mulberry, the golden clusters grow together beneath an eternally blue heaven." Some landscape descriptions in this pastoral romance, whose protagonists are two shepherds—Nemorin, orphaned in childhood, and Estelle, his beloved companion since that time—recall Longus' emphasis on the countryside; but the plot, with several incidents and reversals, has more in common with the Heliodorus tradition than with the terse simplicity of *Daphnis and Chloe*. In fact, his narration owes much also to the adventure-romance style of Montemayor or Cervantes's *Galatea*, which Florian had recently translated.

Using the pattern of idyllic romances, especially as set by Longus and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, George Sand renewed the genre with an original mediation between a too stylized and Arcadian ideal of nature and the actual rural life of her own region. Her three chief novels—the *romans champêtres*—were written close together in time, and all first appeared in serialization: *La Mare au Diable* (*The Devil's Pool*) in 1846, *François le Champi* (*François the Waif*) in 1847–1848, *La Petite Fadette* (*Little Fadette*) in 1848. This is the time of Corot's paintings inspired by Longus. Sand never concealed her interest for *Daphnis and Chloe*. In the introduction to *François le Champi*, she writes that "from the shepherds of Longus down to those of Trianon, pastoral life has been a perfumed Eden, where souls tormented and abandoned by tumult of the world have sought a refuge." In *La Petite Fadette*, the marriage of the two lovers is favored by the heroine's unexpected inheritance of 4,000 francs (Chapter 33), which recalls the miraculous finding of the bag with 3,000 drachmas by Daphnis (Long. 3.28). Sand's fondness for Longus is confirmed by the fact that, in 1861 and 1862, she staged, in the small theater of her house at Nohan, a three-act comedy entitled *Daphnis et Chloé* (Vieillefond 1987, xci–xcii).

The reading of Amyot's translation and a journey in the native Cévennes gave inspiration to Ferdinand Fabre to write the idyllic country novel *Le Chevrier* (1866), appreciated by C.A. de Saint-Beuve and Frédéric Mistral. Mistral himself, in 1859, composed the narrative poem *Mirèio*, in 12 cantos, which, however far (and not only in the tragic conclusion) from Longus' terse charm, presents some thematic analogies with the Greek model. Like Florian and Sand, Mistral dedicated himself to the geography and history of his native region, as well as to its language (the poem is written in the Occitan language of southeastern France). Reminiscences of Theocritus and Longus are

present also in the *Chansons de Bilitis traduites du grec pour la première fois* by Pierre Louÿs (1894), a writer most renowned for lesbian and classical themes. With a common fictional device, these *songs*, separated into three cycles (*Bucolics in Pamphylia*, *Elegies at Mytilene*, *Epigrams in the Isle of Cyprus*), are attributed to the discovery of a German archaeologist.

Also with regard to German literature, the success of Gessner's work exerted its influence on most of the following Arcadian literature. The enthusiastic judgment given by Goethe is renowned, who read Longus' novel first in Amyot's French translation and then in Passow's German one, appreciating, among other qualities, its skillful composition and use of "delay," and recommending the yearly reading.¹⁰ In Goethe's production, echoes of Longus can be seen in the idyll *Herman und Dorothea* (1796–1798), in the "arkadisches Lied" of *Faust* second part (vv. 9526 sgg.), and in some lyrics composed as commentary on Wilhelm Tischbein's *Idyllen*. Even in the different Romantic taste, Gessner' idylls did not cease to influence the poetic production of the nineteenth century: traces of Longus, through the intermediary of Gessner, are still recognizable, at the end of the century, in *Hastenbeck* (1899) by Wilhelm Raabe, with a German setting for Daphnis and Chloe's love story.

How to Green Again a Classic: From Lesbos to a Japanese Island

The first writer who has shown a full understanding of the genre's social implications is perhaps George Sand. Her rustic novels aim at providing solace and tranquility after the political turmoil of 1848. As if to take precautions against possible charges of escape from reality, in the preface to *La Petite Fadette* she describes idyllic writing as a political act in itself:

In times when evil comes from men's misunderstanding and hating each other, the artist's mission is to celebrate sweetness, mutual confidence, and friendship, and thereby to remind hardened or discouraged humanity that purity of morals, tender sentiments, and pristine justice still exist, or at least can exist, in this world. Direct allusion to present ills, appeals to excited passions—these do not lead to salvation; a sweet song, an air on

the rustic pipe, a tale with which to lull little children to sleep without fear and suffering, is better than the spectacle of real evils deepened and darkened still more by the colours of fiction.

About 300 years before Sand, during the sixteenth-century French religious wars, Remy Belleau also found uses for *Daphnis and Chloe*: as Barber (1989, 11) has argued, “the Greek story not only provided him with specific incidents, but also [...] with the nostalgia for a quiet, peaceful and retired life.”

Sand’s use of pastoral romance as a *catharsis* for violence is also evident in Yukio Mishima’s 1954 *The Sound of Waves* (Japanese title: *Shiosai*), a post-war Japanese novel, which Marguerite Yourcenar (1986, 40) praised as “infinitely purer” than the Greek model. Its publication less than a decade after Hiroshima, at a time of world history when Longus’ romance would seem to have run its course, reminds us that the idyllic stories of George Sand were composed to counter war’s effect upon contemporary society. Such a connection between idyllicism and tumultuous historical reality seems to be confirmed by the modern publishing history of Longus’ novel, with editions appearing in Weimar in 1917 and 1918, in the Netherlands in 1943, and in Berlin and Heidelberg in 1945, followed soon by editions in Hamburg and Munich. Readers in post-war Japan were also discovering *Daphnis and Chloe*: Ferrini (1991, 253–254) lists translations in 1947, 1948, 1949 (two), 1951, and later. Mishima’s attempt to recreate Longus’ Greek island in his own country was probably encouraged by this widespread pastoral fashion. However, some hints of recent history remain here and there, such as the description of the death of Shinji’s father in an air attack on his fishing boat: as in Longus, idyllic peace is continuously threatened by the external world, which coincides here with the real world.

Like Florian, Mistral, and Sand, Mishima sets the novel in his own country: the rural Lesbos, land of shepherds, becomes a Japanese island of fishermen (fishermen’s characters were already in the pastoral poetry of Theocritus and in Sannazaro’s “piscatory” eclogues). The Greek model provides Mishima with many themes and narrative kernels. Like Daphnis and Chloe, Shinji and Hatsue discover a new erotic desire when they see each other naked. Like in Longus, there is a rival, an ambitious boy named Yasuo. The seasonal cycle that helps to shape Longus’ narration returns here in a shorter form, from the beginning of their love in the early spring to the couple’s engagement in late August. Most of all, in common with the Greek model, there is a feeling of profound correspondence with nature: perhaps Mishima succeeds in reviving the ancient text so convincingly just because, without renouncing a modern sense of inner life, it retains most of the lively pantheism of Longus. This consonance with nature frequently

speaks in Mishima's images of the sea: Shinji hears "the sound of waves striking the shore," and it is as though "the surging of his young blood was keeping time with the movement of the sea's great tides" (Mishima 1954).

As in every rewriting, some passages are transformed according to the author's poetics. For example, Mishima converts the pastoral episode of Dorcon in the wolf skin (which could be fully appreciated only by a learned reader, familiar with Homer; on this passage as a conscious rewriting in bucolic style of Dolon episode in *Il.* 10, see Pattoni 2005, 33–39) in a more realistic situation, while retaining the same delicate humor of the original: Yasuo lies in wait at night to catch Hatsue drawing water, and the girl is rescued when an angry hornet, not a pack of dogs, attacks Yasuo. Also, the ending of *Daphnis and Chloe*—so closely linked to the literary conventions of his age—is profoundly changed. In Longus, the couple's wedding was achieved through external intervention, with the help of gods (Eros, Pan, the Nymphs) and *tyche*: first the finding of the bag full of gold, and then, more important, the recognition scene, a typical device of New Comedy. In Mishima, the male character redeems himself from the passivity that in Longus he shared with the female one, and overcomes the social obstacles to his marriage through a heroic deed: during a storm, he proves himself by saving his future father-in-law's ship. While Longus shaped his conclusion on the comic genre, Mishima chooses an ending in a fairy-tale style: his hero conquers the hand of his beloved, the daughter of the richest man in the village, through a proof of incredible force and courage.

Mishima's novel, well received not only by critics but also by a large, international audience, confirms that readers are still attracted by the "pleasantness of the subject," a quality that already Raphael Columbanus (1598), editor of the first printed text, recognized in Longus. The interest shown, in more recent times, by cinema also gives further evidence of the lucky formula of this evergreen classic (for references on Longus' reception in cinema and also in visual arts, see the listings under Further Readings), which appeals to every class of reader, as Villoison had rightly foreseen.

Notes

- 1 A possible reminiscence before Byzantine novels has been seen by McCail 1988 in an anacreontic poem by the ninth-century poet Constantine of Rhodes, which describes an encounter with Eros quite similar to that of Philetas; the identification, however, is not sure, since Constantine might have been imitating some other lost models.

2 The only manuscript transmitting the complete text at this point is the thirteenth-century *Florentinus Laurentianus conv(enti) soppr(essi)* 627 (termed F by Reeve), which had been known to Politian in the late fifteenth century, but it remained disregarded at the Badia in Florence until Paul-Louis Courier used it for his edition published in Rome in 1810. Therefore, having found the complete text in F, Courier was the first editor and also translator of the lacuna.

3 The same attitude is shown in Lorenzo Gambara's *Expositi*, an adaptation in Latin hexameters, published in Antwerp in 1569 and reprinted several times, until the edition of Longus' pastoral novel by B.G.L. Boden (Lipsiae, 1777). Gambara leaves out not only the erotic scenes, but also the mythological narratives (Pitys, Syrinx, Echo), and other episodes such as the Methymnaeans' invasion and the sacrifice for Chloe (here called Leuke). Many are the new scenes introduced (e.g. didactic speeches and an epithalamium in elegiac distiches for the protagonists' wedding).

4 The situation is different for the humanists, who knew Greek, such as Henricus Stephanus: visiting Italy between 1547 and 1555, he examined manuscripts of Greek novels, among them F, and he read enough of Longus to publish in 1555 renderings in Latin pastoral of two episodes from Book 1, both preserved only in F; see Reeve (2008, 388).

5 Traces of Longus have been seen in the novel *Arcadia* by Lope de Vega (1598), even if filtered by intermediate sources. In the nineteenth century, Juan de Valera (1879), who translated Longus' work with refined irony and grace, gave a considerable contribution to the knowledge of this novelist in Spain. On Longus' influence on Spanish literature of the last two centuries, see Hardin 2000, 135–160, 216–22.

6 According to Doyle 1974, Faunus' assault on the nymph Molanna in the sixth Canto of the added *Mutabilitie* also derives some of its details from Dorcon's attack on Chloe.

7 The possibility that Shakespeare made direct use of *Daphnis and Chloe* as a source for *The Tempest* has been argued by Gesner 1970, who sees similarities, besides the setting on a natural island full of music, in the celebration of youth and innocence, in aspects of the scenario such as a storm and incursion by outsiders, and in some correspondences between characters (Philetas and Prospero, Eros and Ariel, Daphnis and Ferdinand, Chloe and Miranda, Dorcon and Caliban). On *Winter's Tale* and *As You Like It*, see also Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, 494–516.

8 Gessner himself acknowledged that Longus—along with Virgil

and, chiefly, Theocritus—had formed the basis of all his pastorals (see letter of the 29 November 1754 in Gessner, Salomon. *Sämtliche Schriften*. I–III, Zurich, 1972: Orell Fussli, III, 143).

9 The similarities with Longus seem to involve also specific parts of the work, though it is not always easy to distinguish between direct imitation and topical situation: the episode of Chloe's first kiss (1.17–18) shows analogies with Julie's first kiss (I 16);

Dionysophanes' garden (4.2–4) reminds one of M. and Mme de Wolmar's (4.11); reminiscence of the grape harvest scene in Long. 2.1–2 and 36 may be recognized in the idyllic scene of the grape harvest at Clarens (5.7).

10 In *Gespräche mit Eckermann*, 9, 14, 20, 21; März (1831). About Goethe's judgment, see Schönberger 1984, 36–39 and Hägg 1983, 212–213.

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A comprehensive account of the textual transmission of *Daphnis and Chloe* can be found in Reeve's preface to the Teubner text (and see also Morgan 1997, 2224–2229). Basic information about Longus' editions and translations in all languages is provided by Ferrini 1991, with detailed bibliographical listings. A more discursive account of the publication history, from Amyot's translation to the reawakening interest in late nineteenth century, is given by Barber 1989 (for further details on Amyot's influence in European literature, see also Stone 1979, Lestrigant 1986, and Plazenet 2002). Angel Day's adaptation was compared with its source, Amyot's version, by Wolff (1912, 465–469). On the Italian translations by Annibal Caro and Gasparo Gozzi, see Berger 1988. Bianchi 2006 prints a partial Latin translation by Girolamo Amati (1768–1834) contained in Vat. Lat. 9780.

For a list of literary works more or less directly influenced by Longus, a useful starting point is the "Nachleben" appendix in Schönberger 1989, 45–52; other overviews are given by García Gual 1972, 263–275; Vieillefond 1987, lxxx–xcviii; McCall 2002, xxvii–xxix, and Pattoni 2005, 180–189. For the studies published between 1950 and 1995, see the excellent *Bibliographical Survey* in Morgan 1997, 2273–2276. Among the studies published after 1995 and not mentioned in Morgan's survey, see Doody 1996, which has focused long-needed attention on the Greek romance backgrounds of the novel, in a comparative approach. A work of broader scope that

explores the literary tradition of idyllic romance from the Renaissance to the twentieth century is Hardin 2000. Montague 1994 offers a lively analysis of the parallels between *Daphnis and Chloe* and those popular novels known generally as “Harlequins” (as, for example, *Interlude in Arcady*, by Margery Hilton, 1969).

In ICAN IV (Lisbon, 21–26 July 2008, “Crossroad on the Ancient Novel: Spaces, Frontiers, Intersections”), one of the parallel sessions was “The Reception of the Ancient Novel in Literature and Art”; see the abstracts of Carlos García Gual (“The Ancient Novel and the Novel of the Spanish Golden Age”), Roman Reisinger (“Le modèle de D&C et sa réception dans la littérature médiévale française”), Akihiko Watanabe (“The Ancient Novel in modern Japan”), and Simone Beta (“‘Daphnis and Chloe’ on the stage at the end of the 19th century”).

Regarding Longus’ reception in visual arts: one of the earliest notable allusions has been seen in a painting by Giovanni Battista Bertucci, active from 1498 to 1516 (the picture was formerly attributed to Francesco Bianchi Ferrari: Ingamells [1985, 215–217]); a description with commentary is given by Hardin 2000, 28–29. Ioannides 1991 has argued that the famous painting by Titian traditionally called *The Three Ages of Man* (1516) was inspired by the story of Daphnis and Chloe. Since both these pictures antedate the publication of the first translation and the first Greek text (see McCail 2002, xxix), knowing more about the sources of the two painters (among whom, more or less directly, Politian) would aid us in tracing the prepublication history of Longus in the Renaissance.

One of the artists who most loved this theme was Chagall. Cueva 2000–2001 has rightly argued about the important influence of Mir Istkusstva (an artistic movement with the aim to accelerate the evolution of Russian art) on the genesis of Chagall’s paintings and stage designs for the ballet *Daphnis and Chloe* by Ravel. Further references are listed in Morgan 1997, 2275; among these, see in particular Hägg 1983, which prints a series of 14 book illustrations, ranging from Crispin de Passe (1626) to Aristide Maillot (1937); Van de Wijer 1983, who examines five illustrations, from de Pass to Paul Avril (1898), to document changing approaches; and Moulin 1983, who looks more in detail at the work of François Gérard.

Over music, too, the story has exercised its power. For a list of musical works influenced by Longus, see Schönberger 1989, 52. Of these, the most famous treatment is perhaps Ravel’s in his “symphonic choréographique” *Daphnis and Chloe* (1912), on which see Bossuyt 1983 and Fusillo 2008, 325–327. Simone Beta, in his abstract in ICAN IV, analyzes some *opérette* at the end of the nineteenth century, composed by Jacques Offenbach (1860), Fernand Le Bon, a pupil of

Massenet (1885), Henri Busser (1897), Henri Maréchal (1899), and the amusing parody by Angelo Casirola (1894).

Longus' emphasis on landscape contributes to explaining his success in film adaptations. Landscapes play a central role in one of the earliest Greek films, *Daphnis and Chloe*, by Orestis Laskatos, whose setting is on the island of Mytilene, as in the original (on this silent movie, see Delveroudi 2000). An island fishing village, visited by some shepherds in search of water, is the setting of the freely adapted *Young Aphrodites* (*Mikres Aphrodites*, 1963), by the Cretan director Nikos Kondouros (stills from these two movies are printed in Kussl 1992). A third, more recent and conventional movie, is *Dafnis i Khloya* by the Russian Yuri Kuzmenkov, based on a novel by I.M. Nagibin, *A Daphnis and Chloe in the Era of the Cult of Personality, Voluntarism and Stagnation* (1992). For a useful commentary on these three films, see Fusillo 2008, 327–328. Stacpoole's popular novel, *The Blue Lagoon* (1908), shares with Longus (and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre) the theme of the ingenuous discovery of love on an island full of natural beauty: Hardin 2000, 182, lists numerous film adaptations of this story, from the 1923 silent film to the more famous 1980 film, starring Brooke Shields and Christopher Atkins.

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